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
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Scoring Away from Home: A Statistical Study of Scotland Football Fans at International Matches in Romania and Sweden

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Abstract

This paper explores the logistic, social structural and affective properties of Scotland football supporters attending two types of international fixture abroad: a high prestige tournament in Sweden and a low prestige qualifier in Romania. Representative samples of supporters were canvassed on both occasions, and the accruing data subjected to univariate and bivariate analysis. The findings indicate that the comparatively positive fan identity of Scottish fans, as boisterous and internationalist, is premised on socio-cultural rather than social structural factors. Principal changes in the Scottish support relate to the growing number of white-collar fans, and the proportion of fans affiliated instrumentally to the official Scotland Travel Club. The major continuity with the past concerns the fans' preference for autonomous methods of organizing travel and accommodation requirements.

Although your team did not perhaps always achieve the results which you might have hoped for, the conduct of the Scottish fans was exemplary throughout the event, and the team can be truly proud of the backing which it received from its supporters. It is UEFA's hope that fans from other countries will be inspired by this example, and that they will in future give their teams the same loyal and uplifting support as you have given your team.

- (Letter to Scottish fans in Sweden from UEFA, Autumn 1992)

Please no more songs of praise or rejoicing in defeat. The behaviour of Scottish supporters when their team loses has gone from the touching to the touched. This country's fans have started to embrace failure, to rejoice in setbacks. It is ludicrous and it is dangerous.

- (James Traynor, The Glasgow Herald, 11 September 1992)

Introduction

The reputation of the Scottish football fan abroad has never been higher. Each of the Scottish supporters who attended the 1992 European Championship Finals in Sweden have now received a commemorative badge and personal letter of tribute from UEFA, European soccer's governing body, in reward for his or her exemplary conduct. Scottish media, football and political authorities have been characteristically hasty in heaping unqualified praise upon the 'Tartan Army's internationalist achievements.¹ The 1970s spectre of Scots fans invoking moral panics across Europe is now buried in the recesses of the past.² Conversely, the response of English commentators to the award has seemed predictably muted and insensitive by comparison.³ Given the improved behaviour of Scottish fans abroad, this English media disinterest fails to entertain the prospect that the dominant typification of English fan as 'hooligan' could still be conceptualized as a relatively earlier, prehistoric stage in civilized fandom's phylogeny. What is most remarkable is the fact that the typically abortive efforts of the Scottish national football team on the park seems to have little impact upon their compatriots' ambassadorial conduct abroad. Some commentators now believe this mismatch between failure on the park and celebration on the terraces has gone too far.

Whatever the veracity of these cultural definitions of Scottish fans, there is far less known of their socio-demographic constitution. Moorhouse's various articles on Scottish football (1984, 1986b +a, 1987, 1989, 1991a, 1991b) have netted but one table on international fans from the early post-war period.⁴ Qualitative analysis of the eruptions of Scots' 'cultural nationalism' at football matches is almost uniformly culled from anecdotal newspaper reports; there seems to have been no attempt actively to engage or confront Scottish fans, past or present, for research purposes.⁵ To date, more empirically-grounded studies of Scottish fans have all been located at the club-level (CLR, 1984; SNCCFR, 1990; Boyle, 1991; Giulianotti, 1992).

This paper extends research previously undertaken with Scottish fans abroad into a quantitative domain (Giulianotti, 1991). It examines data accruing from surveys undertaken with Scottish fans attending matches in two countries, Romania and Sweden. Earlier research with Scottish supporters at the 1990 World Cup Finals in Italy found that the majority were 'maverick' travellers i.e. not officially organized by a package tour abroad, or in possession of match tickets purchased through the SFA's Travel Club (Giulianotti, 1991). Accordingly, many fans found themselves without accommodation and/or match briefs, a situation which tended to undermine the positive self-image of Scottish fans being promoted internationally by Scottish authorities, media and the supporters themselves. Subsequently, the survey questions were framed with particular respect to the organizational experiences of Scottish fans abroad.

Method: Sample Frame

The official Scotland Travel Club estimated that 250 Scottish fans backed the national team in Bucharest at the relatively low prestige, European Championship qualifier on 16 October 1991.⁶ The survey netted approximately one third of these fans as respondents, 82 in total. Official estimates also indicate that 4-5,000 Scottish fans were in Sweden to watch each of the three Scotland matches at the high prestige, European Championship Finals in June 1992.⁷ The survey netted roughly 10% of these fans, 440 in total. The Finals lasted seventeen days; Scottish interest terminated after the first ten days.

Supporters in Romania were interviewed over a three day period, at the two major bases for Scottish fans during this excursion:

- i) The resort of Sinaia, used by several independent Scottish tour companies ostensibly sending fans over on package excursions.⁸
- ii) Bucharest, venue for the match, utilized exclusively by the official Scottish tour party ('Scotball'), and as an alternative to Sinaia by fans previously stationed at the resort, eighty miles from the capital.

Fans in Sweden were interviewed over a ten day period in Gothenburg and Norrköping. The main loci for these interviews were the city centres, licensed premises and camp sites.

Research previously undertaken with Scottish supporters abroad had established their dominant collective identity as consciously fostering friendly, colourful and noisy behaviour (Giulianotti, 1991). A low refusal rate was predicted for the survey, and subsequently borne out by its implementation. As Madge (1985:248-9) notes, a secondary problem of non-response arises over the interviewer contacting respondents successfully. This can result in unintended selectivity, with one cluster within the population group being effectively omitted from the sample frame. The strongest danger here lay in excluding fans in Sweden on package tours. Some of these supporters were based in resorts such as Granna or Jonköping, 110 and 90 miles from Gothenburg respectively. These supporters were only canvassed on match days. Information from the six major 'package' operators for Scottish matches abroad indicated that roughly 15% of fans (600 in total) travelled to Sweden on these organized excursions. Consequently, all respondents in Sweden were asked about the organizational aspects of their journey and accommodation at the Finals. It transpired that the survey actually canvassed 19.8% of

respondents who were there on a 'package' excursion, producing a small bias in their favour of approximately 4.8% against their projected population representation.

Method: Interviewing

'Face-to-face' questionnaire research cannot escape the fact that it is a basic social process, no less so than those processes which it might seek to measure and evaluate (Cicourel, 1964:73-6). Establishing and maintaining a 'good rapport' with respondents is important in undertaking the survey task successfully. All questions in the Romania and Sweden surveys were factual in nature. This enabled the interviewer to broaden the scope for inviting personal views and opinions on matters not necessarily related to the survey, thereby slackening some of the relatively rigid interviewer-respondent interactional boundaries. Thus, some interviews digressed into matters of how the respondent felt about the Scottish football team's recent performances, the organization of the tournament, and the various social activities being undertaken, without prejudicing the survey process.

Few respondents were concerned with the source of the survey's funding, and the confidential use of results. The interviewer received some queries over whether the Scottish Football Association or Travel Club were funding the research. More light-hearted inquiries centred on the data being made available for Poll Tax or Social Security inspection. This contrasts markedly with the likely experiences of similar research being conducted with English fans. The 'football hooligan' moral panics from the 1960s onwards - and the symbiotic growth of technology-led, panoptical surveillance of fans by the State (Armstrong & Hobbs, 1994) - ensure that English supporters are at best disinclined, at worst violently disposed, toward inquisitive strangers within their midst. Axiomatically, open sociological research on English fans has focused principally on those registered with recognized football institutions, such as the Football Association Travel Club, or 'official' England fans buying tickets through the F A. (Murphy et al., 1990:171-4; Williams, 1991:19-21). Data on 'unofficial' or 'maverick' fans (i.e. those unregistered with the agencies from whom there is access to data) may only be secured clandestinely, and for this reason tends to be unrepresentative of the overall support.⁹

This is not to say that Scotland does not possess football hooligan sub-cultures, which are capable of following the national side abroad. At club level, Scottish hooligans, as with their English counterparts, are recognizable to the educated eye for sporting designer 'casual' wear and no colours denoting team affiliation (Giulianotti, 1993a). Some casuals did emerge in Sweden, and were purposefully interviewed when encountered. Their inclusion within the sample group

was partially achieved through what Hessler (1992:150) refers to as 'facilitation', the array of positive mannerisms and gestures which enhance communication between respondent and interviewer. This technique was utilized tendentiously, to communicate to the respondent the fact that information imparted by him would be of no more than equal importance to that obtained from any other respondent.

De Vaus (1990:105) lists several problems specious to the 'face-to-face' type of interview. All weaknesses relate to securing a satisfactory quality of answer to questions, particularly where evaluative queries may be contaminated by social pressures. In addition, Kahn and Cannell (1957) maintain that the survey interests of technical reliability and scientific validity may conflict de facto. For example, unreliable evidence from a respondent may be upgraded to 'reliable' in order to fill out fully and in time the requisite number of questionnaires. However, these failings do not apply to either the Romania or Sweden survey. The factual content of the survey ensures respondents do not encounter strong, implicit social pressure to reply in a particular way to a subjectively-premised question. In addition, the 'reliability' of respondent answers is enhanced by the relatively short time spans with which the survey's historical aspects deal.

Survey Questions and Issues Examined

The two surveys each consisted of ten questions. Seven questions were included in each survey, and these enquired about:

- i) The social structural characteristics of the support - age, job, home town.
- ii) The fans' association with domestic and international football – club supported, prior trips abroad with Scotland.
- iii) The organizational aspects of the trip to Sweden - membership status within the Scotland Travel Club, principal mode of transport to match venues.
- iv) The three remaining questions related to issues specific to the Romania and Sweden excursions.

The issues explored in this report relate to four types of question:

- i) Disentangling the divergent logistical contingencies faced by supporters travelling to Romania and Sweden.

- ii) Providing frequency counts of fans at both sets of fixtures, to compare the social structural and soccer-centred characteristics of Scottish fans attending a low prestige match (Romania) with a high prestige tournament (Sweden).
- iii) Examining variable interplays to produce statistically significant relationships through crosstabulations. Testing these relationships to determine their prevalence at high prestige or low prestige fixtures.
- iv) Exploring the continuities and changes which occur in the Scottish support. What similarities and differences exist between long-term supporters and new ones? What social structural and micro-organizational characteristics will the future Scottish support contain?

This report also contrasts its findings with those on other national supporters, particularly the English. References will be made to the dominant macrosocial identities of English ('hooligan') and Scottish (internationalist) supporters, and the extent to which such a bipolarity is reducible to the social structural properties of age, gender composition and socio-economic background. The lack of data from other studies of international fans on further issues, such as home locale, club supported, and previous trips abroad with the national side, precludes further comparison of Scottish and other supporters.

Survey Findings: Frequency Counts

Logistics

The survey results to this issue were post-coded according to separate criteria, to account for the different logistical exigencies of travelling to Romania for a low prestige fixture and to Sweden for a high prestige tournament. In Romania, we have four classes of supporter according to mode of travel to Bucharest: those on the official package tour with 'Scotball'; those on unofficial packages; those in Bucharest through their work; or those travelling to Romania by their own means. The 'package' excursions contractually provide transport to and from booked hotel accommodation, coach transfers to the match venue, and sometimes accompanying couriers, subsistence and match tickets. Tensions regularly arise between the organizational stipulations of the package programme and the scope for personal and group autonomy on these short trips abroad. For example, fans on package tours may be stationed miles from the match venue; accommodation and travel guarantees are purchased at the expense of regular interaction with the main groups of Scottish fans permanently located in the city hosting the match (see Giulianotti, 1993b).

Table 1 demonstrates that the overwhelming majority of fans in Romania were commercially organized to some degree. Only two fans from the sample were present through their private endeavours. Table 2 suggests that given the opportunity, the majority of Scottish supporters in Romania prefer to exercise a greater autonomy over travel and accommodation arrangements when following the national side overseas.

Table 1. Scottish Fans in Romania: Mode of Transport

	N	Valid Percent
SCOTBALL	25	30.5
OTHER PACKAGE	52	60.4
WORK	3	3.7
OWN MEANS	2	2.4
	<u>82</u>	<u>100.0</u>

Table 2: Scottish Fans in Romania: Projected Method of Transit to Sweden

Method	N	Valid Percent
PACKAGE	24	29.3
CAMPER	11	13.4
CAR OR VAN	1	1.2
FERRY OR BOAT	3	3.7
PLANE	2	2.4
WITH GROUP	6	7.3
OWN MEANS	13	15.9
AVOID ENGLISH	4	4.8
DONT KNOW	14	17.1
NO ANSWER / NOT APPLICABLE	4	4.9
	<u>82</u>	<u>100.0</u>

A modal grouping of fans (29.3%) stated that they would repeat the 'package' method employed in Romania for the major tournament, legislating for accommodation and transfer requirements. This is almost double the proportion of fans who actually did utilize the package method in Sweden, suggesting the most committed Scottish fans are twice as inclined to favour the package method of travel. A large minority (43.9%) of fans in Romania placed their emphasis on alternative methods. 20.7% listed various 'maverick' modes of transport, the most popular of which also took cognizance of accommodation requirements. Another sizeable proportion (15.9%) simply underlined their preference for autonomy on this excursion. The major conclusion from this table relates to the variety of answers given by respondents, underlining

both the inchoate condition of some respondents' plans regarding Sweden (don't know at 17.1 %), and the adaptability of the hard core Scottish supporters regarding different logistical requirements for attending matches.

Table 3: Scottish Fans in Sweden: Organizational Aspects of Accommodation

Accommodation Status	N	Valid Percent
SCOTBALL	30	6.8
OTHER TOUR: PLANE	5	1.1
OTHER TOUR: BUS	52	11.8
CAMPING	183	41.6
HOTEL, HOSTEL, ETC	138	31.4
NO ACCOMMODATION	32	7.3
	440	100.0

Table 3 categorizes the accommodation arrangements of Scottish fans in Sweden. Nearly 20% of the sample had their accommodation pre-arranged by tour companies, but the modal group of fans sampled were 'camping' whether in a tent, camper-van or caravan. A sizeable minority had also obtained accommodation in hotels and hostels, or private chalets and flats which tourist information centres in Gothenburg and Norrkoping were able to sub-let to the unsheltered. This latter kind of accommodation also included emergency shelter facilities, such as the local ice-rink in Gothenburg and a Lutheran Church in Norrkoping. In marked contrast to Scottish fans' experiences in Italy two years earlier, only 7.3% stated they had no proper accommodation, although when interviewed the majority were either in transit from one venue to another or were confident some type of nocturnal arrangement would be secured.¹⁰

Table 4. Scottish Fans in Sweden: Major Method of Transit

Method	N	Valid Percent
PLANE: GOTHENBURG	162	36.8
PLANE: SCANDINAVIA (OTHER)	42	9.5
PLANE: EUROPE (OTHER)	8	1.8
TRAIN AND FERRY	59	13.4
CARAVAN, CAMPER AND FERRY	33	7.5
VAN, CAR AND FERRY	75	17.0
BUS AND FERRY	57	13.0
OTHER	4	1.0
	440	100.0

Table 4 on actual travel arrangements by fans offers some contrast to the travel intentions of Scottish fans in Romania, but should also be regarded as highlighting the width of transport methods available to supporters. Almost half of the respondents (48.2%) travelled by plane, the vast majority of whom flew directly into Gothenburg where Scotland's first match was played. Approximately one quarter (24.5%) travelled by road, with 13.4% arriving by rail. Briefly, it can be concluded that the vast majority of the supporters recognized by UEFA as the best behaved in Europe have a strong penchant for autonomous organization of direct travel to and accommodation within the host nation of a soccer tournament. It would appear that positive reputations for football fans abroad are not solely secured through formal collectivization and monitoring of activities via 'package' tours.

Age Composition

The survey results classify the age group of respondents according to the Registrar General's categories. Table 5 below indicates that the modal category for both excursions is the 25-34 age range, although the major tournament attracts a greater proportion of 15-24 year olds. Clearly, the vast majority of Scottish fans travelling abroad to either high or low prestige fixtures are aged below thirty-five.

These findings are generally in line with surveys undertaken on English fans. An impressionistic survey of English fans in Copenhagen in 1982 speculated that three-quarters were aged 16-25 (Williams et al., 1989:148). These supporters would appear to have matured, as a survey of 'official' English fans at the 1988 European Championship Finals in Germany found 78.1% of English fans fell within the wider 17-33 age group (Murphy et al., 1990:177), an upward trend confirmed at the 1990 World Cup Finals, with 35% of the sample 30 and over (Williams, 1991:18). It could be added that the Copenhagen and later data are qualitatively incommensurable, as 'official' fans at the latter tourney are unrepresentative of all those actually attending a match abroad, to which the initial survey pertains. However, these surveys do indicate that the bipolar fan identities of English and Scottish fans abroad does not possess an equally disparate, social structural ingredient, where 'age' is the variable in question.

Evidence varies on the age of different types of fans from overseas travelling to matches abroad. Van den Brug (1991:2) found that three-quarters of identified 'high risk' Dutch fans at the 1990 World Cup Finals were aged 17-23, although no persuasive estimate is made of the representation of these fans within the overall Dutch support.¹¹ At the same tournament, the clear majority of German fans were estimated to be over thirty years of age (Klingebiel &

Rutkowski, 1991:6). Dutch and German fans were involved in fighting in Turin, but, as with Scottish and English fans, there is clearly no statistically demonstrable correlation between different types of behaviour and younger age groupings. Indeed, Horak (1991:2) reports that approximately 70% of his sample of Austrian fans were aged under thirty at Italia '90, and there were no reports of these nationals engaging in spectator disorder. Adding that none of the comparatively young Scottish fans were arrested in Sweden (although this is a carefully constructed figure – see Giulianotti, 1993b), any advancement of a reciprocal, nomothetic relationship between low age and football hooliganism would appear to be somewhat tenuous.

Table 5. Age Groups of Scottish Fans Abroad

Age	Romania		Sweden	
	N	Valid Percent	N	Valid Percent
<15	0	.0	4	.9
15-24	18	22.0	131	29.8
25-34	39	47.6	217	49.3
35-44	12	14.6	70	15.9
45-54	10	12.2	8	1.8
55-64	1	1.2	9	2.0
65+	2	2.4	1	.2
	<u>82</u>	<u>100.0</u>	<u>440</u>	<u>100.0</u>

Dunning et al. (1988:225) have advanced the case for greater 'family' attendance at matches, home and abroad, to undermine the normative relevance of aggressive or violent behaviour. A key tenet in this strategy is the attraction of women into football, although some of its historical and emancipatory claims have been questioned (Clarke, 1992:217). Figures for England international matches away from home, and domestic club matches in Scotland and England, place the optimum attendance of women at matches at no more than 15% (CLR, 1984; SNCCFR, 1984; SNCCFR, 1990; Williams et al., 1989; Giulianotti, 1992). Research in Romania and Sweden confirms this small minority representation of women within the Scotland support. The vast majority of these Scottish fans were male, accompanied by fellow males, and similarly aged to their English contemporaries. Therefore, the virtually identical age, gender and bonding properties of the Scottish and English supports cannot account for both the behavioural differences of these supporters, and the polarized manner in which these fans are received by the football and social authorities, and the media.¹²

Alternatively, Scottish supporters' ostentatiously gregarious and sporting behaviour at international fixtures attracts strongest comparisons with Danish supporters, the 'roligans' (see note 3). At the 1988 European Finals, 'roligans' averaged 30 years of age (Murphy et al., 1990:176-7), rising slightly to 31 years at the 1990 World Cup Finals (Peiterson, 1991:11).¹³ Again, the age-fan identity nexus offers little conclusive here; Danish fans correspond in age as much with English and German fans at the 1990 tournament as they do with the median of Scottish fans' modal age grouping, 25-34. Their age stratification cannot account for their positive rather than negative fan identity.

Employment

The sample results on Scottish fans' employment status utilize a modified version of the categories advanced by Goldthorpe (1987:40-43), outlined in abridged form:

- i) Class I - service sector controllers and operators: higher grade professionals, administrators; large enterprise managers, proprietors.
- ii) Class II - service sector 'cadets': lower-grade professionals, administrators; small enterprise managers; higher-grade technicians; non-manual supervisors.
- iii) Class III - clerical labour force: routine non-manual, sales, rank and file service employees.
- iv) Class IV - petite bourgeoisie: small proprietors, farmers and smallholders; self-employed artisans.
- v) Class V - blue collar 'elite': low-grade technicians; manual supervisors. (Added to this group: offshore/oil workers).
- vi) Class VI - skilled manual workers
- vii) Class VII - semi-skilled and unskilled manual workers.

Five further categories have been added to this taxonomy during post-coding of survey findings: apprentice or YTS worker (industry-led training); student or schoolchild (education-led training); unemployed; houseworker; retired.

Published data on the socio-economic background of Scottish fans relates exclusively to club-level football. Scotland's two largest clubs, Rangers and Celtic, are well documented for drawing their respective supports primarily from different strata of the working class, segregated along religious lines (Moorhouse, 1984; Finn, 1991), although the long-standing presence of middle-class fans, particularly in Celtic's case, should not be discounted (Vamplew, 1988; Walker, 1990). The purported abandonment of English soccer by the post-war upperworking classes does not

appear to have obtained in Scotland (Cohen, 1972; Dunning et al., 1988). Recent research on Rangers (SNCCFR, 1990) and Aberdeen (Giulianotti, 1992) fans points to an expansion of Scottish soccer's appeal to the managerial strata (Class II); but any decline in skilled manual representation at Scottish grounds may simply reflect its wider decline in the national labour force (cf. McCrone, 1992:138-9).

Table 6. Job Status of Scottish Fans Abroad

Job	Romania		Sweden	
	N	Valid Percent	N	Valid Percent
CLASS I	6	7.3	30	6.8
CLASS II	4	4.9	69	15.7
CLASS III	16	19.5	93	21.1
CLASS IV	13	15.9	23	5.2
CLASS V	8	9.8	23	5.2
CLASS VI	17	20.7	80	18.2
CLASS VII	12	14.6	61	13.9
APPRENTICE, YTS	0	.0	2	.5
STUDENT, SCHOOL	1	1.2	35	8.0
UNEMPLOYED	2	2.4	16	3.6
HOUSEWORKER	0	.0	2	.5
RETIRED	3	3.7	5	1.1
	<u>82</u>	<u>100.0</u>	<u>439</u>	<u>99.8*</u>

* One case missing from Swedish survey.

Table 6 delineates the occupational status of both sample groups. The immediately observable difference concerns the greater proportion of Class I and II supporters in Sweden: over 10% more than that in Romania. Adding Class III to present a complete picture of white collar representation at the two venues, the difference grows to virtually 12%. Much of this disparity is recouped within the relatively autonomous Class IV strata, which is 15.9% of all Scottish fans surveyed at the Championship Finals - the analogous figure for Romania being only 5.4%. The Romania sample contains a greater proportion of blue collar workers (45.1% as opposed to 37.3% in Sweden) with a massive imbalance amongst those in further education in favour of the later excursion (1.2% in Romania, 8.0% in Sweden).

Overall, it would appear that the white collar profile of Scottish fans abroad is augmented at major tournaments, particularly when the embryonic service sector strata of students is included in calculations. Given the findings on age, fans attending low prestige fixtures such as that in Romania are more likely to have greater experience in the labour market, but at a lower occupational level.

These findings broadly replicate those derived from research undertaken on English and other nationals at major international football tournaments. Williams et al. (1989:51) provide an employment tabulation of thirty six England followers at the 1982 World Cup Finals in Spain, but there is surely no way in which this can purport to represent the occupational parameters of 7,000 or so fellow England fans also attending those Finals. The selective biases of data on 'official' fans notwithstanding, a more satisfactory table of England Travel Club members at Italia '90 found the majority to fall within the intermediary socio-economic strata of managerial, non-manual and skilled manual fans (Williams & Goldberg, 1991:48). Congruent data from Danish, Dutch and Austrian fans would appear to attest to Peiterson's (1991:11) conclusion that Italia '90 was a middle class tournament, but this might disguise more fundamental changes in the higher socio-economic composition of football fans at international tournaments. If this latter conclusion is valid, then socio-economic stratification, along with age and gender, fails to account for the divergent behavioural patterns of Scottish and other football supporters, and the varying socio-juridical responses to these fan activities.

Home Town or City

The home locales of Scottish fans canvassed were coded into fourteen categories, corresponding to five general types:

- i) The four major Scottish urban conurbations: Glasgow, Edinburgh, Aberdeen and Dundee.
- ii) The four regions functioning as live capital 'feeder zones': Strathclyde; Lothian, Fife & Central; Grampian; and Tayside.
- iii) Two rural regions at geographical extremes: the Highlands & Islands, and the Borders.
- iv) Two United Kingdom categories: London, and elsewhere in the U.K.
- v) Two categories without the U.K.: Europe, and outwith Europe.

Table 7 has five columns juxtaposing the two sample findings on home locale distribution, with the Scottish population's overall distribution.¹⁴ Column one lists these latter statistics; columns two and three mark out the percentage support of Scotland-based fans in Romania and Sweden respectively, according to Scottish home locale. Columns four and five take cognizance of Scottish fan 'exiles' at the two venues.

The table immediately indicates that the four major urban conurbations in Scotland contribute a strong though variable proportion of support to Scottish matches abroad. The low prestige fixture in Romania attracted almost one-half of Scottish fans from these cities, but less than one

third for the Swedish fixtures. For both matches, all except Dundonians in Sweden contribute more than their projected share, proportionate to the population distribution of home-based Scots. Indeed, Aberdeen's representation in Sweden is double that expected by the city's demographic significance to Scotland. In Romania, those from the Highlands & Islands were equally over-represented: 10% of the sample, as against 5.6% of the Scottish population. One interesting finding is that the West of Scotland (Strathclyde and Glasgow) contributes virtually no more than its expected share of support at either type of fixture. Demography, rather than a professedly greater cultural support for soccer, would seem to account for the strong representation of the West in these circumstances.¹⁵

Table 7. Home City, Region or Nation of Scottish Fans Abroad*

Home	% of Estim.				
	Scottish Popln. (June 1990)	Romania % Home Fans	Sweden % Home Fans	Romania % All Fans	Sweden % All Fans
GLASGOW	13.9	29.0	17.3	24.4	13.6
EDINBURGH	8.8	13.1	10.4	11.0	8.2
STRATHCLYDE	32.6	21.9	29.9	18.3	23.6
LTHN, FIFE, CNTRL	18.9	7.2	8.9	6.1	7.0
ABERDEEN	4.3	5.8	10.7	4.9	8.4
GRAMPIAN	6.0	.0	5.5	.0	4.3
DUNDEE	3.5	7.2	2.3	6.1	1.8
TAYSIDE	4.3	4.4	4.6	3.7	3.6
HIGHLANDS, ISLES	5.6	10.0	6.3	8.5	5.0
BORDERS	2.1	1.4	4.1	1.2	3.2
Sub Totals	(100.0)	(100.0)	(100.0)	(84.2)	(78.8)
LONDON				7.3	5.9
BRITAIN: OTHER				7.3	9.1
EUROPE				1.2	3.9
OUTSIDE EUROPE				.0	2.3
				100.0	100.0

* Figures for regions and indigenous cities are calculated to be mutually exclusive: thus, for example, figures for Strathclyde exclude those for the city of Glasgow.

Football Club Supporters Following Scotland

The two surveys disclose a wide range of football club affinities amongst itinerant Scottish fans. The findings were post-coded into twelve categories which tie in substantially with the 'home locale' categories discussed above.¹⁶

i) Four categories containing the leading clubs from major urban conurbations: the Old Firm of Celtic and Rangers from Glasgow; Hibernian and Heart of Midlothian from Edinburgh; Dundee and Dundee United; and, Aberdeen.¹⁷

- ii) Two categories of intermediary, moderately successful and moderately supported Scottish League clubs from the East and West of Scotland. From the West, there are Airdrie, Clydebank, Hamilton Academicals, Kilmarnock, Morton, Motherwell, Partick Thistle, St Mirren. From the East, there are Dunfermline, Falkirk, Meadowbank Thistle, Raith Rovers, St Johnstone. Here the arbiter for a club's inclusion is its contemporary and historical association with the current Premier League or standing within the current First Division.
- iii) Two further categories of other, remaining Scottish League clubs from the East or West of Scotland.
- iv) Three other categories of club, distinguished on a geo-political scale. There are the Scottish non-League clubs - the Highland League, the Borders League and Junior sides; other U.K. teams of any standard, from professional to amateur if so stated; and, other non-British teams.
- v) One residual category for fans stating that they did not support any club, but only the national team.

Table 8. Club Supported by Scottish Fans Abroad

Club	% 1991-2 Av. League Attendance	Romania % Home Fans	Sweden % Home Fans	Romania % All Fans	Sweden % All Fans
OLD FIRM	45.0	26.5	40.2	20.7	35.0
HIBS, HEARTS	16.6	17.2	11.7	13.4	10.2
ABERDEEN	16.4	3.2	12.8	2.5	11.1
DUNDEE, UTD	8.4	9.4	4.7	7.3	4.1
INTERMED: WEST	5.4	29.7	19.1	23.2	16.6
INTERMED: EAST	6.0	3.1	5.7	2.4	5.0
OTHER: WEST	1.3	9.4	4.0	7.3	3.4
OTHER: EAST	0.9	1.5	1.8	1.2	1.6
Sub-totals	(100.0)	(100.0)	(100.0)	(78.0)	(87.0)
OTHER: NON-LEAGUE				6.1	.7
OTHER: U.K.				2.4	5.0
OTHER: NON-U.K.				1.2	.2
NONE				12.3	7.1
				100.0	100.0

Table 8 lists five columns, correlating the distribution of League club affinities of Scottish football fans, with those of national team fans sampled in Romania and Sweden.

- a) The first three columns indicate that although the representation of Old Firm fans is in itself high for both matches, neither fixture attracts the expected number of these fans, proportionate to average League match attendance. Their association with high prestige club fixtures is repeated within the international arena: there is a large jump in Rangers and Celtic fans' representation in Romania (20.7%) relative to that in Sweden (35.0%).

- b) The most striking statistics relate to the remarkably high representation of fans supporting intermediary and small clubs from the West of Scotland. The survey suggests that intermediary club fans constitute almost one third of Scottish fans at small fixtures, and about one fifth at large tournaments: their expected representation, proportionate to average League attendances, is far less, being only about one twentieth of the total Scottish support.
- c) The 'non-league' and 'no team' categories represent the strongest club-level disparities within the two surveys. Both experience a significant decline in representation within the overall support in Sweden relative to Romania.

These findings suggest, in terms of Scottish fan behaviour and composition, the much-trumpeted change in Scottish international fan identity may have a demographic as well as cultural imperative. 'Moral panics' about Scottish fans at club level focused inordinately upon the matchday proclivities of Old Firm fans, with religious sectarianism a core referent for alarmist discourses (CLR, 1984; Moorhouse, 1984; Forsyth, 1990). However, the majority of Scottish international fans, particularly those attending minor fixtures abroad, are clearly not supporters of Rangers or Celtic.

Previous Trips Abroad of Scottish Supporters

The survey post-coded fans canvassed in Romania and Sweden, into seven mutually exclusive categories of prior support for the national side abroad. For the purposes of this survey, Scotland soccer internationals played within the U.K. were not classified as 'abroad'. The four classes listed below are used when crosstabulations are undertaken.

- i) One category of completely new Scottish fans, who had been on no trips abroad with the national team before.
- ii) Two categories indicating limited supporter experience: those who have been to less than five matches abroad (excluding the 1990 World Cup in Italy); or, those who had only been to Italia '90.
- iii) Two categories of emergent hard core supporters: those who had been to Italia '90 and some qualifiers; those who had been to two World Cup Finals, or attended more than five separate away matches.
- iv) Two categories of actual hard core supporters. Firstly, those who had attended more than two World Cups or the majority of qualifying matches since 1982. Secondly, those who had attended even more fixtures, particularly travelling Scottish fans of at least a decade's standing.

Table 9 confirms the very predictable fact that the European Championship Finals are nearly three times more likely to attract debutant Scottish fans abroad, than minor fixtures, such as those in Bucharest. Indeed, one sixth of Scottish fans in Sweden had only been to one other Championship Finals (the 1990 World Cup).¹⁸ The actual hard core support contributes just over one tenth of Scottish fans in Sweden, but virtually one-third in Romania. However, given that the low status of the latter match would appear to be for the hard core support alone, the Romania survey really highlights the dynamic evolutionary nature of Scotland's most committed bands of support. Almost half of the fans at this match had attended only a handful of previous matches. Thus, there appear to be few sudden, genealogical shifts in the composition of the Scottish support; the potential for discord between current and future groups of 'hard core' supporters is minimized by regular interaction of the two at both low status and high status fixtures. Ethnographic research suggests that new fans cannot be dismissed by older fans as fairweather holiday-makers, but instead function in favour of their older brethren's public performances at major fixtures. Numerically, at tournaments such as Sweden, the inevitable presence of new fans assists the most committed fans in orchestrating what Marsh (1978:23-4) terms the 'critical density' of public performances within the support, emitting a strong, affectively positive discharge of unified noise and colour. These frequent encounters, and the symbolic collapsing of biographical boundaries of fandom, undoubtedly facilitate an effective interpolation from established to emergent hard core fans, of expected behavioural norms and socially positive patterns of fandom. The dominant definition of Scottish fans' 'carnavalesque' activities, as favourable and pleasureable for the relatively new supporters, secures diachronically the future reputation of the unitary support abroad.

Table 9. Previous Scotland Trips Abroad of Scottish Fans

Trips Abroad	Romania		Sweden	
	N	Valid Percent	N	Valid Percent
FIRST AWAY	11	13.4	153	34.8
ITALY 90	0	.0	75	17.0
<5 GAMES	14	17.1	35	8.0
ITALY 90 + SOME QUALIFIERS	15	18.3	81	18.4
TWO WORLD CUPS; 5+ AWAY	15	18.3	50	11.4
>2 WORLD CUPS; MAJ '82-'92	19	23.2	21	4.8
WORLD TOUR	8	9.8	25	5.7
	82	100.0	440	100.0

Travel Club Membership of Scottish Fans

The Scotland Travel Club was founded in 1981 under the auspices of the Scottish Football Association. Its main function is administrative, the STC being a gatekeeper for the allocation and distribution of tickets and travel advice to fans following the national team abroad. The organization also serves a politico-administrative function for the SFA and Whitehall. Through the STC, the SFA actively seek to encourage Scottish fans to adopt particular codes of conduct; deviant members may be expelled, and their personal details given over to the National Criminal Intelligence Service's football unit, to discourage future travel overseas for soccer matches.¹⁹ STC members purchasing tickets for matches abroad are also requested to inform the Foreign Office of their travel and accommodation arrangements. Scottish supporters at major soccer tournaments have, in the past, been somewhat loathe to utilize the services of the STC. At the 1990 World Cup in Italy, less than 10% of 20,000 Scottish fans there were STC members (Giulianotti, 1991:503). Consequently, access to match tickets and accommodation is a familiar problem for many of these 'maverick' Scottish travellers.

The survey distinguished four general types of fan-STC association, containing six post-coded categories:

- i) A category for non-members.
- ii) Two categories delineating recent STC membership co-inciding with the immanence of major matches: 0-6 months, 7-12 months.
- iii) A category for those joining the STC recently, but where membership orientates toward immediately prior as well as future major internationals: 13-36 months.
- iv) Two classes of extended STC membership: 37-72 months, and over 72 months.

Table 10 indicates that the vast majority of Scottish fans in both Romania and, most importantly, Sweden were STC members. The rather instrumental use of the club for the Swedish excursion is highlighted by the fact that the majority of fans (56.1%) joined within the previous year. The main cause of this surge in membership was fans' interest in securing tickets for the three group matches in Sweden, after the publicizing of low stadia capacities and the ticketless experiences of fans at the 1990 World Cup Finals.²⁰ To underscore this point, it should be noted that almost one fifth of fans at the low prestige fixture in Romania were not STC members, suggesting a disinclination to join amongst some of the most committed Scottish supporters.

Table 10. Length of Travel Club Membership of Scottish Fans Abroad

Membership Length	Romania		Sweden	
	N	Valid Percent	N	Valid Percent
NOT MEMBER	15	18.3	74	16.8
0-6 MONTHS	16	19.5	198	45.0
7-12 MONTHS	12	14.6	49	11.1
13-36 MONTHS	16	19.5	58	13.2
37-72 MONTHS	7	8.5	27	6.1
73 MONTHS-11 YEARS	16	19.5	34	7.7
	<u>82</u>	<u>100.0</u>	<u>440</u>	<u>100.0</u>

Survey Findings: Summary of Frequency Count Results

The principal frequency count results may be cryptically summarized as the following:

- In Romania, a wide preference for greater autonomy over organizational aspects of the excursion was prevalent. This was confirmed by the modal group 'camping' in Sweden, although nearly half arrived at the Championship Finals by the most direct method: flight.
- Almost one half of the Scottish support is aged 25-34, with roughly one quarter aged 15-24.
- Fans attending low prestige fixtures tend to have spent longer in the labour market, at a lower level, than their comparatively more white collar, longer educated compatriots attending high prestige fixtures.
- Scottish fans abroad are not drawn disproportionately from one city or region over another: Strathclyde reflects its demographic predominance, although Aberdeen and Edinburgh are also well represented.
- The Scottish support is drawn disproportionately from fans of intermediate and small League clubs, as well as retaining a significant number who support no club-level side.
- Around one-third of fans in Sweden were on their first trip abroad with Scotland. In Romania, roughly one quarter fell within the 'hard core' supporter category; in Sweden, this declined to one twentieth.
- The vast majority of fans travelling abroad with Scotland, for either type of fixture, are members of the official Scotland Travel Club.

Survey Findings: Statistically Significant Relationships

The following section draws almost exclusively upon variable crosstabulations from the Sweden survey. Similar bivariate analysis from the Romanian survey results in an atomization of the

sample group due to low respondent numbers. A statistically significant relationship is taken to obtain where a chi-square test gives the stringent finding of $p < .01$.

Exhaustive bivariate analysis produced twelve statistically significant relationships for the major survey, and four for the Romanian research. Strongly prevalent in the former findings were the social structural variables of job status (five times), age (four times) and home city (twice). On nine occasions, these variables were significantly dependent upon variables measuring respondents' differing logistical or biographical (affective) association with Scottish club or international football (e.g. STC membership, previous trips abroad with Scotland). Two crosstabulations of statistical significance combined social structural variables, and the final pairing involved team association variables. Therefore, the survey findings immediately demonstrate a fortiori that it is statistically meaningful to break up the logistical and affective (football-orientated) features of the Scottish support abroad according to job, age and home locale characteristics.

Age group is the most obvious demographic index of respondents' differing association with Scottish football. Predictably, the relatively young habitus of the Scottish supporter abroad can be fragmented further to highlight variations in fan biographies. Length of STC membership (Chi-Square = .00162), and previous trips abroad with Scotland (Chi-Square = .00000), are both proportionate in statistically significant terms to the age group of the respondent. Youngest fans are least likely to have extensive personal associations with the STC and experience of travelling abroad to watch Scotland play.

Table 11. Job Status by Age Group

N (Row%) Age Group	Job Status							Totals
	Class I+II	Class III	Class IV+V	Class VI	Class VII	Stud- ent	Other	
<15	0	0	0	0	0	4 (100.0)	0	4 (1.0)
15-24	21 (16.0)	32 (24.4)	8 (6.1)	22 (16.8)	19 (14.5)	26 (19.8)	3 (2.3)	131 (29.8)
25-34	61 (28.1)	45 (18.6)	23 (10.6)	40 (18.4)	29 (13.4)	6 (2.8)	12 (5.5)	217* (49.3)
35-44	12 (17.1)	13 (18.6)	13 (18.6)	18 (25.7)	11 (15.7)	1 (1.4)	2 (2.8)	70 (15.9)
45+	5 (27.8)	3 (16.7)	2 (11.1)	0 (.0)	2 (11.1)	0 (.0)	6 (33.3)	18 (4.0)
Chi-Square = .00000								

* One case missing from Sweden survey.

Table 11 highlights a more predictable, statistically significant relationship obtaining between job status and age group (Chi-Square = .00000).

- Younger fans (15-24) are disproportionately drawn from Class III and those in further education.
- Intermediate fans (25-34) are more widely located across white and blue collar strata, with classes I & II, and IV & V notably strong.
- Older fans (35-44) possess a more numerous petit bourgeois and skilled blue collar composition, with classes IV & V, and VI well represented.

From this, it is possible to bifurcate the Scottish support along age-job axes. The future generation of Scottish fans (aged 15-34) are increasingly drawn from white collar sectors, be this actual (Classes I & II) or emergent (Class III and students). The established generation of Scotland supporters is derived from the petite bourgeoisie and the blue collar elite, having strong levels of occupational autonomy (self-employed, highly skilled) and/or remuneration (e.g. offshore workers, foremen).

Table 12. Previous Trips Abroad with Scotland by Job Status

N (Row%) Previous Trips	Class I+II	Class III	Class IV+V	Job Class VI	Status Class VII	Stud- ent	Other	Totals
First Away	31 (20.3)	38 (24.8)	7 (4.6)	28 (18.3)	21 (21.2)	22 (14.4)	6 (3.9)	153 (34.8)
Limited	28 (25.5)	21 (19.1)	11 (10.0)	14 (12.7)	21 (19.1)	9 (8.2)	6 (5.4)	110 (25.0)
Emergent Hard Core	30 (22.9)	26 (19.8)	19 (14.5)	29 (22.1)	14 (10.7)	6 (4.6)	7 (5.3)	131 (29.8)
Actual Hard Core	10 (21.7)	8 (17.4)	9 (19.6)	9 (19.6)	5 (10.9)	0 (0.0)	5 (10.9)	46 (10.4)
Chi-Square = .00002								

The crosstabulation of job status by previous trips abroad with Scotland (Table 12) endorses the prognosis of occupational changes in the travelling support (Chi-Square = .00002).

- Fans on their first trip abroad with Scotland are inordinately drawn from the Class III and student categories.
- Fans with only a handful of away matches under their belt harbour a strong representation of Classes I & II.

- Fans with greater experience of travelling abroad with Scotland accommodate particularly strong groupings of Classes IV & V, and VI.

Of course, with the data available, measurement of changing job statuses within the travelling Scottish support can only be based on the presumption that the longest-standing, travelling Scottish fans today accurately reflect the employment profile of Scottish travelling fans ten or twelve years ago. This proviso also applies in measuring changes in the geographical background of itinerant fans. But there is a clear, statistically significant relationship between fans' experience of following Scotland abroad and their home locales (Chi-Square = .00109).

Table 13: Home City by Previous Trips Abroad with Scotland

N (Row %) Homecity	Previous Trips Abroad with Scotland				Totals
	First Away	Limited Number	Emergent Hard Core	Actual Hard Core	
Glasgow/ Strathclyde	54 (32.9)	41 (25.0)	46 (28.0)	23 (14.0)	164 (37.2)
Edinburgh/ Lothian	34 (50.7)	9 (13.4)	13 (19.4)	11 (16.4)	67 (15.2)
Aberdeen/ Grampian	13 (23.2)	23 (41.1)	17 (30.4)	3 (5.4)	56 (12.7)
Dundee/ Tayside	2 (8.4)	11 (45.8)	11 (45.8)	0 (.0)	24 (5.5)
Highlands/ Borders	11 (30.6)	9 (25.0)	14 (38.9)	2 (5.6)	36 (8.2)
Rest of Britain	30 (45.5)	12 (18.2)	20 (30.3)	4 (6.1)	66 (15.0)
Outside Britain	9 (33.3)	5 (18.6)	10 (37.0)	3 (11.1)	27 (6.1)

Chi-Square = .00109

Table 14 stratifies respondents' home locale by job status, producing statistically significant relationships (Chi-Square = .00427). Combining the figures for Tables 13 and 14, the principal findings according to home locale may be cryptically summarized.

- Supporters from Glasgow/Strathclyde and Edinburgh/Lothian are strongly represented within the most established supporter category ('actual hard core'), and also the most recent supporter category ('first away'). The white collar habitus of new Scotland fans would appear to be most

strongly derived from the Edinburgh/Lothian area; their peers from Glasgow/Strathclyde contain an inordinate proportion of Class VI occupations.

- In terms of affective association with the national side abroad, Italia '90 appears to have been a watershed experience for supporters from outwith the Scottish central belt. The latter produce more supporters with comparatively intermediate experiences of following Scotland abroad - those with 'limited' experience or, to a lesser extent, the 'emergent hard core'. Within these 'rest of Scotland' categories, the petite bourgeoisie and blue collar elite (Classes IV & V) are particularly well represented.

- The geographical categories with the highest socio-economic strata of fans are from outwith Scotland, with Classes I & II, and the petite bourgeoisie/blue collar elite of Classes IV & V strongly represented.

Table 14. Home City by Job Status

N (Row%) Homecity	Class I+II	Class III	Class IV+V	Job Class VI	Status Class VII	Stud- ent	Other	Totals
Glasgow/ Strathclyde	36 (22.0)	38 (23.2)	12 (7.3)	32 (19.5)	19 (11.6)	16 (9.8)	11 (6.7)	164 (37.3)
Edinburgh/ Lothian	19 (28.4)	20 (29.9)	2 (3.0)	7 (10.4)	11 (16.4)	8 (11.9)	0 (.0)	67 (15.2)
Aberdeen/ Grampian	10 (17.9)	4 (7.1)	10 (17.9)	12 (21.4)	9 (16.1)	4 (7.1)	7 (12.5)	56 (12.7)
Dundee/ Tayside	3 (12.5)	5 (20.8)	1 (4.2)	5 (20.8)	6 (25.0)	4 (16.7)	0 (.0)	24 (5.5)
Highlands/ Borders	4 (11.1)	16 (16.7)	7 (19.4)	12 (33.3)	7 (19.4)	0 (.0)	0 (.0)	36 (8.2)
Rest of Britain	19 (28.8)	15 (22.7)	10 (15.2)	8 (12.1)	7 (10.6)	4 (6.1)	3 (4.5)	66 (15.0)
Outside Britain	8 (29.6)	5 (18.5)	4 (14.8)	4 (14.8)	2 (7.4)	1 (3.7)	3 (11.1)	27 (6.1)

Chi-Square = .00427

These findings are generally confirmed by the figures in Table 15, which delineate the job status of respondents according to club supported (Chi-Square = .00082). Exploring the commitment of club fans to following Scotland abroad more fully, we arrive at a further, statistically significant relationship for Table 16 (Chi-Square = .00112). Drawing together Tables 15 and 16, the findings according to club supported are:

- Fans of the two major Glasgow based sides, Rangers and Celtic, fall inordinately within the blue collar elite - Classes IV & V, and VI. These Old Firm fans are also inordinately well represented within the 'first away' category.
- The Edinburgh-based clubs of Hibernian and Hearts give a relatively high number of Class III fans to the Scottish support abroad. These fans provide a particularly strong segment of the 'hard core' nucleus within the overall Scottish support abroad.
- New Firm fans (Aberdeen, Dundee United) and intermediary club supporters contribute a particularly high proportion of students and Class III fans to the Scottish travelling support. They are equally well represented within the 'intermediary' records of supporting Scotland abroad.
- Fans gaining the lowest degrees of competitive reward from club-level soccer (those supporting 'other Scottish' or 'no Scottish' team) are particularly well represented within the highest socio-economic groupings (Classes I & II). Fans in the 'no team' segment are relatively more likely to possess the longest records of supporting Scotland abroad.

Table 15. Club Supported by Job Status

N (Row%) Club Supported	Job Status							Totals
	Class I+II	Class III	Class IV+V	Class VI	Class VII	Stud- ent	Other	
Rangers/ Celtic	26 (16.9)	30 (19.5)	21 (13.6)	36 (23.4)	24 (15.6)	9 (5.8)	8 (5.2)	154 (35.0)
Hibernian/ Hearts	12 (26.7)	15 (33.3)	2 (4.4)	8 (17.8)	4 (8.9)	2 (4.4)	2 (4.4)	45 (10.2)
Aberdeen/ Dundee Utd	16 (23.9)	7 (10.4)	9 (13.4)	11 (16.4)	11 (16.4)	8 (11.9)	5 (7.5)	67 (15.2)
Intermed. (West)	18 (24.7)	19 (26.0)	6 (8.2)	13 (17.8)	6 (8.2)	8 (11.0)	3 (4.1)	73 (16.6)
Intermed. (East)	3 (13.6)	6 (27.3)	1 (4.5)	0 (.0)	5 (22.7)	7 (31.8)	0 (.0)	22 (5.0)
Other (Scottish)	8 (32.0)	3 (12.0)	3 (12.0)	3 (12.0)	5 (20.0)	1 (4.0)	2 (8.0)	25 (5.7)
No Team	10 (32.3)	7 (10.4)	2 (6.5)	11 (16.4)	11 (16.4)	1 (3.2)	2 (6.4)	44 (10.0)
Other	6 (26.1)	6 (26.1)	2 (8.7)	3 (13.0)	4 (17.4)	1 (4.3)	1 (4.3)	23 (5.2)

Table 16. Club Supported by Previous Trips Abroad with Scotland

N (Row %) Club Supported	Previous Trips Abroad with Scotland				Total
	First Away	Limited Number	Emergent Hard Core	Actual Hard Core	
Rangers/ Celtic	64 (41.6)	39 (25.3)	40 (26.0)	11 (7.1)	154 (35.0)
Hibernian/ Hearts	16 (35.6)	7 (15.6)	14 (31.1)	8 (17.8)	45 (10.2)
Aberdeen/ Dundee Utd	15 (22.4)	25 (37.3)	23 (34.3)	4 (7.0)	67 (15.2)
Intermed. (West)	18 (24.7)	21 (28.8)	26 (35.6)	8 (11.0)	73 (16.6)
Intermed. (East)	8 (36.4)	6 (27.3)	6 (27.3)	2 (9.1)	22 (5.0)
Other (Scottish)	8 (32.0)	7 (28.0)	9 (36.0)	1 (4.0)	25 (5.7)
No Team	9 (29.0)	5 (16.1)	7 (22.6)	10 (32.3)	31 (7.1)
Other	15 (65.2)	0 (.0)	6 (26.1)	2 (8.7)	23 (5.2)

Crosstabulation of club supported by previous trips abroad with Scotland also yielded statistically significant results from the Romania survey (Chi-Square = .00088). The findings corroborated the Sweden survey in respect of three categories: the relatively high proportion of Old Firm fans with low experience abroad; and, the relatively strong experience of intermediary club fans and 'no team' Scottish supporters.

Table 17. Mode of Organization by Job Status

N (Row%) Mode of Organization	Job							Totals
	Class I+II	Class III	Class IV+V	Class VI	Class VII	Stud- ent	Other	
Official Tour (via flight)	4 (11.4)	9 (25.7)	5 (14.3)	3 (8.6)	8 (22.9)	1 (2.9)	4 (11.4)	34 (7.7)
Other Tour (via coach)	10 (19.2)	16 (30.8)	4 (7.7)	15 (28.8)	4 (7.7)	3 (5.8)	0 (.0)	52 (11.8)
Camping	42 (23.0)	29 (15.8)	18 (9.8)	30 (16.4)	32 (17.5)	20 (10.9)	12 (6.6)	183 (41.6)
Private Accommodation	38 (27.5)	31 (22.5)	18 (13.0)	27 (19.6)	12 (8.7)	5 (3.6)	7 (5.1)	138 (31.4)
No Accommodation	5 (15.6)	8 (25.0)	1 (3.1)	5 (15.6)	5 (15.6)	8 (25.0)	0 (.0)	32 (7.3)

Chi-Square = .00000

Three final statistically significant relationships arise from the Swedish data over the logistical arrangements of fans travelling abroad, the independent variables here being social structural (job, Chi-Square = .00000; age, Chi-Square = .00004) and biographical (previous trips abroad with Scotland, Chi-Square = .00255). Tables 17 and 18 encapsulate the findings for crosstabulations, with job and previous trips abroad the respective, independent variables.

- Official tours via flight attract an inordinate quota of fans in the lowest occupational category (Class VII); those with the strongest records of following Scotland abroad; and, the oldest categories of supporter (35+). Particularly few fans join these tours from within the highest socio-economic groupings (Classes I & II); those travelling abroad on the first occasion; and, supporters within the 25-34 age grouping.

- Fans on bus tours are drawn inordinately from the white collar working class (Class III) and the skilled manual sector (Class VI). As with flight tours, they are particularly likely to have strong records of supporting Scotland abroad. They are least likely to be on their first excursion abroad.

- Those supporters camping are most likely to fall into the lowest age categories (15-34), and to fall into the financially disadvantaged socio-economic categories: Class VII, student or unemployed. Concomitantly, they are also least likely to have the strongest records of supporting Scotland abroad.

- Private accommodation is particularly widely utilized by fans from the highest socio-economic strata (Classes I & II), with intermediate ages comparative with the Scottish support overall (25-34, 35-44). They are least likely to fall within the least powerful economic groupings (Classes VII, student).

Table 18. Mode of Organization by Previous Trips Abroad with Scotland

N (Row %) Mode of Organization	Previous Trips Abroad with Scotland				
	First Away	Limited Number	Emergent Hard Core	Actual Hard Core	Total
Official Tour (via flight)	8 (22.9)	11 (31.4)	9 (25.7)	7 (20.0)	35 (8.0)
Other Tour (via coach)	15 (28.8)	11 (21.2)	12 (23.1)	14 (26.9)	52 (11.8)
Camping	67 (36.6)	49 (26.8)	58 (31.7)	9 (4.9)	183 (41.6)
Private Accommodation	52 (37.7)	28 (20.3)	45 (32.6)	13 (9.4)	138 (31.3)
No Accommodation	11 (34.4)	11 (34.4)	7 (21.9)	3 (9.4)	32 (7.3)

Chi-Square = .00255

Conclusions

From the above, three main findings emerge from this research. The significance of each is examined more fully in the second paper on Scottish fans in Sweden and elsewhere (Giulianotti, 1993b).

- 1) There appear to be no significant differences in the age, job and gender fabric of Scottish and English supporters. The bases for the bipolar identities which these fans possess must be cultural rather than social structural.
- 2) Changes are observable in the socio-economic composition of Scottish fans travelling abroad to matches, particularly major tournaments. It may be that hard core, elite blue collar fans will continue to support the national side as avidly in the next decade as in the previous one, although they themselves regard this to be an unlikely eventuality. More probably, the next generation of 'hard core' fans will emerge from the growing band of young, white collar supporters.
- 3) Prospective ticket shortages at the Championship Finals have placed the Scotland Travel Club in an unprecedented position for organizing and monitoring the activities of itinerant fans. However, the clear majority of fans (especially young, white collar fans) favour autonomous methods of travel and accommodation organization, and are particularly disinclined to book with official tour companies for matches overseas. The cost of some of these tours would appear to be prohibitive even to those within the upper echelons of the socio-economic scale.²¹ The STC could adopt a more proactive role in enabling fans to travel to overseas tournaments, given some of the logistical difficulties encountered by fans en route to Sweden.

Notes

¹ The announcement of these awards immediately grabbed front page prominence in the two leading Scottish daily tabloids, the Daily Record and The Sun. 'WE'RE THE TOPS! - And that's official' exclaimed the Daily Record (26 June 1992). The Sun (26 June 1992) conflated the medium and message further, its headline proclaiming 'Tartan Army are the finest in Europe [stamped] OFFICIAL', with the text continued inside under the standard 'We're the finest in Europe'. The Scottish manager, Andy Roxburgh, stated on returning home after the Championships: 'It's just incredible. The support the fans have given us is phenomenal. They're a credit to their country, and to us' (Daily Record, 20 June 1992). Earlier, Edinburgh Member of Parliament Nigel Griffiths asked the Prime Minister in the Commons, 'Will you also congratulate Scottish fans on their exemplary performance to date and reprimand the Secretary of State for National Heritage of his ill-founded and ignorant comments about "British" fans when British fans were not to blame [for hooliganism in Sweden - see note 3]?' (Edinburgh Evening News, 17 June 1992).

² One history of Scottish football announces that Rangers and Celtic supporters ‘were the first to undertake a serious exploration of the concept of the football supporter as licensed brigand’ (Forsyth, 1990:114). The premier historical text on the two clubs (Murray, 1984) examines the sectarian identity of each as its *sine qua non*, although the final reading has been contested for ignoring the defensive and socially integrative aspects of Celtic’s Irish nationalism (Finn, 1991). Indeed, the most notorious Scottish club fan riots outside Scotland have involved supporters of Rangers, occurring at Newcastle in 1969, at Barcelona in 1972, and Birmingham in 1976. The major point to be made here, however, is that Scottish football’s social history has been consistently more violent than that of England. Throughout the twentieth century until the 1960s, and contrasting markedly with north of the border, English football experienced a decline in the type of football crowd disorder that was subsequently to become a cause of public disquiet and media alarm (cf. Dunning et al., 1988; Dunning, 1994).

³ English broadcasters and journalists barely covered the story. Both BBC and ITV failed to broadcast pictures of the public presentation of the award to the Scottish football authorities prior to the tournament final. David Lacey in *The Guardian* (27 June 1992) indicated that the award may have been misplaced: ‘for noisy, thoroughly good-humoured support there is nothing like a Dane - although in this tournament the Scots have run them close.’ Earlier, Scottish MPs and media had taken unmitigated offence at the embattled Government Minister David Mellor’s observation, thrice stated, that ‘British’ rather than ‘English’ fans had been fighting rival fans and police in Sweden. As McCrone (1992:198) reports, surveys suggest that the majority of Scots prefer to consider themselves ‘Scottish’ rather than ‘British’, although no State exists to prosecute this cultural separatism. Thus, the Scottish media are able to tap a reservoir of public sentiment, which regards as offensive and disingenuous in the extreme, the presumed machinations of Cabinet ministers in collapsing English and British identities, following English football hooligan violence abroad.

⁴ This table relates to the supporter organizations using special trains from Dundee and Edinburgh, heading to London for the 1949 and 1953 England-Scotland internationals respectively.

⁵ This statistical taciturnity becomes less surprising on tracing the windy trajectory of Moorhouse’s narrative on football hooliganism, particularly when buffeting the arguments of Dunning et al. (1982, 1988). He begins by garnering evidence on the likely social demography of Rangers fans, to dispute the class-based arguments of English commentators on their own terms (Moorhouse, 1984). A few years later he moves into an epistemological mode to criticize the same arguments, for tautological reasoning (Moorhouse, 1989). Most recently, after having written substantially on the subject, he calls into question the need for further sociological investigation of football hooliganism (Moorhouse, 1991a), thereby attracting the unenviable charge of lese-majesty (Harris, 1992).

⁶ Scotland lost 1-0 to Romania in front of an official attendance of 30,000 fans.

⁷ The Scotland team played three first round matches at the Finals, finishing a creditable third in Group Two, but failing to qualify for the semi-finals. Scotland played The Netherlands in Gothenburg on June 12 (score 0-1, total attendance 35,720), Germany in Norrköping on June 15 (score 0-2, total attendance 17,638), and CIS in Norrköping on June 18 (score 3-0, total attendance 14,660).

⁸ On arriving at London’s Heathrow Airport to depart for Romania, all of these fans discovered that the British tour companies had ceded control to Romania Tours. This company had immediately stipulated that supporters’ accommodation should be transferred to Sinaia from Bucharest, following rioting in the capital one month earlier. This ‘hands-on’ approach eventually produced a petition and letter of protest from fans, received by the Scottish company with whom they had originally booked.

⁹ The 1980s research team from Leicester University obtained very little quantitative data on 'maverick' English fans abroad, although they accept that *mutatis mutandis* there is a greater likelihood of this category of traveller being of 'hooligan' habitus than his 'official' compatriot. Dunning et al. (1991:471) point critics of the Leicester case - that English hooligans have predominantly 'rough' or lower-working class backgrounds - to one set of data for English fans abroad (Williams et al., 1989:50-1). However, these tables have maxima of 45 'maverick' fans (not 'hooligans' per se) who were based at one Spanish resort for the 1982 World Cup Finals. A minimum of 7,000 English fans were based in Spain at any one time during this tournament, of which less than 1% were apparently within the Leicester sample frame.

¹⁰ It should be remembered that approximately 20,000 Scottish fans attended at least one match during the 1990 World Cup Finals in Italy, whilst only around one quarter visited the Swedish tournament. Subsequently, accommodation was comparatively more plentiful at the more recent event, although the Swedish authorities did adopt a more proactive role in providing lodgings for itinerant fans than was evidenced in Italy.

¹¹ The researcher notes elsewhere that 'a substantial number of Dutch supporters [in Italy] had a so-called hooligan record', but adds 'a number of high-risk supporters took the view - and with good reason - that English hooligans outnumbered them and were better organized' (Van den Brug, 1992:14-5). Given that approximately 5,000 England fans were in Italy for the World Cup Finals (not all of them hooligans), and that as many as 50,000 Dutch supporters followed their side at some stage during the same tournament, the 'high-risk' fans referred to must constitute considerably less than 10% of the total Dutch support.

¹² Although the presence of Scottish women within the 'Tartan Army' was undeniable on both occasions, it should hardly need pointing out that the culture of the support is overwhelmingly masculine, in terms of values, discourses and practices. Indeed, there was substantial evidence encountered during both surveys that many male Scottish fans were enjoying their break from wives, girlfriends and family through full use of the professional and perceived liberal sexuality of Romanian and Swedish women respectively (see Giulianotti, 1993b).

¹³ A major caveat to this statistic must be noted, in that the Danish national team did not qualify for the 1990 World Cup Finals. Hence, the attendance of those Danes at Italia '90 was not determined in the customary fashion, by following the fortunes of their home nation.

¹⁴ The figures for the population of Scotland are estimated for June 1990, from the Scottish Abstract of Statistics 1991.

¹⁵ Scottish soccer's metonymical association with the West is confirmed by its organizational history. Queen's Park of Glasgow were Scotland's premier club until the inauguration of the Scottish League, the nemesis of amateurism, placed the Old Firm at the forefront of the national game. Both the League and the Scottish Football Association have always had their respective headquarters in Glasgow. The latter has steadfastly resisted the publicized courting of the national team by the Scottish Rugby Union to play home fixtures at Murrayfield in Edinburgh, according to the principle that the home of Scottish football is in the West of Scotland.

¹⁶ Geo-social mobility, socio-cultural affiliations and the diffuse valorization of competitive success confirm that statistically, a respondent's favourite club side and his/her home locale are not apodictic a priori. For example, Scotland's biggest club, Glasgow Rangers, attracts the major share of home support from outside its home city (SNCCFR, 1990:13-5). Key ingredients in attracting this *prima facie* externalist support are the club's traditional (intermittently militant) Protestantism, its footballing successes (record-holders for League title wins), and the long-standing geographical mobility of the Glaswegian labour force from which Rangers' core support derives historically. Ergo, to enumerate the appeal of club sides in terms of 'city catchment areas', as one English commentator recently did, is to miscomprehend baldly the relatively autonomous statistical and cultural significance of Scottish domestic football to its immediate environs (cf. Moorhouse, 1991b:212).

¹⁷Some commentators may understandably balk at the combination of statistics for Rangers and Celtic fans. One reason would be Celtic fans' perception of bias towards Rangers within Scottish football generally, and the national side in particular, and the likely effects of this belief on Celtic fans' attendance at international fixtures (Boyle, 1991). However, when breaking down the Old Firm support, this survey suggests that, as a percentage of their average home support at league fixtures, Celtic and Rangers fans are each under-represented within the Scottish support by approximately 4-5%.

¹⁸This finding is further brought out by the fact that 84.1% of the Romania sample stated they would attend the European Championship Finals, should Scotland qualify.

Table 19. Scottish Fans in Romania: Projected Attendance at Swedish

FINALS Predicted Attendance	Valid Percent	Cum Percent
YES	84.1	84.1
PROBABLY	3.7	87.8
DON'T KNOW	4.8	92.6
POSSIBLY	3.7	96.3
NO	3.7	100.0
	100.0	

¹⁹ The Scotland Travel Club's constitution contains several paragraphs detailing rather presbyterian codes of conduct for members. These recommend sobriety of dress and manner, and carry threats of expulsion from the club for transgressors.

²⁰ All of the four stadia used during the European Championship Finals had capacities of less than 40,000. The largest stadium was in Gothenburg, accommodating 35,000 fans; in Norrköping, the ground capacity was 17,000. Group One matches were played in Stockholm (28,000 capacity) and Malmö (26,000). By contrast, at the 1990 World Cup Finals in Italy, the smallest stadia encountered by Scottish fans was in Genoa, with a capacity of 44,800. Approximately 5,000 fans, the majority of them Scottish, were 'locked out' for the Scotland-Sweden match played there.

²¹For example, Scotball Travel & Leisure Limited offered one package tour for the excursion to Sweden, at £655 for an eight day duration, with four-star hotel accommodation. Alternatively, one tour company offered a package price of £420 for eleven days or £590 for eighteen days with chalet accommodation inclusive.

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