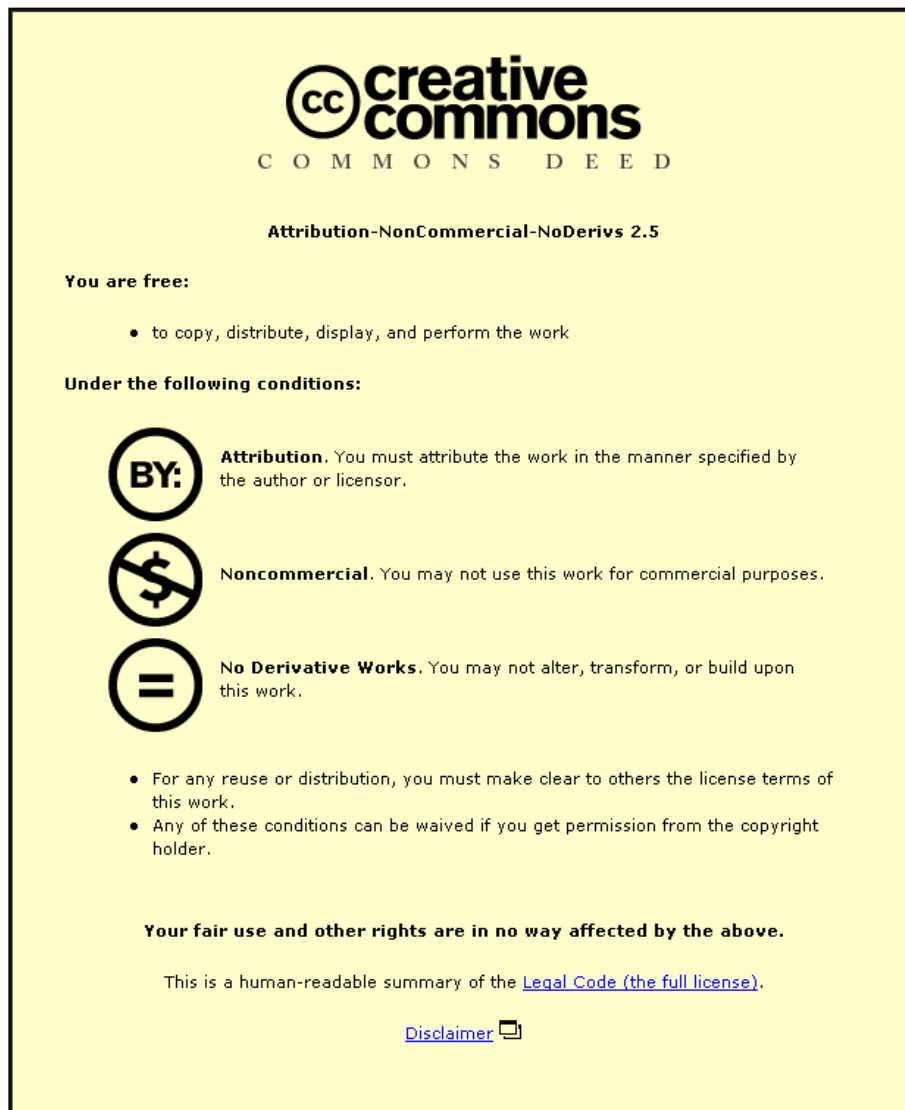


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# Back to the Future: An Ethnography of Ireland's Football Fans at the 1994 World Cup Finals in the USA<sup>1</sup>

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## Abstract

This article examines from an ethnographic perspective Irish soccer fan activities at the 1994 World Cup Finals in the United States. An introductory discussion notes the limited previous study of Irish soccer fans, and critically assesses the relationship of Irish nationalism to sport. The activities of Irish fans are then examined in relation to their siting in New York and Orlando; the minimal level of sectarian/republican politics imbuing their supporter culture; their numerical prevalence at the tournament, in the light of reported ticket scarcities; the absence of football hooliganism at USA '94; and the interaction of Irish fans with other supporter cultures, 'carnival' fans and otherwise. The relative youth of Irish soccer culture is noted, and its impact upon the limited levels of fan participation and organization at matches. However, the concluding observations point out to four areas in which Irish supporter identities display some forms of maturation: internal fan criticisms of the team's style; critical commentaries on the tournament's organization; effective instances of evading profiteering during the tournament; and, most importantly, how the soccer culture helps to promote a fresh sense of Irish identity, as beyond nation-state boundaries or territorial claims.

"I thought of my uncles and my aunts scattered through England and the States, of every generation culled and shipped off like beef on the hoof. And suddenly it seemed they had found a voice at last, that the Houghtons, the McCarthys, the Morrisses were playing for all those generations written out of history. And I knew they were playing for my children to come too, for Shane's and Mick's who would grow with foreign accents and Irish faces, bewildered by their fathers' lives." (Dermot Bolger 1990, 107)

## Introduction: Irish Culture, Fan Identity and Sport

Ireland's qualification for soccer's 1994 World Cup finals in the United States enabled the nation's third appearance at a major international tournament. The behaviour and culture of Irish supporters at the two earlier tournaments received substantial praise from football and security authorities, and Irish politicians (Hunt 1989, 5, 94; 1991; 1994; cf. O'Kelly & Blair 1992).

Leading Irish soccer journalist, Eamon Dunphy, states that during the 1988 tournament, the fans “transformed the usually grim ambience of major football championships, the familiar aura of incipient violence, in a wonderful carnival of good humour” (Independent on Sunday, 12 June 1994; cf. Corry 1994, 301). This national fan identity mirrors the hard-drinking ‘ambassadorial’ culture of support evidenced elsewhere by Scotland’s ‘Tartan Army’ (Giulianotti 1991, 1995a) and Denmark’s ‘Roligans’ (Peitersen & Holm Kristensen 1988). In contrast to these latter fans, prior sociological studies of Irish football supporters have been limited in scope and restricted in method. Ethnographies tend to have been undertaken as studies ancillary to other fan groups, such as English (Williams, Dunning & Murphy 1989; Murphy, Williams & Dunning 1990) and Scottish (Giulianotti 1991) supporters. Other researchers previewed the Irish departure to the United States with a discussion largely devoted to the separate political and cultural state of Northern Ireland (Sugden & Bairner 1994; cf. Giulianotti 1995b).

This latter field of sociological investigation is a *prima facie* legitimate one, but it does engender a rather false presentation of soccer culture within Ireland. There is no doubt that on the island of Ireland, “class and nationalism interact through sport in powerful and complex ways” (Holt 1989, 246). The ‘traditionalist’ sporting pastimes of Ireland, such as hurling and Gaelic football, are played under the auspices of the Gaelic Athletics Association (GAA), created in 1884 (Sugden & Bairner 1993, 28). Historically, the GAA has maintained a strongly nationalist and republican position, crystallizing and preserving an autonomously Irish cultural identity through sport, in opposition to British influence and control over aspects of everyday life on the island. Subsequently, the GAA continues to organise its activities on an All-Ireland (North and South) basis, despite the fact that the British Act of Parliament 1921 granted Irish independence to only 26 of the 32 Irish counties (the other 6 became ‘Northern Ireland’, remaining under British control as part of the United Kingdom).

From the GAA’s perspective, soccer is an intrinsically British and therefore colonial sport; its popularity in Ireland has lain historically in the ‘garrison towns’ of the North, in urban centres especially such as Dublin and rural pockets such as Donegal. Unlike the amateur GAA, and until only recently, soccer received little or no patronage from Irish political institutions or the Catholic church. GAA hostility to the ‘British’ sport is reflected historically in the membership bans on soccer players (lifted in 1971 (Finn 1994c, 35)) and, more systematically, on Northern Ireland security force personnel. However, soccer is immensely popular in the Republic of Ireland. This is secured not only through its essentially modern, urban and international appeal; its professional career potential on the British mainland; the exposure given it by the Irish and

British media; or the successes and glories of its major teams, in this instance the Irish national side. In contrast to the GAA, soccer in the Republic of Ireland popularly regards itself as a politically agnostic game which escapes the 'traditional' hostility to the British and the North. As the columnist Finton O'Toole notes of the international side's successes (Irish Times, 29 June 1994), "Put bluntly, the team has allowed people in the Republic to celebrate their identity without being encumbered by the dark complications of the North." Within the fan culture itself, a core supporter Mary Hunt (1989, 19) reports further disinterest in any republican politics or semiotics. When Ireland played England in Germany in 1988, her diary recalls her irritation with German press talk of a sectarian rivalry:

Whatever about the possibility of clashes between fans, no one is even thinking of the IRA<sup>2</sup> and nobody even wants them brought into it. We're here on a different mission altogether, to come out of the Championship with some credit, to score goals, not political points, and to have loads of fun.

However, this latter emphasis upon pure leisure, pleasure and recreation does require to be respecified to within an Irish context. Sportwriters and diarists following Irish supporters in the past have pointed to the role of soccer in animating 'traditional' forms of Irish gathering and social carnival, such as the engagement in the *craic agus ceol*<sup>3</sup> (meaning humorous banter) during a *sessuin*<sup>4</sup> (informal collection of individuals, usually drinking, playing music, having a laugh). Earlier research at the 1990 World Cup Finals in Italy suggested that, compared to Scottish fans, Irish supporters' approach to the *craic* was notably less exogenous and gregarious towards opposing fans and locals (Giulianotti 1991). However, among those participating in this carnivalesque, interaction is horizontal; the right to communicate and play within this 'ideal speech situation' is secured by the public display of verbal dexterity and wit. At this stage, it is important to note the good-natured *craic* is not dependent upon the successful performance of the team.

Finally, it is now a sociological truism that sport has a crucial impact upon the construction of particular senses of social identity and nationhood. Historically, sport has been utilised to germinate and interpolate specific ideologies, which seek to transcend regional, class, gender and ethnic differences - for example, soccer in Argentina (Archetti 1994), cricket in the Caribbean (Stoddart 1988), hockey in Canada (Gruneau & Whitson 1994). Invariably, the national identity which these discourses pursue involves political dynamics of exclusion, either through chauvinism or xenophobia towards 'non-nationals' or the reinforcing of internal inequalities - for example, much of English sports practice, especially in soccer (Hargreaves 1986). The media play

a further, pivotal role in constructing normative, typified images of national character through reporting of sports events and competitions (Blain, Boyle & O'Donnell 1993; O'Donnell 1994).

In this paper, I am concerned to provide an ethnographic study of the behaviour and culture of Irish fans at USA '94.<sup>5</sup> This entails discussing several major, inter-connected themes relating to Irish involvement:

- A) The allocation of the tournament to the United States, the composition of the Irish support and its internal distinctions.
- B) The low level of sectarian politics within the supporter culture.
- C) Irish fans' match attendance, the availability of tickets and tournament commercialism.
- D) The pre-tournament concern with and complete absence of football hooliganism.
- E) Irish fan interaction with other fans.

Some concluding points are then made on the longer-term significance of the tournament towards the maturation of Irish soccer culture, and its impact upon senses of Irish nationhood. The research is drawn from fieldwork with Irish supporters throughout the course of their stay in the United States, and from post-tournament interviews with journalists and core supporters in Ireland. Methodologically, this involved primarily participant observation with supporters, as enacted through talking, eating and drinking with them; observing their activities and attending fixtures and social functions with them. The very friendly persona of the supporters meant that they were a group amenable to study and social entry (cf. Giulianotti 1995c).

## **Ireland and USA '94**

### *New York and Orlando - 'Back to the Future'*

Although the US claimed 12.2-16 million soccer players (USA Today, 21 June; Williams & Giulianotti 1994) and plans (since postponed) for a new professional league, its allocation of the 1994 World Cup finals was not short of critics. Most focused on the hosts' lack of indigenous soccer culture and tradition, and evidence that only one-quarter of American citizens knew what the World Cup actually was (Hornby 1993). However, the Americans' hosting of the tournament was ostensibly good news for the Irish. The US had been the destination for an 'official' Irish migration of 4,617,485, between 1820 and 1950 (Chalasinski 1977) and 49 million Americans trace their ancestry back to the island (The Herald, 20 December 1993), suggesting a vast latent Irish support. Although they would have preferred to be based in Boston, the Irish were given

second best when located instead to New York - a city which through the Irish diaspora came to house more Irish people than Dublin (Feagin 1989, 89). Today, the local Irish populace is served by its own newspapers (Irish Echo, Irish Voice), by the multitude of Irish bars and by the New York GAA, which contains sixteen senior Gaelic Football teams, usually accommodated at Gaelic Park in the Bronx. The Irish fans and team were followed across the New York area by a multitude of Irish/Celtic entertainers who performed around the World Cup theme e.g. the Wolfe Tones, House of Pain, the Saw Doctors, Brendan Shine, Daniel O'Donnell, The Chieftains, The Fureys, and so on.

The entertainment and holiday resort of Orlando, where Ireland were also located to play, represented a logistical nightmare (3,500 km round-trip) and a cultural enigma. Whereas New York proffered a neat opportunity for reknitting the genealogical ties which Irish emigration had unravelled, any such 'Back to the Future' experience in Orlando was, for the Irish, purely associated with the fun ride at the resort's Universal Studios.

An estimated 20,000 Irish fans left their native land to support the team in the US. The majority were comprised of extended groups of friends and families whose social bonds were not dependent upon Irish participation in the Finals. For most the trip had been planned significantly in advance, enabling accommodation arrangements to be sorted out usually with friends and relatives living in districts outwith Manhattan island (e.g. especially the Bronx and Queens). In Manhattan, travelling together also signified the innate sociability of Irish cultural identity overseas; a precautionary, safety-in-numbers; and, a financially self-supporting arrangement, as those living in hotel rooms could share and fractionalise costs.

One research expectation had been that the more established and traditionalist American-Irish, as long-term migrants, would display little interest in the arriviste soccer culture. However, this did not hold at the everyday level. Fan interaction in Manhattan took place in two major public loci, the city centre and public houses. The local Irish passed comments to their visiting compatriots about their expectations of the 'Men in Green'. Sight-seeing enabled the ritual exchange of questions between locals and passing fans – "Where are you from? Have you tickets? What are the team's chances?" Informal conversations suggested that the native Ireland supporters were a "fairly polyglot lot"<sup>6</sup> hailing from all over Ireland, including noted 'Gaelic Football' country (such as Co. Kerry). Similarly, in the various pubs and at the matches themselves the numerical representation and interactive participation of Irish women was far greater relative to football supporters at home and abroad.<sup>7</sup> Moreover, in a notable departure

from most national sport media's generic tendency to distance themselves from 'opposing nations', the Irish media regularly sought out the views of Italian, Mexican, Norwegian and Dutch people living in Ireland. Indeed, following live screening of the Italy fixture, RTE's studio audience debate on the game began by inviting comments from representatives of the Italian community in Dublin – an internationalist policy of discursive inclusion that is never pursued by the British media.

The major social cleavage within the Irish support had politico-economic origins, reflected through controlled access to fixtures and desirable social spaces. Prior to the Italy match, a special charity party was organised in New York, charging \$400 a plate, attended by Irish politicians and soccer figures, the American-Irish aristocracy and the city's power elite (Irish Times, 11 June). Nine Irish ministers, including the Prime Minister (Taoiseach) and his deputy (Tánaiste), travelled to the US (six at taxpayers' expense) for a coincidental "crushingly boring series of business meetings" (Irish Times, 14 June). Apparently, all had tickets for Ireland's matches although most had been bought at personal expense.

Moreover, whereas interaction between players and supporters is relatively common at away matches, during USA '94 it was a notable rarity. Following the win against Italy, supporters enjoyed an extensive celebratory drink with leading players in downtown Orlando; they also attended in their hundreds the Irish squad's training sessions at their base in nearby Altamonte Springs. However, post-training activities for the players were increasingly consumed by formal meetings with Irish personalities and dignitaries, including the disgraced ex-Bishop of Galway, Eamonn Casey (cf. Irish Independent, 24 June). The communion between players and fans became increasingly formal, and expressed on the pitch rather than more horizontally off it.

Finally, there were situations in which differences within the support were highlighted, primarily according to biographical degree of experience. In Orlando particularly, relatively new travelling supporters backed the holiday ethos of the tournament, taking full advantage of the diversionary entertainment there, and revelling in their media coverage at Church Street Station. Veterans of the pre-1988 support were more likely to be found drinking in the bars on Church Street (having got in free of charge rather than pay \$16 admission) or in the other Irish pubs outside the square, such as Scruffy Murphy's. Many felt alienated by the excessive consumerism and lack of soccer culture within this World Cup venue. I return to the commercialism theme shortly, but before doing so it is important to clarify my earlier points on the fans' position on the GAA and the republicanism question in Irish sport.

Throughout the tournament, both old and new soccer fans professed interest in GAA sports and soccer, and an aversion to any nationalist credos attached to either pastime. In New York, the mixing of sporting codes was organisationally evident, with Gaelic Park playing host to several soccer fan parties. Conversations among the Irish regularly confirmed their playing of GAA at local and county level. This dual sporting loyalty was most perspicuously illustrated prior to the Italy match, in one Irish pub on 53 St. Two television screens at either end of the bar were studiously observed by drinkers clad in green motifs. At the far end, the USA-Switzerland match was playing towards a draw; at the door, a greater crowd was following a Gaelic Football fixture beamed live from Ireland. It was also common to see the Irish soccer fans attired in the GAA strip of their home counties.

The potential politicization of Irish soccer was signalled by the violence in Northern Ireland, where at Loughinisland six men watching the Italy match on television were indiscriminately shot dead by Loyalist terrorists. Even within the pretext of the Irish Troubles, the deaths were viewed as particularly horrific and pathological. American congressmen proposed a minute's silence at the next game against Mexico, in memory of Loughinisland, as well as twelve Mexican fans killed in a plane crash en route to the tournament. The move was opposed, successfully, by the Football Association of Ireland (FAI) inter alia, on the grounds that it would explicitly acknowledge the relationship of Irish soccer to the island's political turmoil (Irish Times, 24 June). The general media backing which this stance received represents the more permissible dimension of the FAI's general "tendency to separate the fictional 'world of sport' from reality" (whatever that may be) (Blain, Boyle & O'Donnell 1993, 48). Additionally, hard core elements within the support agreed with this rationale, and rejected the militant response of the deviant few seeking to politicize the sport. As one hard core fan noted in Orlando:

There's a bloke booked into our hotel, and he's from the North, Antrim. Somebody mentioned what had happened in Loughinisland, and he just says "We'll get the bastards back for it", you know. It made me think, this fucker's a Linfield supporter, you know. He's not for real. He's everything that I dislike, prejudiced, small-minded. Most people in Ireland wish the thing in the North would just go away, you know; they don't want to know. It's an aberration. The last thing they want is to turn into something they hate because of it. (John, London)

A more complex scenario was to be found at evening pub sessuins, where some more nationalist fans from the North regularly encouraged musicians to play republican standards. Although



such 'rebel songs' are common and ritualised features of these sessions, the requests were infrequently complied with, to the observation, "You'll be getting us into trouble".

Audience participation in singing these themes was far more limited than with more regular, neutral alternatives. It was certainly nowhere near as instrumental in its sectarianism as the unreported activities of a group of two dozen fans from Northern Ireland, supporters of the Loyalist and for a time exclusively Protestant club, Linfield (Finn 1994a & c). Having obtained World Cup tickets from a national football authority, they had proceeded to the United States with the purpose of supporting every side that the Republic of Ireland played. For these supporters apparently, the Holland fixture in Orlando carried a convoluted historical symbolism, to their revered King Billy and "Orangeism",<sup>8</sup> an interpretation which was incomprehensible to Irish and Dutch fans alike. Only after the Holland fixture did the Irish become generally aware of these stylised 'others' and their *raison d'être* in Orlando, as they rarely ventured into the downtown areas. Moreover, in contrast to previous tournament hosts, the local media were completely disinterested in inventing a 'sectarian' theme for the Irish team.

#### *Irish Fan Attendance: Ticket Availability and Commercialism*

It was subsequently calculated that the Irish had spent £13.7 million simply to get to the tournament (Irish Times, 9 July). Irish fan representation was determined far more by ticket availability than variable degrees of interest. The FAI received only 3,325 tickets for each first round match, and distributed these primarily through travel agents offering expensive package excursions: 8,000 fans paid £1,500 each for a three-match package, and 2,000 fans paid £800-900 for the second round excursion (Irish Times, 9 July); these figures still ignore fans who paid the latter sum to attend two of the first round fixtures. Those travelling with match tickets, where not obtained through package excursions, had usually acquired them through work with one of the tournament sponsors, contacts inside Irish soccer organisations, or winning one of a multiplicity of World Cup raffles and lotteries in Ireland.

Yet the representativeness of these figures fluctuated wildly before, during and after the fixtures. At the first match in Giants Stadium (capacity 75,338), the Irish showed the irrelevance of these figures, outnumbering Italian fans by at least an astonishing four to one. Ticket-touts (whether informal/illegal 'scalpers' or professional/legal 'agents') were the key promoters of this imbalance, but the background to it is rather more complex. Two days before the match, the street price of tickets fell by one third, from \$375 to \$250 each, within the space of two hours.

The Irish, American and British media continued to exaggerate prices, insisting they were breaking \$1000 (Irish Independent, 16 June) and then \$2000 (The Times, 18 June). One fan, ironically at the tournament “on a freebie”, had detected an unholy alliance between the Irish press and local bar owners and touts:

I saw them all in the hotel bar last night, and told them exactly where to go. They’ve been hyping the stories all week about the prices, but they’ve been going down, not rising. The tickets are all in the hands of the bar owners, and they’re using the press to get the best price; they must be gettin’ free gargle for writin’ that rubbish. (Patsy, Dublin)

Although some Irish fans were making excellent money as touts, Italian fans, English touts and local publicans were the heaviest market players. The restraint demonstrated by some Irish supporters in the face of brazen exploitation was commendable, given that the mugging of touts is not unknown for prestige fixtures (Giulianotti 1991).

There was an English tout came in here last night checking out the value of his tickets. We don’t have tickets ourselves, but we weren’t interested in getting involved in some fuckin’ auction over them. But still he asks us, “How much would you pay for these?” I told him, “I wouldn’t go over about \$200.” That’s all I’ve got enough for if I’m gonna stay over, like, you know. He just said to us, “Dream On”, and walked up the bar and out the door. (Sean, Co. Meath)

Many such fans simply abandoned hope of affording tickets, and opted to stay in pubs to watch the game. Hence, outside Giants Stadium, two local scalpers equipped with megaphone found no takers among the Irish. When challenged by officials, they claimed to be selling ‘packages’ and were thus covered in law.

On their first stay in Orlando, Ireland were visibly in the minority; over 40,000 Dutch fans took advantage of a sequence of games scheduled there, staying in the customised ‘Dutch village’ organised by Dutch businessmen in the Orange County. Tournament hosts expected Mexico to draw 15,000, and Ireland between 8,500 and 10,000 natives (and over twice that in Irish-Americans) (Irish Times, 24 June). The Belgian supporters made up no more than 10,000 even at the matches.

Ticket availability for the Mexico match was relatively good, and black market prices fell from \$200-300 to \$100-175 a day before the fixture. FIFA’s largesse in distributing complimentary tickets to the tournament’s corporate sponsors was undoubtedly behind this drop in prices. Most ‘scalpers’ had received these tickets free of charge, and were thus trading within an absolute profit margin. Again, other scalpers included white, working-class Englishmen, particularly a group from

Manchester. En route to the game, the touts were scattered at regular intervals on the ground's bordering roads. Tickets for other Orlando fixtures, particularly the Holland v Morocco and second round match, were available at the same flat rate.

Although beaten 2-1 by Mexico, Irish fans returning to New York were hardly disheartened. Many were looking beyond the Norway match, to stay on for the second phase. However, doing so meant almost certainly missing the chartered flights home, and paying extra to travel back. Wiring home for money was a common response; by the time of the Norway match day, the Bank of Ireland alone had supplied the impecunious with a further £100,000 to meet the excessive costs of the United States (Irish Independent, 28 June). For ticketless Irish in New York, availability was relatively strong but had none of the symbolic appeal of the initial Italy fixture. The game had failed to attract live coverage from ESPN, and so the bijou Irish Pub on 53 St was charging \$20 admission to see specially arranged cable television coverage.

Approximately 12,000 Norwegian fans were at Giants Stadium, scattered into enclaves around the ground, with a high (possibly 50%) proportion of female fans reflecting the women's side's second place at the World Championships three years ago. Over 50,000 Irish fans were present and swamped their opponents numerically; outside, however, the evidence pointed to this being the maxima of fan representation, with tickets selling for as little as \$100 each.

Having secured qualification, the Irish returned to Orlando to play the Dutch and their expected huge support. Tickets, it seemed, would be at a premium, and again the processes of disinformation were set in motion. Orlando's ticket entertainment booths dispensed conflicting advice on availability, by offering prices of \$125-225 being "sold-out", or replying "look in tomorrow." Even staff at the official World Cup Accommodation Bureau scented a sideline profit, with their own blackmarket prices at \$175 around double the ticket's face value. FIFA released a trickle of tickets three days before the game, but by match-day the absence of many expected Dutch and Irish fans secured availability to all interested match-goers. Indeed Irish travel agents struggled to acquire aircraft rather than tickets for fans seeking to fly out on packages selling from £800 upwards (Irish Independent, 29/30 June). An estimated 2,000 additional fans were set to arrive, amidst tabloid stories of houses and cars being sold to raise finance (Irish Press, 1 July). Ticket touts were seeking the standard \$100-150 per seat; the majority were sold by white, middle-class Americans, many arriving on bicycle, satisfied with the near face value street price for their free corporate gifts. By kick-off time, however, the scalpers were accepting below face-value offers, and struggling to make sales.

This came too late for those initially alarmed by ticket scarcity, and who'd purchased directly from profiteering Irish bar owners. One Irish publican on International Drive was notorious amongst his staff (paid \$2 an hour) for his "offer" of tickets at \$200 minimum, and \$300 for the matches against Mexico and Italy. The same individual had the audacity to appear on local news declaring that he was gaining four times his normal turnover ("everybody's just having a good time").

The bonhomie of the Irish support was further tested by the exploitative machinations of travel agents and tournament organisers. 389 fans were the victims of extortion by a London-based travel company; on arrival in Orlando, they found their courier had absconded without meeting his financial obligations. The intervention of the Irish Consulate in Boston secured tickets, accommodation and flights for 70 fans; the remainder were also furnished eventually with the same, under the guise of redeemable 'loans'. Pace the tenor of local media coverage, for some Irish fans there was no 'feel good' factor, just a return to old exploitation of the Irish trust in people, as Iain from Kilkenny/the Bronx explains:

They're very friendly and generous supporters the Irish; they trust people implicitly in everything; they're very happy-go-lucky. But they're also very naive. And because of that, they get ripped off more than anyone else. They don't worry about money, or what it costs; if you want something, you put your money where it's at, and some people take advantage of that.

It was evident, on entering the second phase, that many Irish fans had expected an alternative to going home, as their travel agents had stated. However, those wishing to stay discovered that if they did so, the courier's assistance and services would be withdrawn: contrary to the general Irish fan ethos of helping those in need of tickets, accommodation and transport. Although the travel agents would indeed be putting together further packages, these would typically be charged for an initial, additional flight from Ireland. For one group in particular, this smacked of rank profiteering and betrayal:

I saw him (the travel agent), after the draw was made, on television, saying that if you wanted to stay on for the second round, he'd make all the arrangements. Now he's away to fuckin' Boston gettin' tickets from the FAI, for his package deals going out of Dublin. I don't blame him for coverin' his arse with the hotels and that; a lot of people have got family out here, but he needs to cover his costs on the charters (flights). But if he says something one time and changes things the next, you can't trust the man on that again, you know. (Alan, Co. Cork)

More everyday forms of extortion during the finals included the raising of hotel room prices in New York and Orlando for the football supporters; and such 'World Cup events' as the abysmal \$80 'gourmet buffet' in Orlando, which over 2,000 Irish fans attended, with live Irish entertainers and a two hour free bar; and the \$16 evening entry fee to the party at Church Street Station in Orlando. Irish businesses also swooped on the marketing potential of the tournament. Players, manager Jack Charlton and the FAI were locked into a profitable matrix of product endorsements which were, on occasion, competing ones. 'Gifts' were distributed to the supporters for their televisual display during matches. Thus, white t-shirts or inflatable green shamrocks and hands bearing the Aer Lingus or Irish Tourist Board crests were in great prominence throughout the tournament. In contrast, the 'cushions' distributed by Guinness (in the shape of a brimming pint-glass) were barred from World Cup stadia, on the grounds that the Irish drinks giant was not an official tournament sponsor.

These experiences of the tournament's commercialization served to confirm prior concerns with its allocation. However, USA '94 did represent little departure from previous tournaments, on the matter of poor ticket distribution and availability (cf. Murphy, Williams & Dunning 1990; Williams 1991). FIFA still requires to curtail de facto the legal and illegal 'touting' of tickets through profiteering intermediaries. Apportioning a greater share of match tickets to those national associations with a vested interest in fixtures would help reduce the chaotic dispersal of tickets. It also helps to cement further a positive rapport between visiting fans, their hosts and local police officials. Before turning to explore the nature of Irish fan interaction with others, I wish to discuss the apparently problematic aspects of supporter sociation and in particular the failure of football hooliganism to arrive in the United States.

### *The Absence of Fan Violence*

Pre-tournament concerns had focused on the lack of US police experience in handling football hooliganism (Lewis 1992). Police chiefs had warned of a "get tough" strategy, through the use of the 'chemical agents' tear-gas, Mace and 'Catscan' (a red pepper spray) (The Independent, 14 October 1993). They greeted England's failure to qualify with disinterest, and wisely ignored the British National Criminal Intelligence Service's spurious claims that English hooligans still planned to travel to the US to link up with German and Dutch hooligans (The Guardian, 20 May 1994). Only six West European qualifiers (not including Ireland) were asked to submit hooligan 'blacklists' to US immigration officials.<sup>9</sup> This was in part response to the fears of the Belgian government over the likelihood of hooliganism at their matches in Orlando against Holland and

Morocco (The Herald, 14 February 1994). However, Belgium's matches proved to be hooligan non-events, largely due to rituals of friendliness and fraternity at the first, and the virtual absence of opposing fans at the second.

The gregariousness and short biography of mass Irish international fandom mean that there are no cultural or historical preconditions for disorder and hooliganism. As Mary Hunt explains, for situations in which 'affect' threatens to breach the atmosphere, a vocabulary of self-policing takes precedence:

If you ever get someone getting loud or, you know, being aggressive about it, there's always a group of people there to say, 'Hey, Come on, forget about it' or 'Come on, we're leaving', that sort of thing.

Irish press reports did note the passage of Gardai (Irish police) to the US, in order to identify troublemakers, but added they "will also carry the important message that the Irish are fun-loving fans who are unlikely to cause any headaches for the American authorities" (Irish Independent, 16 June).

Subtle differences were clear in the respective receptions of Irish fans by New York and Orlando police. In New York, the primary concern was with the likelihood of Irish fans being the victims of high indigenous crime (murders at an annual rate of 2,000, robberies at 1,600 each week - The Guardian, 7 April). The city's ecology of fear undoubtedly undermined the public festivals which the World Cup promotes by privatising it. Routine activities in football fan carnival - alfresco drinking, persistent and positive interaction with locals, dominating central public spaces en masse, wandering into unknown locales - were effectively closed off to the Irish by New York's geographical scale and the culture of fear surrounding its criminal component. Inebriated supporters crawling between Manhattan's bars were regularly bundled into taxis by helpful doormen.<sup>10</sup> Subsequently, inside Irish pubs, fans were often left to relive the excitement of the game by viewing television reruns, than in giving vocal backing to the session underway. The arrival of Italian television (RAI) cameras in one pub brought the strongest cheer and singing of the night.

The Italy fixture involved no disorder or aggressive tension. This was partially due to the oppressive heat, but also to the fact no Italian ultras (militant fans) made the trip.<sup>11</sup> As with other ultras in Southern Europe (Spain, Portugal or France) intense local chauvinisms ensure they do not travel to follow the national side (cf. Dal Lago & De Biasi 1994; Roversi 1992). Instead, the azzurri comprised several generations of the immigrant community and the Italian bourgeoisie.

For the New York press, Ireland-Italy carried strongly localist inflections, with reports of immigrant areas in intense rivalry: “It’s Not Just Ireland-Italy, It’s Norwood-Belmont : a World Cup match puts the ethnic pride of 2 Bronx neighbourhoods up for grabs” (New York Times, 18 June). With humidity pushing temperatures to around 106°F, the “cool zones” emitting iced air and water, were more popular with many than the beer dispensers. Subsequently, the “disaster services” offering first-aid proved busier than the police, with expectations of treating over forty fans per game (The Times, 20 June). The one instance of disorder involved the New Jersey police response to a good-natured pitch invasion by three Irish fans. With victory sealed at the game’s end, they ran through the police cordon to embrace players, but were quickly rugby-tackled and manhandled away to a chorus of jeers and catcalls from their appalled compatriots. Irish manager Jack Charlton intervened to ask police to “Go easy on them”. The genuine fan excesses were confined to the more ‘private’ spaces within Ireland where, for example, twenty-two fans were arrested for disorderly conduct in Cork (Irish Times, 20 June).

In Orlando, by contrast, Sheriff Kevin Beary articulated more profound historical prejudices, in presaging the visitors’ likelihood of perpetrating crimes, notably “the tendency of Irish supporters to get into brawls”. His men were placed on full alert, and given an armoured personnel carrier specially for the tournament (The Herald, 29 December 1993). Though his comments were effectively discredited by Orlando Mayor Glenda Hood, Beary certainly recapitulated the older Anglo-American racial typology of the Neanderthal, ‘Fighting Paddy’ (Curtis 1971; De Paor 1986, 182). Rekindling the collective memory of Anglo-Saxon prejudices, one or two fans had been vociferous about their patronising treatment by New York’s ‘service sector’ employees in bars and delis. Instances of actual aggression, however, were limited to spurious hearsay. In both cities, Beary’s earlier ruminations on hooliganism remained unfounded.

Following the Mexico fixture, local police reported informally that no major ‘incidents’ had taken place, either during or after the match; indeed, at the following day’s fixture between Belgium and Holland, their wary demeanour perceptively softened, indicating that the Irish fans’ friendliness had undermined their caution. However, several Irish fans themselves admitted that they had expected the post-match rituals to have been less sporting, should the Mexicans have lost and been eliminated. In reality, the only sources of tension involved Mexican fans dropping a metal crate from an upper tier onto fans below, and cheating queues for refreshments. The Mexicans also threatened to boo the Irish national anthem before being pacified.

At that fixture, Orlando police did make their first soccer-related arrests and deportations: two Englishmen, guilty of selling World Cup merchandise illegally. Although this was not an unpopular intervention, its hypocrisy was noteworthy. Several groups of Irish fans had been openly selling fake Ireland soccer tops, and other soccer paraphernalia on which sales tax was not being levied. Moreover, Orlando police had explained their inactivity when previously confronted by scalpers with the disingenuous justification that such transactions were normal and accepted in Europe.

On their return to Orlando for the Holland match, Irish fans found that their prior bon homie, in tandem with other fans, had had a profound but indirect effect upon the local populace. Support was growing for the financing of a greater police force in downtown Orlando in the tournament's aftermath:

One thing that really surprised the police was that the number of single assaults actually went down after the World Cup started...Remember, single assaults are simple things like bar room fights, little shoving matches after sporting events. With over 100 officers downtown, the fights have been few. Some locals feel so safe, they'd like to see extra officers after the World Cup. (CBS-WCPX, 1 July)

For the police, this entailed a partial refocusing of crime prevention away from the visitors and onto the local black underclass. Informal apartheid was maintained, as interaction with locals outside Church Street was monitored and discouraged by the omnipresent police pairings.

The Orlando police chief afforded no criticisms on the expected hooligan onslaught, remarking that no arrests had been made inside stadia, "And it's not because we were looking the other way" (The Times, 1 July).<sup>12</sup> Meanwhile, football's globalisation again ensured that the Holland-Ireland match attracted only celebration rioting in Holland, with 50 fans arrested after vandalism in the Hague.<sup>13</sup>

#### *Irish Fan Interaction with Others*

The interactional atmosphere between Irish supporters in the host spaces of pubs particularly reflected key themes of conscious sportsmanship in the construction and expression of a national identity through sport. Unlike most established forms of fandom, there were no 'ceremonies of degradation' in which the collective's 'other' is rendered profane through songs, chants or single epithets (Marsh, Rosser & Harr6 1978; Dal Lago 1990; van der Brug 1990). Although the real and symbolic making of Irish soccer success lay in the 1988 defeat of



England, no wider republican significance is sought from it. Dave, a small businessman from Dundalk, explained his view of the Irish support, as eschewing such hostility. Unlike the Scots, international identity is not dependent upon contrasting this sporting national identity with antithetical English fans: "We don't give anyone a hard time, because we know ourselves what it's like to be in that position." Subsequently, Irish fans are less self-conscious in the sporting arts of impression management; there is little deliberation about exactly how their colourful, raucous and unaggressive personae is interpreted by others. Thus, for example, after victories over the Italians and Norwegians there were few rituals of sportsmanship (exchanging attire, commiserating handshakes, reciprocal 'best wishes') with opposing fans. (En route to the Italy match, there had been some internal individual craic about "wops" and predicted injuries to Roberto Baggio. But these "insults" were essentially ritualised, their humour being more a gentle parody of Irish sportsmanship than an expression of innate xenophobia.) Subsequently, defeats by the Mexicans and Dutch saw the Irish interacting with their conquerors well, but left them clearly deflated for the post-match festivities. Following the final fixture, the longer the evening wore on the more the victorious Dutch came to dominate; their behaviour could have been interpreted as regularly on the disorderly side of 'boisterous', with several groups throwing large quantities of alcohol into the air or at each other, showering friends and strangers alike. While the Dutch revelled in the centre of Church Street, dancing to Eurotrash disco and revering the members of their Royal Family in attendance, the Irish were in more sombre and reflective mood, drinking and talking inside local theme Irish pubs.

Positive interaction with Norwegian and Dutch fans was most common for the Irish. In carnival vogue, the Norwegian Drillos<sup>14</sup> were typically equipped with Viking helmets, red and blue-cross face paint, and clanking cowbells (USA Today, 20 June). Like their North European cohorts, the Dutch Oranji (van der Brug 1994) and the Danish Roligans (Peitersen 1990), the Drillos are known for their more equal gender distribution; heavy drinking before and after matches; outlandish attire, usually in the form of 'traditional' dress; and, gregarious and boisterous behaviour which has no violent component (Flogstad 1994). The Norwegians' affinity to the Irish carnivalesque was remarked upon by one tabloid report, which witnessed the Nordic "invasion" of Rosie O'Grady's bar in central Manhattan: "There was no doubt about it, in full flight they can sing even louder than the Irish, drink at least as much beer while maintaining both craic and sobriety, and they are almost as colourful" (Irish Press, 28 June).

The Dutch supporters proved equally colourful, gregarious and intoxicated, though their form of fan carnival was certainly more deliberate and professional. In Orlando, a giant orange flag of

goodwill carrying 20,000 signatures, donated to the Dutch team by the local university, was stretched across the tarmac outside their fans' main stadium gate. As well as putting on bills of entertainment at the Dutch village, the Dutch fans also distributed a sixteen-page booklet, "Oranje Songs", containing the lyrics to such football anthems as "Ole, Ole, Ole, Ole, We Are the Champions" and "Hup Holland Hup".

For their part, Irish fans were clad in a multitude of soccer motifs; the prosaic social distinctions of gender, class and native homeland (Ireland, United States or anywhere else), were effectively collapsed through the adornment of face paint, replica team shirts, t-shirts, baseball hats, flags, and the odd incongruous scarf. The opportunities for self-reinvention afforded by this 'carnival' occasion were further illustrated by one supporter, "Superfan", kitted in green Superman attire, black sunglasses, and the green tiara worn by the Statue of Liberty. As with previous football tournaments, there were clear limits to the extent of informal carnival, in which the participants took full control of proceedings (Giulianotti 1991, 1995a). Free entertainment was a phantasm. Orlando's television networks talked up the possibility of a collective post-game party, with the claim that Irish rock group U2 were to play in the Dutch village. The band failed to turn up, as did most Irish supporters wise to the unlikelihood. The only occasion when Irish supporters genuinely took charge of the festivities was during the opening ceremony to the matches in New Jersey's Giants Stadium. Following a routine display of field choreography and spectacle, Lisa Minnelli prepared to perform an opening song before the teams came out. Crowd anticipation turned to some consternation, due to the terrible acoustics and choice of unknown song. As it continued, Irish supporters initiated chants, and then drowned out the singing with Mexican Waves. The spontaneous ceremonies in the stands continued to dominate, making a mockery of the 'rousing climax' which Minnelli sought to communicate to television viewers from the pitch.

Though numbering between 30-50,000 at each match, Irish supporter activities during play was relatively muted. In contradistinction to the proactive mentalite of contemporary fandom (Finn 1994b), Irish supporters' collective expressions were largely reactive to events on the field of play. Only during the national anthem did the fans obtain the kind of over-powering audibility which social psychologists term 'critical density' (Marsh 1978). The fans' singing tended to occur in response to passages of play in which their team held the upper-hand, but were limited to "Ireland, Ireland", "Come on You Boys in Green" and "You'll Never Beat the Irish". There was no airing of songs more attuned to the generalities of Irish culture, as heard in bars later that night; songs such as "The Fields of Athenry", which had become a standard with Glasgow Celtic supporters in Scotland that season, or "The Wild Rover", or "Dublin in the Rare Auld Times".

Perhaps the simplification was best illustrated towards the end of the tense Norway match. At this point, the support had stripped all embellishments from possible football chants, with the dominant sound being a beating of bhodrans to the chant "Ireland, Ireland". The curtailed repertoire contrasted markedly with the range of Irish songs transmitted at the 1988 European Championships, and provides further evidence of the transformation of Ireland's support since then, from football fanatics to football fan tourists (Hunt 1989).

Events in the stands at the concluding fixture encapsulated three major differences between the Irish support and other nationals. These related to the comparatively short genealogy linking Ireland to major football finals; the metaphorical rather than figurative sense in which the Irish have 'taken' to soccer; and the realization within the support of their proactive role during key matches. Firstly rival Dutch fans reflected their greater World Cup experience in organising the ground entry of a Ragtime band, which went on to dominate the vocal battle between the two sides, providing apposite musical comment on the Dutch view of the game. Secondly, the pre-match singing and playing was dominated by the small group of Colombian fans' chanting in memory of Pablo Escobar, murdered by gunmen after returning to his native land, on the pretext of his own goal against the United States. Although ex-Ireland players had spoken on RTE, after the Norway game, of the country now having a 'soccer fever', it was nowhere near the level at which it clouded rational judgement and led to violent incidents. Thirdly, it was only after Holland had taken an insuperable two-nil lead that the Irish fans, for the first time since the Mexico fixture, found a truly invigorating sound in the face of adversity. Occasionally, this tended to be dissipated by the change of target, from encouraging the Irish team to barracking the negative tactics of the Dutch. In the final ten minutes, a valedictory chant of "Come On You Boys in Green" rang out, as the game headed inexorably towards defeat.

Moreover, the defiance of defeat - the refusal to allow it to affect the supporters' collective spirit - is a common feature of the most gregarious, carnival fan groups (Giulianotti 1991, 1994). At the end of the Dutch fixture, and although some injustice may reasonably have been found in the perfunctory refereeing of the match, the majority of Irish fans elected to stay in the ground, to pay tribute to their beaten side and to show the permanence of their affection. As RTE's Jimmy Magee stated, "not for them loping away hanging dejected heads". Some chants rang out for the manager and players; but the entertainment concluded with the congratulations of the Orlando organisers for the fans' strong and friendly support.

Therefore, to summarize this section, it is evident that similarities and overlaps exist between the carnival culture of Irish fans with the Dutch and Norwegians. In the case of the Oranji particularly, greater experience of football attendance has resulted in a heightened collective reflexivity, and the exercising of organizational control. The capacity to perform on the stands and off them as supporters, in relative autonomy to the game itself, is central to modern fan culture. This is something which the Irish certainly moved towards in the context of the final match. Although they consistently showed a very limited repertoire of chants, their display of evident spirit at the end to a disappointing match pushes the Irish towards the category of 'faithful', hard core football fans. And it is on the question of the development of Irish soccer culture, in the light of USA '94, that I wish to offer some concluding observations.

#### *Towards a Fresh Soccer and 'National' Identity*

It could be argued that there were four major areas in which the Irish support evolved a more mature fan persona during USA '94. These related to the internal relationships with team and managers; their publicly critical commentaries on the tournament and football association; their inversion of the exploitative intention of tournament businesses and ticket touts; and finally their development of a fresh sense of national identity through soccer.

Firstly, the one truly unifying factor, of fans, most media pundits and political or football authorities, is the team and its architect, the manager Jack Charlton.<sup>15</sup> Charlton's appreciation of his popularity in Ireland is genuine and reciprocal. Frequently he has observed that, in the end, he will resign rather than be sacked, to avoid extending Irish displeasure. Immediately prior to USA '94, he sought to dampen down Irish euphoria at victories in friendlies over Germany and Holland, declaring that it was "daft" to talk of winning the tournament itself (The Guardian, 31 May). Yet 7,000 Irish supporters still blocked roads in midweek to see off the team to the Finals (The Guardian, 7 June).

Nevertheless, the relatively tame exit of the Irish, compared to their rousing departure from Italia '90, left the manager, players and political figures in a state of uncertainty regarding the appropriate nature of their homecoming. It was immediately reported that the team would be given a state reception in Phoenix Park on their return to Dublin, with estimates of half a million in attendance (Irish Times, 5 July) - an arrangement planned long before Ireland's exit (Irish Independent, 30 June). However, according to Charlton, he and the team had not been informed of the gathering until two days before, meaning that the reception was thrown into jeopardy, with the temporary stage being dismantled a day later (Irish Press, 6 June). The eventual

gathering, reinstated following political intervention and an alleged “swelling of public opinion” in its favour, was significantly downbeat. Rival estimates place the attendance at between 50-100,000 (USA Today, Irish Independent, 8 July).

More meaningfully, some columnists and core fans interviewed during follow up research complained strongly that the “Party in the Park” was excessive, and lacked spontaneity and reciprocal engagement on the manager’s part (Irish Press, 7 July; Irish Independent, 8 July). Moreover, some Irish media pundits began to raise heretical questions about Charlton’s durability. The manager’s familiar *bête noire*, Eamon Dunphy, had described him as a “false god” now undermined by soccer’s expressive “new romantics” (particularly Brazil) (Independent on Sunday, 17 July). But during and after the Dutch match, a restrained critique of Charlton had been expressed by formerly supportive television pundits, particularly with regard to his overly cautious tactics (RTE, 4 July; Irish Times, 5 July). This translated into a full-scale appraisal of Charlton’s future as manager, with at least one leading pundit openly forwarding the case for ‘upstairs’ retirement (Irish Press, 6 July). According to other sources closer to the FAI and Charlton himself, there was never any serious question of his departure in these circumstances.<sup>16</sup> But the incipient, constructive criticisms of the team and its tactics do point to the exercise of a more assertive and committed association of the Irish with the national soccer team. It may well have been later reflected in the circumstances surrounding Charlton’s eventual departure as Irish manager in December 1995. It had been expected that his retiral would immediately follow Ireland’s defeat in the play-off qualifier for Euro ’96. Yet Charlton’s reluctance to confirm the seemingly inevitable led to the FAI ‘nudging’ him towards this decision, with a view towards securing a new manager and perhaps a new footballing style.

Secondly, the tournament’s organisation and expense attracted some explicit, symbolic criticisms from Irish fans. At the Norway fixture some hard core fans wore black patches across the FAI logos on their strips, in protest at failing to be given tickets after having followed the national team home and away for over a decade. Some were also aware of the unsubstantiated rumours suggesting the FAI had sold tickets to Dutch fans in Orlando, simply to clear their stocks. Other fans in Giants Stadium, stung by prices in the United States, simply unveiled banners publicly disclosing their lack of funds. The consistent inklings of dissatisfaction with FAI amongst the otherwise willfully optimistic Irish fans suggests that it may minimally reconsider its ticket distribution policies. Rather than simply devolve ticket allocation to package tour operators on an ‘ability to pay’ basis, the FAI might consider the creation of a travel club to reward the most established supporters.

Thirdly, Irish fans' evasion of World Cup profiteering was most evident in downtown Orlando. Many fans successfully bluffed their way back into Church Street Station without paying admission. Additionally, prior to the Holland fixture, the old hard core supporters found to their pleasant surprise, that fresh Irish fans were beginning to turn the 'scalpers' pursuit of the market to an advantage:

I was very impressed with some of the Irish today, down in Church Street. You should have seen them, they were real smart. The touts would come in about you and ask about prices. The Irish would surround the lad and share a bit of craic with him and start talking prices until the cops came past. Then you start making a bit of noise and arguing, so the cops come in, and the tout has to sell his tickets at the face value. Very nice. (Henry James, Dublin)

Fourthly, and most importantly, there are the general effects of the tournament upon Irish society. These relate not only to the economic and industrial benefits or costs, of a 'feel-good' factor promoting productivity turning to absenteeism during the homecoming (Irish Press, 30 June; Irish Independent, 7 July). The European reporter Paddy Agnew informed his American readership that, for the Irish, the World Cup's function was dichotomous: it served as a "magical elixir, a way to forget about the pressing problems of a small economy where 18-20 % unemployment has prompted the return of the phenomenon of mass emigration amongst young people." It also reminded the Irish of how "sport can sometimes help heal old wounds", with Charlton's popularity a symbol of such conciliation between Ireland and the British ('94 Cup Daily, 10 July).

And this personification introduces undoubtedly the most important post tournament issue for the Irish: the team's function in confirming a new Irish identity. In her speech at the homecoming, and reflecting a key tenet of her Presidency, Mary Robinson asserted that she and the team represented "the modern Ireland", of Irish natives and the children of the diaspora alike. Robinson's insight into this *prima facie* belated soccer fanaticism is culturally perceptive rather than self-aggrandizing. Ireland's modern fixation with soccer now provides the social catalyst for an explicitly political acknowledgement of the diaspora's magnitude, as no longer a traditional source of shame. It also confirms an essentially post-modern definition of national identity. By this, I mean that 'Irishness' is not boundaried within a modern nation state, whether in its real existence or the aspiration that it will. Questions of territoriality are palpably eschewed, either politically (towards the North) or logistically (in the identification of 'Irish' players). Soccer now enables the Irish to be represented in sport on the international stage, as the essentially transient imagined community that the historic necessity of immigration procures. The 'post-

modern' qualities of Irish soccer culture are further reflected in the fact that this popular cultural form is so significant in promoting and cementing a fresh sense of (post)national identity. Through selecting players whose Irishness is obfuscated by the diaspora's effects, the Irish also surpass the modern international soccer identities dividing Europe's North ('the community of blood') from the South ('the community of soil') (Bromberger 1994). The Irish do not select players on the bases of national 'purity' or territorial loyalty. As an essentially transnational entity, Irish soccer presents a clear challenge to the modern football masters, and a post-modern scenario in which the team may travel to a new continent and find the wealth of its attendant supporters not requiring to leave 'home' to back it.

## Notes

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<sup>2</sup> IRA stands for Irish Republican Army, the republican paramilitary movement opposed to British control in Northern Ireland.

<sup>3</sup> This term is usually abbreviated to craic (pronounced 'crack'). The term has passed into common parlance in Great Britain, and is applied largely according to the Irish meaning.

<sup>4</sup> Pronounced as 'session', the Irish meaning of this term has also been borrowed for Great Britain.

<sup>5</sup> Ireland played four matches at the tournament, beating Italy (1-0 New York/New Jersey, 18 June), losing to Mexico (1-2, Orlando, 24 June), drawing with Norway (0-0, New York/New Jersey, 18 June), and losing to Holland (0-2, Orlando, 4 July).

<sup>6</sup> This is the term used by Eamon Dunphy during an interview with him on Irish soccer culture.

<sup>7</sup> Most surveys of English and Scottish fans put female representation at approximately 10- 15% (cf. Giulianotti 1992; SNCCFR 1990; Williams 1991). By contrast, Irish press coverage of the tournament was regularly reliant on female reporters' interpretations, and carried a sizeable proportion of photographs and profiles of female supporters in Ireland and the United States. The tone was set by the Irish Times' World Cup guide (24 May), devoting coverage of Irish fans to the "Women on the march in Jack's army".

<sup>8</sup> William of Orange was the protestant Dutch monarch invited by the British parliament in the late 17th century to take the throne from the Catholic King James VII. After winning several battles against James's Irish armies, notably in Northern Ireland, the accession was confirmed and William's place in Northern Irish protestant mythology confirmed.

<sup>9</sup> The nations were Germany, Spain, Italy, Belgium, Holland and Greece.

<sup>10</sup> Having regularly found myself within groups of Irish fans, I would join them on these taxi sojourns to other social venues. Alternatively, when research in one location became stale, buses or taxis to other locales were again a valuable means of mobility, ensuring safety from any indigenous crime.

<sup>11</sup> In any case, this is not to say that the display-orientated ultras would not have formed a positive spectator rapport with the Irish.

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<sup>12</sup> Nor were the police slow to congratulate themselves; having expected serious fan disorder and witnessed none, the local police chief elected to award each of his officers with a ribbon for meritorious conduct (Orlando Sentinel, 5 July).

<sup>13</sup> This followed the Mexican fans' rioting in California; the mass protests and disturbances in Bangladesh, upon the tournament expulsion of Diego Maradona for substance abuse; and, further wild celebrations in Madrid, which led to the vandalism of the city's 212-yearold landmark statue. The tournament itself, by 5 July, had attracted only 312 arrests from over 2 million spectators, the majority for 'scalping' (Orlando Sentinel, 5 July). Twelve arrests had been made for drunkenness (The Independent, 5 July).

<sup>14</sup> Norway's players and supporters alike are known as Drillos, through the inspiration of the eponymous manager Egil Roger Drillo Olsen.

<sup>15</sup> A poll of people in Ireland for Dublin's Sunday Press (26 December 1993) found Jack Charlton to be the most popular man in Ireland, with 38 % of the sample.

<sup>16</sup> From interviews with Joe Delaney and Mary Hunt.

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