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Contents

PREFACE

This book covers key areas of Arts and Social Studies. The contributions by the authors include Intersectionality, auto ethnography, judgment, identity, privilege, Ecotourism, tourism, livelihood, effect of precession of the earth's axis, tropical calendar, Water weathering, self-esteem, subjective wellbeing, individualism-collectivism, homeostatic model, subjective wellbeing, G.I. Bill, reintegration, social rehabilitation, social measures, Academic disciplines, e-learning, learning styles, objective learning, pedagogical efficacy, self-reported learning, Australian rules football, football hooliganism, illusion of violence, neo-tribes, perth history, sports history, western Australian football, western Australian history, job security, social simulation, customer workers recognition and appreciation, Corporate social responsibility, and Scottish football. This book contains various materials suitable for students, researchers and academicians in the field of Arts and Social Studies.

Nuances of Intersectionality and their Impact on Inclusion and Support for Black Women

Wendy Ashley [a*#]

ABSTRACT

The term "intersectionality" describes the various identities that make each of us distinct as well as the power, privilege, and/or oppression that come with the mingling of those identities. Managing the effect of circumstantial, life-changing elements such as grief, illness, disability, or trauma is difficult because they are frequently invisible and unacknowledged, often absent at birth, and represent a shift from previous intersectionality recognition. Black women often experience marginalization based on gender and racialized identities and are positioned to consistently navigate stereotypes based on their phenotypical features and external perceptions. When Black women experience a juncture of stress or crisis and face intersectional identity change, they are increasingly vulnerable, making the role of those providing personal or professional support more significant. As a result, intersectionality is not static, providing opportunities to be defined and redefined throughout the life cycle. This article explores the author's experience with navigating invisible intersectionality factors, erroneous judgments by others and discovering her own resilience in the process. The author considers the binary of activism and respectful distance as responses to social problems, offering connection as a strategy to enhance human rights within the Black community. Personal and professional strategies are provided to promote recovery and healing, utilizing an auto ethnography qualitative research method.

Keywords: Intersectionality; auto ethnography; judgment; identity; privilege.

1. INTRODUCTION

The complex combination of diversity variables that each person identifies with, and the concomitant power and privilege (or oppression) connected to those factors are referred to as intersectionality [1]. Although it sounds simple, there are an endless number of alternative combinations and identical manifestations.

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There are countless ways to identify, and each person has a unique combination of power, privilege, history, and experiences connected to each identity element. Additionally, each person's intersection of all these variables also makes them unique.

While it is up to each individual to define their own intersectionality, relational communication involves utilizing perception and visual cues to ascribe others to social identity categories. Many diversity factors correlated with privilege (such as sex, race, and socioeconomic status) are based on visible traits or observable characteristics. However, numerous identity factors, including gender identity, religion, sexual orientation, and education are often indecipherable, ambiguous or invisible. As a result, various identity factors may be ignored or excluded in how we interpret and judge others' intersectionality. Research supports the notion that lack of acknowledgement of intersectionality minimizes or invalidates people's experiences and existence. Crenshaw [1] asserted that for marginalized groups, identity-based politics are a source of strength, development, and community. Thus, the politics of identity are powerful frameworks in which to understand and support interpersonal interactions.

This article is about my experience as a Licensed Clinical Social Worker, Clinical Psychologist, and Assistant Professor at a university. I am also a marginalized African American woman who maintained a four-month black eye following intensive brain surgery. During my recovery process, I watched people look at my face, settle on my black eye and look at my husband. Then they would look at me, faces scowling, confused, pensive or concerned; their responses were saturated with emotional reactivity and judgment. Because I had this black eye for four months following my surgery, I had an opportunity to observe and analyze the exchanges that occurred between strangers, friends, colleagues, and myself. What I wondered through and following this process was: *Does my lived experience (related to my black eye) matter? Or is it simply a confirmation of who others think I am based on my more distinguishable identity factors*?

The core of this self-reflective narrative is my subjective experience, which is reflective of the larger social, cultural, and political world around me. Ellis [2] describes auto ethnography as "a form of ethnography (p.31)" that includes portions of the autobiographical self and elements of the larger culture, with a result greater than the individual parts. Marechal [3] defines auto ethnography as "a method of research that involves self-observation and reflexive investigation in the context of ethnographic field work and writing (p.43)." This account analyzes reflexivity as it relates to intersectionality, stereotypes, and interpersonal interaction within the Black community. It is my objective to confront and explore the binary oppositions between the content contained within my story and additional disparities between researcher and researched, process and product, personal and political and objectivity and subjectivity with a larger goal of enhancing emerging theoretical discourse [4].

1.1 The Findings

Intersectionality is a core component of my research, practice, and teaching. As a Black, bi-racial female, tattoo wearing, youthful looking person, I have spent

most of my life struggling to learn how to navigate the world personally and professionally. As the child of an interracial marriage, I am very familiar with judgmental looks. Growing up, I would see people look at me, then at my White mother and back at me. The looks would consistently have a quality of judgment, and were sometimes followed by questions like "Is she adopted?" or "Who's her mother?" My mother, enjoying a different level of privilege than myself, never experienced these looks or questions as invasive or judgmental. However, I recall them very clearly and compared them with the looks people gave when I was with my Black father, which required no correlated questions about my identity and carried minimal judgment.

Despite my current professional dossier including published articles, conference presentations, courses taught and speaking engagements in which I explore contemporary, relevant clinical issues utilizing an intersectionality lens, I am assiduously working to assure my students, colleagues, and the university that I am competent as an academic and educator. The demographics and culture of academia is distinctly White, heterosexual and middle to upper middle class; those differing from that norm often find themselves "presumed incompetent (p.3)" by students, peers, and supervisors [5]. No one directly approaches me and asks if I am capable or proficient, but microaggressions and microinvalidations abound. Harris and Gonzalez [5] describe these experiences as belittling, at times openly racist, and questioning of qualifications, activities, and research. African American women scholars experience a double bind through the combination of being a woman and a woman of color [6] and double marginalization through the lived experiences of academic culture [5]. However, since I was a Black, female, tattoo wearing, youthful looking human being prior to working in academia, I have learned to balance oppression in both my personal and professional lives with some degree of grace and skill.

This year, my life turned upside down and as a result, all my methods of managing stress were challenged. After some vision limitations and a relatively poor optometry appointment over the summer, I was sent to a neural ophthalmologist and later to obtain an MRI. Almost as fast as lightning it was discovered that I had a tennis ball sized, skull-based brain tumor. The recommendation was immediate surgery and subsequent radiation to treat the tumor. Because time was limited, everything moved rapidly. I informed my boss and my colleagues and cancelled virtually everything in my life. I was pleasantly surprised and humbled to see so many family members, students, friends, and colleagues stepping forward to be supportive. They formed a healing community around me and my journey.

Waking up following brain surgery, I had no idea how I looked. I anticipated that I may be a bit of a fright, so prior to the surgery, I asked my husband to take photos of me every day so that I would later have a visual external memory to match my internal experience. I didn't look in a mirror until a few days later, while in the hospital. The two things that stood out to me were the HUGE scar running from my scalp in the middle of my forehead to my left sideburn -with gigantic metal staples throughout and the big, black shiner encompassing my left eye. Frankly, it was both shocking and terrifying. I looked like me, but me after a

major brawl…which I suppose is an accurate depiction. At the time, I was thrilled to remember my own identity and recognize my loved ones visiting me in the hospital; I was less concerned with how I looked to the rest of the world.

After being released from the hospital, I stayed home, relatively bedridden for a few weeks. When I was able to leave the house, my husband took me to Target, a daily outing that would be the highlight of many days. I was out and about, feeling "normal," despite being exhausted for the remainder of the day afterward. Because my scar was so tender and I was cautious about protecting the staples, I wore a hat whenever I left the house to abate questions and allow myself some anonymity. Despite these efforts, I was keenly aware of 'the look,' which took a few consistent forms. With strangers, the look was one in which people would take in my black eye, scan me from head to toe, look at my husband and end with what appeared to be an involuntary look of disgust or discomfort. There seemed to be a consistent pattern; the initiator scanned me from head to toe, looked at me and focused on my eye, looked away, looked again, looked away and looked again.

In trying to make sense of these exchanges, I have concluded that several factors transpired in a perfect storm to construct the dynamics that provoked what I perceived to be judgment, emotional reactivity, and discomfort. Inaccurate assumptions of domestic violence, a culture of disconnection and a binary of "appropriate reactions" to social problems appear to be contributing influences. Deficits in intersectionality research regarding the impact of invisible developmental identity factors and the mental health community's risk assessment methods add complexity to the discourse. As further discussed herein, connection is a viable strategy to address these challenges, promoting intrapsychic healing, positive professional and personal interactions, and a collective sense of community.

1.2 Faulty Domestic Violence Assumptions

I believe the people around me who were unfamiliar with my medical journey incorrectly perceived my black eye as a consequence of domestic violence. With good reason, domestic violence is a pervasive problem, impacting one in four wives and three to four million American women annually [7]. Black women in particular experience alarming rates of violence, with one quarter of Black women reporting physical violence [8]. Further, homicide by intimate partner violence is the leading cause of death for African American women between ages 15 and 24 [8]. Despite distinct evidence of domestic violence as a social problem, intimate partner violence carries its own set of inherent interpersonal judgments. Some common beliefs include the notion that women's behavior contributes to their experience of violence, some women want to be abused, and women can easily leave abusive relationships [9,10]. Crenshaw [1] defined intersectionality as a useful framework with which to mediate the tensions between assertions of multiple identities and the ongoing necessity of group politics. Critical to intersectionality discourse is both consideration of stereotypes regarding women who experience domestic violence as well as stereotypes specific to Black women and domestic violence. Stereotypic images of Black women as matriarchs, hostile, or seductive influence how information is encoded

and interpreted regarding these women, subsequently impacting power dynamics [11], perceptions, and interpersonal interactions with them [7]. Thus, the perception of domestic abuse has the potential to contain gender and race specific nuances, adding complexity to how survivors are viewed by others and the type of resources and support they receive.

My identification as both Black and female aligns me with multiple marginalized groups associated with increased domestic violence risk factors, making the inaccurate assumptions understandable. However, comprehending the intense negative reactions from others was perplexing. It was both difficult and painful to see others look away from my injury and my supportive spouse with what appeared to be disgust. The gender and culture-based stereotypes associated with domestic violence place Black women in positions of responsibility or power regarding how they contribute to, experience, or maintain abusive relationships.

I began to wonder what stereotypical images others were seeing superimposed over my black eye: An angry woman who solicited violence due to her hostile behavior, a seductive temptress who liked or enjoyed violent interactions, a stoic matriarch preferring to stay with an abusive partner or a host of other possible configurations. The only way to clarify their position would have been through contact, which did not occur. As an unfortunate result, I was left observing the exchanges and managing my own narrative regarding their origin. For Black women, differentiating between stereotypes and lived individual experiences requires a nuanced intersectionality lens *and* human connection to facilitate inclusive interpersonal interactions.

1.3 Developmental Intersectionality

Many of the theories that define intersectionality describe identity factors, power and privilege as elements that are connected to unearned, unchosen parts of the self. With universally destabilizing experiences like grief, trauma, disability and illness, our sense of who we are, and our corresponding power and privilege is altered. Despite connection to certain communities based on assertion or observable characteristics, the ability to access one's strengths and resilience is influenced by how one experiences these largely invisible elements. Life experiences provide ongoing opportunities to clarify perspective and determine how to integrate life altering bouts with grief, trauma, disability, or illness into the sense of self. Thus, intersectionality is defined and redefined throughout the life cycle, fundamentally influenced by how these experiences are navigated. While most of us are conceptually aware that we have the capacity to choose or change many parts of our identity, there is an absence of literature describing intersectionality as an ongoing, developmental process. Assumptions, lack of validation and judgment can have a substantial impact on this journey. When people are experiencing a juncture of stress or crisis and facing potential identity reform, they are increasingly vulnerable, making the role or positionality of those providing support more significant.

Positionality is critical to intersectionality theory and praxis. Black women in academia are frequently involved in interpersonal exchanges with those who maintain significantly more privilege, placing them in a subordinate position and

increasing their awareness of indicators of difference. When there is an inherent privilege and power differential, the message is that different is both inferior and unsuitable, reinforcing the original power and privilege dynamics. While often unintentional, the most painful microaggressions occur between those with power and those who are disempowered [12]. But what is the psychological impact of these exchanges, especially when the recipient is in a vulnerable state? When you add a life altering personal experience such as grief, trauma, illness or disability, the person attempting to respond to the judgment may be unprepared to manage external opinions with their internal experience and may struggle significantly. This is essential during times when change, recovery, obtaining support and connection are vital to healing.

Positionality is significant to my personal experience. Because I am someone with a history of multiple marginalized identities, I am familiar with being subordinated, scrutinized, and discredited. Preparation, planning and personal branding have been solid tools to developing an image of competence. However, after my surgery (a combined source of illness, trauma, disability, and grief), I was unprepared to manage the reactions of others while simultaneously navigating my own journey and confronting who I was to become afterward. An example of my struggle with microaggressions while vulnerable occurred when I returned to work following my recovery. I informed my supervisor and colleagues of the potential short-term repercussions of my surgery, which included slower responses and cognitive confusion. I also informed them of the permanent repercussions, including visual impairments and decreased stress tolerance. Because I was going up for tenure a few months after I returned to work, I was conscious of the political bargaining that occurs during the tenure process, often placing me in an agreeable but silent position with authority figures. Thus, when my Department Chair asked me to teach a class offered in the fall, I knew the appropriate answer was "of course." Except I couldn't teach the class, as it was offered in the evening and driving in the evening became extremely challenging for me. When I reminded her that I couldn't take a class in the evening because of my visual impairments, she said "Shouldn't you be fine by the fall?" Saying no and acknowledging an invisible impairment as a Black Assistant Professor to my White Chair (and full Professor) in the context of going up for tenure was a significant source of discomfort and shame for me. Having to remind someone with infinitely more power and privilege that yes, I was *even more* impaired than I look was painful, especially as I was still healing.

1.4 A Culture of Disconnection

It is frightening that we live in a culture in which photos or videos are created in a nanosecond to be documented on social media, while people physically and interpersonally remain unable to offer interpersonal support, comfort, or warmth. Whether one is a friend, a colleague, or a stranger in a store, we frequently notice other people's struggles but our willingness to intervene varies. There are many theories about why we often fail to connect with others who appear in distress, appearing indifferent or apathetic. People of color, in particular, fall victim to the phenomenon of "staying out of other people's business." Crenshaw [1] noted that there is a more generalized community ethic against public

intervention, describing it as a product of desire to create a safe haven free from the indignities of a racist society and "the diverse assaults on the public lives of racially subordinated people (p. 1257)." This dynamic, denoted as conventional wisdom or common knowledge maintains minimal representation in research.

For many people of color, the positions for response to political and social concerns are often polarized. The continuum consists of activism, often associated with service, revolution, and violence [13,14], or respectful distance, often regarded as silence, apathy, or indifference. Research indicates that the emotional response initiated by the person or situation in need largely impacts the response of the other person. Empathy and personal distress are emotional responses that have been found to foster or inhibit helping behaviors [15]. Empathy, defined as a feeling of sympathetic concern, is associated with low levels of physiological arousal, resulting in a positive emotional response to the perception of others in need [15]. Conversely, personal distress is experienced as a feeling of internal anguish and associated with high levels of arousal, resulting in a negative emotional response to others with concern regarding the cost to self [15]. Thus, how we internally experience the circumstances or presentations of others has a significant impact on our willingness for – or disinterest in connection. Over-identifying with someone's experience can produce high levels of internal anguish and are potentially as much as a barrier to connection as not identifying at all [16].

It is impossible to ascertain how my black eye impacted the strangers, friends, and others I interacted with during my recovery from surgery. It is possible that congruent with Paciello, et al's [15] research, people reacted to my black eye with personal distress rather than empathy. The incorrect interpretation of my eye as a symptom of domestic violence may have contributed to others' anguish, high arousal, and negative response pattern; however, this indicates a need for additional domestic violence research to address lowered empathy as a barrier to engagement and effective intervention. As a consumer in this experience, the lack of empathy (whether real or a product of my own experience) was palpable. What I needed and did not receive in response to "the look" was the experience of being heard, validated, and understood.

2. DISCUSSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS

2.1 Connection as a Resolution Strategy

Additional possibilities for interaction or intervention with those we perceive as struggling must be identified; we cannot remain attached to the polarized options of revolution and apathy. However, managing intersectional an experience with individuals within marginalized populations does not mean attempts to organize as communities of color are futile or unnecessary. Rather, reconceptualizing intersectional identities and politics may promote the need to develop additional strategies for transformational activism that include connection. Connection is a viable option to solicit and support the stories and experiences of those who are subordinated, underpowered and voiceless. Brene Brown [17] describes the critical nature of vulnerability and connection, noting "We are physically,

emotionally, socially, spiritually hard-wired for connection. And in the absence of connection, there is always suffering (p. 32)."

Connection is also vital to empowerment in that it allows people to be seen and heard. Shame is often a corollary of oppression, marginalization, and microaggressions. Because shame is isolating, judgmental and painful, experiencing shame often throws people into crisis mode, bypassing advanced, rational thinking and processing [16]. Brown [16] describes empathy as the strongest antidote for shame and defines it as the ability to be genuinely present and engaged with someone as they tell their story. When responders are able to manage their own internal experience and feel empathy, they can validate the experiences of the other, promoting resilience, strength, and empowerment. As a result, connection can be comforting, nurturing, and healing.

2.2 Additional Research Needs

Intersectionality frameworks are put into practice in highly nuanced and unpredictable ways [18]. While the literature contains a plethora of information regarding the differences between and impact of visible and invisible identity factors, there is a dearth of research regarding the impact of circumstantial, life changing elements like grief, illness, disability, or trauma that directly influence intersectionality. These are universal, human experiences that occur throughout the life cycle and frequently represent a shift from previous intersectionality identification. Despite their invisibility, their existence may be critical in terms of self-identification and identity, impacting how intrapsychic and interpersonal exchanges are navigated. Grief, trauma, illness, and disability often damage areas of strength, impacting resilience in those who previously managed marginalization successfully. For many weakened by these experiences, they are increasingly vulnerable to healing or damaging interpersonal exchanges. While these experiences offer an opportunity for positive connection, damaging exchanges may be experienced as oppressive or subordinating. Experiences that maintain polarized positions of privilege or subordination have the potential to isolate or activate emotional responses that further polarize supportive, well-intentioned folk, rather than increase mutual understanding [19]. Therefore, the result of subordination is often isolation, the opposite of what family, friends and mental health professionals are attempting to nurture with those who are vulnerable.

2.3 Practitioner Education and Training

I am both a social work educator and a practitioner. The implications of my experience in the field are noteworthy. Professionally, the role of critical thinking in a context of clinical awareness cannot be underrated. Clinicians implement critical thinking in relation to risk in both assessment and practice [9], which is typically research or evidence informed. However, Taleff [20] noted that practitioners frequently assess clients with limited information and fill in gaps with their own ideas, emotions and assumptions; this was consistent with my personal experience. Social workers, therapists and clinicians can easily access empirical

research data to support erroneous theories or hypothesis regarding marginalized groups. Practitioners must be able to recognize what Garcia and Ortiz [21] call the simultaneous intersections of race, class, gender, (dis)ability, nationality, and language. Because women of color occupy positions of both physical and cultural marginalization within the dominant society, efforts to intervene with them must be targeted directly to their needs [1]. Bešić [22] argues that an inclusive, intersectional approach is critical in addressing and responding to diversity needs while promoting culturally relevant change in content, structure, and strategies. In effective practice, utilizing an intersectionality informed lens is essential in extricating personal biases, managing judgment, and clarifying questions to avoid faulty assumptions. Assumptions regarding risk factors, sexual identity, cultural background, or other diversity factors are often justified by research steeped in white privilege, patriarchal standards, or heteronormative expectations. Similarly, microaggressions, microinvalidations or microassaults perpetuated by the "helpful" practitioner are critical errors that must be anticipated and addressed [12]. Without thoughtful assessment or clarification, assumptions regarding intersectionality translate into judgment, putting those with marginalized, subordinate identities in a position to be labeled, further subordinating them. Practitioners and educators must emphasize how critical the fundamental clinical skills of engagement, assessment, clarification, validation, and authentic interpersonal interaction are in mental health, treatment, and recovery.

3. CONCLUSION

In our human efforts to understand one another, we categorize based on observable characteristics and visible identity factors. Sadly, these socially constructed identity factors may be heavily influenced by stereotypes, microaggressions, and erroneous assumptions, provoking unhelpful responses. Thus, utilizing an intersectionality lens and curious inquiry to inform our assessment is crucial to interpersonal efficacy. This is particularly critical when many relevant factors are invisible or may develop through the life cycle. As a culture, we continue to develop effective strategies to address discrepancies in managing our responses to social problems and interpersonal distress. The status quo of revolutionary activism vs. respectful silence are polarized options limiting individual and community healing. Connection is a healing strategy to support transformational activism, promoting individual and collective empowerment by providing a platform for individuals to reveal and resolve the complexities of invisible identity factors that are critical to how persons view themselves and are seen by others.

COMPETING INTERESTS

Author has declared that no competing interests exist.

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She is a Professor and Associate Chair of the California State University at Northridge's Master of Social Work (MSW) program. She holds a doctoral degree in Clinical Psychology (Psy.D), a Master of Social Work (MSW) degree, and is a Licensed Clinical Social Worker (LCSW). She is certified as an Eye Movement Desensitization and Reprocessing (EMDR) practitioner through the Eye Movement Desensitization and Reprocessing International Association (EMDRIA) and holds certification in Diversity and Inclusion Practices from Cornell University. She has over twenty-five years of micro, mezzo and macro social work experience in the areas of community mental health, child welfare, and addiction and recovery. In her private practice, she specializes in trauma informed, antiracist, anti-oppressive intervention. She is the author of over twenty five publications and speaks at conferences nationwide and internationally. Dr. Ashley conducts justice, antiracist, equity, diversity and inclusion (JAEDI) training, facilitates keynote speeches and provides consultation for community based organizations and production companies. Her research interests emphasize acknowledgement of racialized trauma, validation of underrepresented marginalized populations, and promotion of justice, equity, diversity and inclusion in practice, pedagogy and organizational culture. She is passionate about social justice activism, advocacy and allyship, and infuses an intersectionality lens in her teaching, practice, training, research and consultation.

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Impacts of Ecotourism on Local Communities of Mole National Park, Ghana and Kainji Lake National Park, Nigeria: A Comparative Study

Folusade Catherine Arowosafe [a*]

ABSTRACT

This study assessed the perceived positive and negative impacts of ecotourism on the livelihood of adjacent communities of Kainji Lake National Park, Nigeria and Mole National Park, Ghana. For this study, a structured questionnaire was distributed to 582 community members living near the two national parks. Descriptive and inferential statistical methods were employed to evaluate the data. The increase in the conservation of Park biodiversity at both Parks was found to have the most favourable effects on how people perceived the impact of the ecotourism development. The most negative impact of ecotourism growth at Kainji communities was the rise in destruction caused by wildlife to crops and livestock, while at Mole communities the most negative impact was the reduced available land for farming. According to paired sample test results, there is a significant difference between the positive benefits at the two National Parks and the negative impacts at both ($P<0.05$). To create more positive impacts, increase in employment especially of indigene of adjacent communities into the junior cadre, more collaboration and sponsorship to provide projects and programmes that could adequately meet the needs of the communities should be embarked upon by the park Management.

Keywords: Ecotourism; tourism; development; community; protected area; livelihood.

1. INTRODUCTION

1.1 Ecotourism and Community Livelihood

Due to its substantial role in boosting the social and economic development of numerous communities worldwide, the tourism industry has a profound impact on

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the development of all countries in the globe. According to this projection, the tourist sector has one of the greatest economies and contributes significantly to worldwide product and service exports [1]. According to a projection by the world tourism organization, the tourism industry is expected to provide job opportunities for a lot of people worldwide in the next decade depicting that the industry is consistently providing jobs for individuals all over the world and the rate of employment has continued to increase [2]. Ecotourism has emerged as the sector of tourism with the highest development rate among other sectors with record of thirty to forty percent share of the total growth in tourism globally [3].

Ecotourism is largely known for its immense favourable contribution to the environment as service providers in ecotourism industry have opined that ecotourism has created impact to the social, cultural as well as economic growth and development of local people in a community through the process of promoting conservation and support for protected areas , especially national parks [4]. Ecotourism service providers have claimed that ecotourism usually creates merit and canvasses support for conserving the environment and this is very important as protected areas are very essential and beneficial for the development and sustainability of tourism in regions all over the world [5].

Ecotourism is said to be one method of minimizing people– park conflict and generating support for conservation by providing local benefits. Ideally ecotourism encourages natural resource conservation in return for local and national economic benefits, in addition to offering local, national and international tourists an opportunity to enjoy and learn about nature while respecting local culture [6].

Overexploitation of biodiversity and natural resources continues to pose a major problem in communities where their source of livelihood focuses on forests as most of the local people are involved in activities such as farming, logging, mining, hunting and as such, these activities would cause hazard to natural resources and can contribute to their extinction rate. As solution to this challenge, ecotourism involving local communities offers an effective and sustainable strategy for the management of these natural resources by encouraging conservation through the process of involving local community and its inhabitants and this as a result; improves the economy of the community [7]. Ecotourism involving local communities thus provide dual benefit of promoting biodiversity conservation as well as improving and sustaining the livelihood of the local people in a community [8].

From the early moments of its emergence in the 1970s, there has been a lot of research interest in the sector which has continued to show its prominence in the science community and these researches have focused on different aspects of the industry regarding the environment, economy, culture and it policy implications [9]. Despite the growing significance of this industry as well as its improved knowledge among stakeholders, there has been dearth of information on the impacts that ecotourism has on local communities and there has also been less effort to know the strategies to encourage local community in management of natural resources [10]. It is an irrefutable fact that successful

development and sustainability of any community-based project such as wildlife conservation requires the cooperation of the local people living around the resource areas. Such community cooperation however is a function of the people's expectations, perceptions, attitudes towards environmental resources, especially the impact of such wildlife conservation resource on their overall quality of life.

As developing countries are embracing new forms of tourism, particularly nature-based and community-based variants, the claim that an ecotourist-driven economy offers a sustainable future for local communities has come under critical scrutiny [11].

While much research work has been carried out at the two study areas [12]; [13] there has been no comparative study of the ecotourism development and its impact on local communities of two west African national parks as this study seeks to do hence its importance in providing a basis for comparison such as will be beneficial to the management of both national park used in this study.

1.2 Objective

Determine the perceived impacts of ecotourism on the communities adjacent to Kainji Lake (Nigeria) and Mole (Ghana) National Parks.

1.3 Research Question

What are the perceived impacts of the ecotourism activities at Kainji Lake (Nigeria) and Mole (Ghana) National Parks on the residents of communities adjacent to the two national parks?

1.4 Research Hypotheses

1. There is no significant difference between the perceived negative impacts of ecotourism on the adjacent communities of Mole and Kainji Lake National parks.
2. There is no significant difference in the perceived positive impacts of ecotourism on the adjacent communities of Mole and Kainji Lake National parks.

1.5 Population of the Study

The population for this study was 582 purposively selected residents of communities adjacent to both mole and Kainji lake national parks.

2. METHODOLOGY

2.1 Study Area

The study was conducted at two National parks in West Africa and the sampled communities surrounding the parks; Kainji lake National Park, which is the

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second largest national park in Nigeria and Mole National Park which is the largest in Ghana. Kainji Lake National Park is situated 560Km North of Lagos, close to the border of the Republic of Benin. It is located between latitude 9^0 40^1Nand 10^0 30^1 and longitude 3^030^1N and 5^0 50^1 and has a total land mass of 5,340.82km², consisting of two sectors; the Borgu and Zugurma sectors. Mole National Park is situated between Wa and Tamale. The park covers about 4,577 km² and lies between 9° 11' and 10° 10' N, and between 1° 22' and 2° 13' W.

2.2 Population and Sampling Procedure

This study made use of structured questionnaire aimed at obtaining information on the positive and negative impacts of ecotourism on the local communities. There are thirty- three (33) communities surrounding Mole National Park and eighteen (18) of these are located along the eastern boundary of the Mole National Park. Based on reports gathered during the reconnaissance survey five of the communities selected, Larabanga (being the oldest community with various popular tourism attraction such as the Mystery Stone and the Ancient Mosque) Kabampe, Murugu, Daboya, Yazori and Mognori, were prominent for tourist visits and tourism activities. Other communities were selected based on the accessibility, proximity, employment of members in the park and these are Kpulumbo, Kanato, Grupe, Bawena, Kaden, and Jinfrono a total of twelve (12) communities were selected in Mole national park for this study. The samplings of the communities were therefore purposive.

Also at Kainji lake national park with over 50 adjacent communities, a multi stage sampling method was used. This method made use of 7 sub divisions (ranges), 5 under Borgu and 2 under Zugurma sectors which made up Kainji Lake national park. A purposively random selection of 16 (sixteen) communities close to the park was then carried out based on tourist activities, park development programmes and projects, proximity to park, accessibility and employment of members by the national park. They are, Wawa, Mulea, Leshigbe, new Khali, mallale, GadaOli, fellegi, Pataiko, Luma, Worumakoto, Kuble, kemenji, Kaiama, Ibbi, Kizhi, and Babanna.

To determine the number of respondents to be sampled from each household, four (4) respondents aged 18years and above were purposively sampled from each selected household in the first category and three (3) respondents from households in category two. A total of five hundred and eighty-two (582) respondents were sampled by administering three hundred and five (305) questionnaires at Kainji Lake National Park communities and two hundred and seventy-seven (277) questionnaires at Mole National Park communities. All the administered questionnaires (100%) were retrieved and used in data analysis.

2.3 Data Collection and Analysis

Data was obtained, collated and analysed descriptively and inferentially. The descriptive statistics involved the use of tables, mean and standard deviation while inferential statistics involved the use of T-test.

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3. RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

3.1 Demographic Characteristics of Residents

In order to fulfill the objective of this study it was necessary to obtain the demographic characteristics of the residents from the adjacent communities. The result obtained is presented in Table 1.

Table 1 reveals there were higher numbers of males than the females at the two National Parks (61.6% males at Kainji Lake communities and 64.3% males at Mole Communities). The result also indicates that more females (38.4%) were sampled at kainji than at Mole communities (35.7%). The result revealed that the highest age incidence at both Parks occurred at the age range 18-39years, with 66.5% for Kainji Lake and 51.7% for Mole National Park communities. Also shown is that there were more married respondents at the two National Parks, (82.6% at Kainji and 85.5% at Mole). Also revealed is that 65.5% of respondents at Kainji had no formal education, while 74.4% respondents at Mole had no formal education. Livelihood activities of adjacent communities revealed that the major occupation with the highest percentage at both National Parks is farming. The high level of dependence on farming is an indication that residents depended on the park land to carry out their livelihood activities.

3.2 Negative Impacts

To determine the perceived negative impacts of ecotourism on the communities at both national parks, a five point Likert scales questions were used and the results presented in Table 2 and 3 for Kainji Lake and Mole national Parks respectively using the mean values and rankings.

The result obtained showed that at Kainji lake National park, increased destruction by wildlife was ranked as the most negative impact with a mean value of 93 as shown in Table 2.

At Mole, findings (shown in Table 3) revealed that the most negative impact ranked as first with 83 mean value was reduced grazing and farmland for the residents of the communities

Various studies have revealed that communities living adjacent or around Protected areas usually experience some negative impacts which sometimes influences them to either support or not support the conservation activities of the park. Although the ranking and intensity of negative impacts at the two National parks differs the various identified negative impacts were similar. One of the major negative impact that was of great issue for both the young and the adult was that of reducing grazing and farmlands. Many expressed that fear that in about 5-10 years from now there would be more demand for land both for farming and housing and this would create a major conflict since it is evident that it would not be available this agrees with findings of [14] in a study at Digya National Park, Ghana and [15] on the socio-cultural concerns of impact of park ecotourism on adjacent communities.

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Table 1. Socio- demographic characteristics of communities from both parks

Demographic variables	Kainji Lake national Park		Mole national park		Both National parks	
	Frequency (f)	Percentage (%)	Frequency (f)	Percentage (%)	Frequency (f)	Percentage (%)
Gender						
Male	188	61.6	178	64.3	366	62.9
Female	117	38.4	99	35.7	216	37.1
Age						
18-39 years	203	66.5	143	51.7	346	59.4
40-59 years	93	30.5	120	43.2	213	36.6
Above 60 years	9	3	14	5.1	23	4
Marital Status						
Single	49	16.1	36	13	85	14.6
Married	252	82.6	237	85.5	489	84
Widowed	4	1.3	3	1.1	7	1.2
Others	0	0	1	0.4	1	0.2
Education						
No formal education	200	65.6	206	74.4	406	69.8
Primary	46	15.1	25	9	71	12.2
Secondary	43	14.1	39	14.1	82	14.1
Tertiary	6	2	3	1.1	9	1.5
Others	10	3.3	4	1.4	14	2.4
Livelihood activities						
Farming	171	56.1	179	64.6	350	60.1
Fishing	6	2	3	1.1	9	1.5

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Demographic variables	Kainji Lake national Park		Mole national park		Both National parks	
	Frequency (f)	Percentage (%)	Frequency (f)	Percentage (%)	Frequency (f)	Percentage (%)
Trading	73	23.9	44	15.8	117	20.1
Formal employment	14	4.6	8	2.9	22	3.8
Artisans	36	11.8	29	10.5	65	11.2
Others	5	1.6	14	5.1	19	3.3

Table 2. Perceived Negative impacts of Ecotourism development on adjacent communities of Kainji

Kainji Negative impact	Strongly Disagree (%)	Disagree (%)	Undecided (%)	Agree (%)	Strongly Agree (%)	Mean	Rank
Increased destruction by wildlife	4(1.3)	3(1.0)	0(0)	112(36.7)	186(61.0)	93	1
Reduced grazing and farmland	7(2.3)	19(6.2)	5(1.6)	113(37.0)	161(52.8)	89	2
Restricted use and sales of forest products	12(3.9)	85(27.9)	10(3.3)	134(43.9)	64(21.0)	71	3
Encouraged rural - urban migration	28(9.2)	115(37.7)	20(6.6)	111(36.4)	31(10.2)	61	4
Increased poverty level	54(17.7)	152(49.8)	7(2.3)	63(20.7)	29(9.5)	52	5
Caused increase in social vices	44(14.4)	177(58.0)	35(11.5)	37(12.1)	12(3.9)	47	6
Cultural dilution	102(33.4)	139(45.6)	16(5.2)	35(11.5)	13(4.3)	42	7
Has brought inflation	76(25.0)	167(54.9)	29(9.5)	28(9.2)	4(1.3)	42	7
Restricted access to worship sites and shrines	115(37.7)	142(46.6)	8(2.6)	31(10.2)	9(3.0)	40	9

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Table 3. Perceived Negative impact of ecotourism development on communities adjacent to Mole

Mole Negative impact	Strongly agree (%)	Agree (%)	Undecided (%)	Disagree (%)	Strongly disagree (%)	Mean	Rank
Reduced grazing and farmland	186(67.1)	64(23.1)	1(0.4)	23(8.3)	3(1.1)	83	1
Increased destruction by wildlife	177(63.9)	73(26.4)	0(0)	20(7.2)	7(2.5)	82	2
Denied use and sales of forest products	129(46.6)	132(47.7)	4(1.4)	12(4.3)	0(0)	81	3
Has brought inflation	81(29.2)	126(45.5)	9(3.2)	56(20.2)	5(1.8)	70	4
Increased poverty level	55(19.9)	152(54.9)	12(4.3)	55(19.9)	3(1.1)	69	5
Cultural dilution	75(27.1)	129(46.6)	6(2.2)	55(19.9)	12(4.3)	69	6
Caused increase in social vices	74(26.7)	118(42.6)	21(7.6)	54(19.5)	10(3.6)	68	7
Denied access to worship sites and shrines	30(10.8)	62(22.4)	24(8.7)	94(33.9)	67(24.2)	48	8
Encouraged rural - urban migration	45(16.2)	30(10.8)	8(2.9)	121(43.7)	73(26.4)	46	9

Another major negative impact discussed was the destruction caused by wildlife on both settlement and farmlands, as a matter of fact this was ranked the most negative impact at Kainji Lake communities and ranked second at Mole communities. [16] reported that crop damage is most widespread and persistent from conflicts between humans and wildlife. As a result of this   many cultivated farms have been destroyed by wild animals with the residents left to bear the cost. Some have even been accused by the Park management of farming close to the Park, while some have been discouraged from planting what they need especially if it is what the wild animal also wants so they have no choice than to plant what the wild animals may not want. In many cases however this does not work as some of the animals seem to just cause damages whether intended or not. Many livestock which are being kept to generate money for the next season's farming are killed by wild animals with no one ready to pay compensation.

The denied access and use of forest products was also regarded as a negative impact especially with items which residents considered to be of no conservation value to the park, like leaves, grasses, dawadawa seeds, shea butter nuts, spices and bark of trees for herbs. The park is food and sustenance to the local residents and so they are bound to see the fact that they no longer have access to these resources as a negative impact. Majority of the residents attested to the fact that many of their children (Youth) were leaving the communities for a better living condition, some go to bigger towns, school or work on other peoples farms and sometimes don't come back home to live because there is nothing for them there. Increased poverty, inflation which can be linked to crop destruction either by pests (wild animals) and diseases and infertile lands, as well as denied access to shrine sand worship sites have been pointed out to constitute negative impacts perceived by residents.

3.3 Positive Impacts

The result (presented in Tables 4 and 5 for Kainji lake and Mole respectively) of the perceived positive impact of ecotourism on the communities was also determined using a five point likert scale questions and the result presented using the mean values and ranking of the perceived impacts.

Results obtained on the positive impacts of ecotourism development on the adjacent communities shows that at Kainji lake National Park, the most positive impact ranked 1st with the mean value of 93 is that ecotourism has brought biodiversity conservation (Table 4) . A similar result was also obtained at Mole National Park which also revealed that ecotourism has brought biodiversity conservation with a mean value of 87 (Table 5). The least positive impact at kainji is increase in local trade (33) while attraction of tourists to the communities was the least positive impact at Mole with a mean value of 40.

Findings revealed that the most positive impact of ecotourism at both National Parks was that it has helped to increase and promote biodiversity conservation.

This confirms [6] and [17] findings that an important issue of sustainability in ecotourism development is promoting conservation of the natural ecosystems. Many of the respondents were of the view that with the various laws put in place and the arrest and prosecution of offenders there has brought a great drop in hunting and other anti-conservation activities and this they believe would have helped the animal population to increase. Instances of Shea butter nuts rotting away in the Park with no one to pick them was seen as a pointer to the conservation going on in the Parks. This study indicated that there had been slight improvements in the infrastructural development in some of the communities at kainji as a few now have access roads, renovated schools and clinics.

Other improvement and perceived positive impacts include employment. This is in line with [18] who said employment are important channels through which people can earn income which therefore constitute an important financial asset of the people. Although local resident due to the high level of illiteracy were employed into the junior cadre where they do not require much educational qualifications. In the area of ecotourism promoting cultural people while some felt it was a positive impact such that people come from all over the world to see their heritage and culture some believed that their culture were being packaged to suit the visitors and little consideration was given to the communities' traditional beliefs. In communities where tourist presence was felt it was noted that they experienced an increase in local trade and income, although some were of the opinion that such positive impact was not felt in their own communities as they only have local customers and no tourists who visit or buy anything from them. At a shop in Larabanga the owner stated that the tourists hardly buy anything from them as they prefer to buy from the convenience store at the Mole Park. At the kainji communities the same views hold as only Wawa where the Park's museum is sighted play host to tourists who in turn buy items that are needed for basic use from some shop owners.

3.4 Research Hypotheses

The result of the T test shows that there is no significant difference between the positive impacts at the two National parks at P> 0.05 as shown in Table 6, the null hypothesis is therefore accepted.

Result from the T test revealed that there is significant difference in the negative impacts of both parks as presented in Table 6. Hence we reject the null hypotheses and accept that there is significant difference between the negative impacts of both national Parks.

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Table 4. Perceived Positive impact of ecotourism development on adjacent communities of Kainji Lake

Kainji Positive Impact variables	Strongly disagree (%)	Disagree (%)	Undecided (%)	Agree (%)	Strongly agree (%)	Mean	Rank
Has brought biodiversity conservation	0(0)	0(0)	1(0.3)	129(42.3)	175(57.4)	93	1
Has brought infrastructural development	26(8.6)	79(26.0)	9(3.0)	156(51.3)	34(11.2)	67	2
Has created more employment	81(26.6)	117(38.4)	11(3.6)	76(24.9)	20(6.6)	50	3
Has brought increase in local income	72(23.7)	139(45.7)	9(3.0)	77(25.3)	7(2.3)	48	4
Increase in the quality of life	116(38.0)	94(30.8)	10(3.3)	66(21.6)	19(6.2)	46	5
Increase in community participation in ecotourism	104(34.1)	131(43.0)	8(2.6)	47(15.4)	15(4.9)	44	6
Increase in community unity	85(27.9)	174(57.0)	6(2.0)	33(10.8)	7(2.3)	41	7
Has attracted tourists to the community	129(42.3)	123(40.3)	0(0)	22(7.2)	31(10.2)	41	7
Ecotourism activities promote cultural values	107(35.1)	157(51.5)	4(1.3)	15(4.9)	22(7.2)	40	9
Increase in local trade	144(47.2)	149(48.9)	4(1.3)	6(2.0)	2(0.7)	33	10

Table 5. Perceived Positive impact of ecotourism development on communities of Mole park

Mole Positive Impact variables	Strongly disagree	Disagree	Undecided	Agree	Strongly agree	Mean	Rank
Has brought biodiversity conservation	1(0.4)	0(0)	4(1.4)	73(26.4)	199(71.8)	87	1
Increase in community unity	43(15.5)	154(55.6)	10(3.6)	48(17.3)	22(7.9)	46	2
Ecotourism activities promote cultural values	51(18.4)	148(53.4)	8(2.9)	49(17.7)	21(7.6)	45	3
Has brought increase in local income	84(30.3)	103(37.2)	9(3.2)	62(22.4)	19(6.9)	44	4
Increase in community participation in ecotourism	78(28.2)	122(44.0)	8(2.9)	48(17.3)	21(7.6)	43	5
Has brought infrastructural development	62(22.4)	154(55.6)	8(2.9)	41(14.8)	12(4.3)	41	6
Has created more employment	84(30.3)	121(43.7)	8(2.9)	54(19.5)	10(3.6)	41	6
Increase in the quality of life	65(23.5)	150(54.2)	13(4.7)	34(12.3)	15(5.4)	41	6
Increase in local trade	78(28.2)	134(48.4)	17(6.1)	34(12.3)	14(5.1)	40	9
Has attracted tourists to the community	143(51.6)	49(17.7)	2(0.7)	61(22.0)	22(7.9)	40	9

Table 6. T-test Analysis of perceived negative and positive impact of ecotourism

Variables	t value	Sig.	Decision
Negative impact	13.257	0.001	Significant
Positive impact	0.900	0.000	Significant

$P<0.01$

4. CONCLUSION

This study has revealed that the general perception of the impacts of ecotourism development on the communities' livelihood is positive and that Ecotourism development has the potential to positively impact the livelihood of communities living adjacent to National Parks, the result obtained from this study shows that majority of local residents at both Parks perceive that the impact of the park has been positive although these positive impact were attributed to the Non-Governmental Organizations (NGOs) working in collaboration with the Parks such as GEF at kainji and A Rocha in Mole. This study discovered that the most positive impact of ecotourism development at the communities of both Parks as perceived by residents was the conservation of the biodiversity resources of the park while the most negative impact perceived was increased destruction by wildlife at Kainji Lake and reduced land for farming at Mole Park.

5. RECOMMENDATION

Increase in employment especially of indigene of adjacent communities into the junior cadre, more collaboration and sponsorship to provide projects and programmes that could adequately meet the needs of the communities should be embarked upon by the park Management.

Awareness and sensitization of communities should be embarked upon by the park management to create a positive communication channel between the National parks and the communities adjacent to them.

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COMPETING INTERESTS

Author has declared that no competing interests exist.

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Determining the Age of Egyptian Sphinx Situated in the Front of the Pyramids

Anand M. Sharan [a*]

ABSTRACT

This chapter explores the idea that the Sphinx might be a few thousand years older. This is due to the Sphinx's obvious indications of deterioration. The effects of the earth's axis precession on weather were taken into account to establish the facts. It was found that the precession just moves the weather toward the earlier months of the year; it has no effect on the weather's intensity. The movement of the earth's plate over millions of years can cause a shift in latitude, which can result in a change in the weather's intensity. This possibility not being present in our study leads to the conclusion that the Sphinx's age cannot be changed to 7000 BC, as many researchers have proposed.

Keywords: Calendar; effect of precession of the earth's axis; tropical calendar; weathering by water; change in weather.

1. INTRODUCTION

Archeologists have recently been debating the age of the Sphinx, which stands in front of the great pyramids [1,2]. It has been widely accepted that it is 4,500 years old, or that it dates to 2500 BC. Recent study suggests that it may be older than 2500 BC and may even have been built about 7000 BC. This new way of thinking has developed because some have claimed that the rounding off of the parts of the Sphinx is due to flow of water around it i.e. Due to large volume of flow of water or water weathering. They believe that such quantities of water flowed around the Sphinx in 7000 BC which is presently in a desert now. They believe that the present day weather around Sphinx changed due to the precession of the earth's axis which has a cycle of approximately 26000 years. However, the traditional archeologists do not agree with this view since there does not exist any evidence of any Egyptian civilization this old. The pyramid complex suffered from different types of structural damage and construction materials decay and disintegration. The sources of this degradation can generally be classified as: nature, time, and man-made. In recent years, the great pyramids and the Great Sphinx have been threatened by rising groundwater levels caused

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by water infiltration from the suburbs, irrigation canals and mass urbanization surrounding the Giza plateau [3-6]. The purpose of this present work is to provide scientific proof that this water erosion belief is not correct.

2.1 MOTIONS OF EARTH AROUND THE SUN AND ZODIAC SIGNS IN THE THREE DIMENSIONAL SPACE

To understand the change in orientation of the earth's axis due to precession one needs to look at the sky where the zodiacs lie along the zodiac belt. In astrology and historical astronomy, the zodiac signs are distributed along a circle of 12 equal divisions each of 30° span of celestial longitude that are centered upon the ecliptic. When viewed from the earth it is the apparent path of the Sun as we see during the day across the celestial sphere in the sky. The paths of the Moon and visible planets - also remain close to the ecliptic, within the belt of the zodiac, which extends 8-9° north or south of the ecliptic, as measured in celestial latitude. The earth goes in its orbit of almost a circular shape around the Sun in about 365.25636 days (Fig. 1). In this figure, the distance between the Sun and earth is far smaller than between the Sun and any of the zodiac signs in the zodiac belt. During its (earth's) traverse, its north pole is oriented towards the Sun on June 21 and its south pole on December 21 which gives rise to summer and winter seasons respectively. The Moon goes around the zodiac belt in 27.322 days (sidereal) when viewed from the space but 29.531 days (synodic) when viewed from the earth. The earth has a third motion which is called the precession of the earth's axis in the space as shown in Fig. 2. Here, this axis rotates as observed in the space along the conical surface once in around 26,000 years which is an extremely slow motion. Due to this motion, the earth's axis changes its orientation in space whereby the North Pole would face the Sun with same orientation on June 20 instead of June 21 after a lapse of about 72 years. Similarly, the equinox will take place on March 20 instead of March 21 after 72 years. In a nut shell, it affects the seasons on the earth by shifting the solstices and equinoxes one day earlier. This precession of the earth's axis only causes a shift in the weather pattern - not any increase or decrease in rain or temperature. The shift in seasons over a long period of time can be seen in Fig. 3 where the shift is shown along the arrow. It takes place in the counter-clockwise manner. The numbers in this figure show various months of a year. This fact was observed by the European Church and it led to the change in calendar from the Julian to Gregorian as described next [7,8].
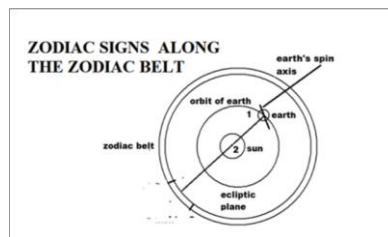

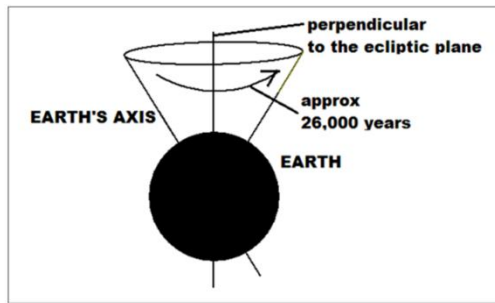**Fig. 1. Zodiac signs along the zodiac belt**
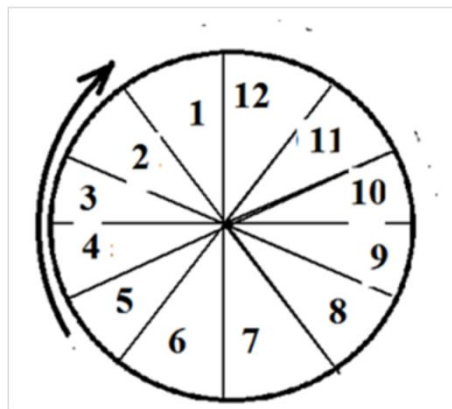
Fig. 2. Precession of earth's axis

Fig. 3. Shifting of season due to precession

3. THE EUROPEAN (GREGORIAN) CALENDAR

The Europeans used Julian calendar prior to 1582 but it was refined in 1582 AD when the length of the year was reduced by about 20 seconds, and this type of year is called a tropical year [9,10]. It was Pope Gregory who refined the calendar and after 1582 it is called as Gregorian calendar. The reason for the reform was to bring the date for the celebration of Easter to the time of the year in which the First Council of Nicaea held - which was in 325 AD. As mentioned above, in Europe the third type of Motion (precession) was not known and as a result, the seasons (equinoxes) drifted earlier by one day in every 72 years. In 325 AD the spring equinox took place on March 21. In 1582, it had shifted to March 10 [1,2,7,8,9]. Because the celebration of Easter was tied to the spring equinox, the Roman Catholic Church considered this steady drift in the date of Easter undesirable. To stop this drift in the Julian calendar, Pope Gregory reformed the calendar by making the length of the year 20 seconds shorter than a sidereal year observed in the Julian calendar. The consequence of this reform

was that the equinoxes after and including 325AD would always occur on March 21. This shorter year is called a tropical year so that a season on a given day would always remain the same, year after year, but it was a deviation from a sidereal year used in other parts of the world including India.

4. WATER WEATHERING OF SPHINX DUE TO HEAVY RAIN?

In reference 6, calculations have been performed to show the regions of the earth where the desert exists. The formation of desert requires long periods of time in millions of years and that it is latitude based. The latitude of sphinx did not change in just thousand years. The change in latitude takes place due to the movement of the earth's plates which take place over millions of years. In Africa this has happened where the Mediterranean Sea has become shorter in area but over millions of years. In other words the latitude of a place can change thereby affecting the rain pattern only when the plate of the earth shifts but this is extremely slow process requiring tens of millions of years. So, the precession of the earth's axis merely causes the seasons to shift earlier but it does not change the intensity of the weather i.e. if around the year there is scanty rain these days around the pyramid then even 7000 or 10,000 years earlier also the total amount of rain would not change. Given this, one can say that the weathering of the Sphinx did not take place due to the flow of water around it as the rainfall in its area is very scarce.

5. CONCLUSION

In the present work, rounding off on the Sphinx in Egypt was examined and the possibility of its construction time earlier than 2500 BC was examined. Since the Sphinx lies in a desert where the rain is scanty, that possibility does not exist since 2500BC. Next, the possibility of excess rain in 7000BC was examined as indicated by several archeologists. It was scientifically shown that the precession of the earth's axis merely causes shifting earlier of the weather in a calendar year but it does not cause change in the intensity of the seasons. This was illustrated by adoption of change in European Calendar in 1582 by Pope Gregory.

COMPETING INTERESTS

Author has declared that no competing interests exist.

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The Relative Importance of Self-esteem and Collective Self-esteem to Subjective Wellbeing: A Study of Hong Kong Chinese and Australian Chinese

Lufanna Ching-Han Lai [a*#]

ABSTRACT

The purpose of this study was to determine the relative importance of self-esteem and collective self-esteem (CSE) in predicting subjective wellbeing (SWB) for the Hong Kong Chinese and Australian Chinese, with the latter group comprising first-generation and second-generation immigrants. Both self-esteem and CSE predicted SWB variance for all Chinese respondents by embedding in the homeostatic model of SWB, but it was interesting to note that CSE predicted SWB variance more strongly for Australian Chinese than Hong Kong Chinese and that the amount of SWB variance contributed by CSE was highest for Australian second-generation Chinese immigrants. These findings were in line with the higher level of collectivism found among Australian Chinese individuals, which were explained in terms of migrant status and nostalgic sentiment. Nostalgic sentiment reinforces ethnic group identity as an important dimension of self-evaluation for Australian Chinese.

Keywords: Collective self-esteem; self-esteem; subjective wellbeing; individualism-collectivism; a revised homeostatic model of subjective wellbeing.

1. INTRODUCTION

It is generally acknowledged that a person's sense of worth has a strong correlation with their wellbeing. In this light, at least two sources of felt worthiness are acknowledged, i.e., self-esteem and collective self-esteem (CSE). Self-esteem refers to the degree to which an individual experiences oneself as worthy and capable [1] and has been substantially documented as being positively associated with wellbeing [e.g., 2,3]. Although CSE refers to the sense of worthiness derived from social group membership [4,5], similar to self-esteem, it is found to have a positive tie with wellbeing [e.g., 6,5]. The relative importance of

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these two sources of worthiness appears to vary as a function of differential cultural dimension, viz., individualism and collectivism. Given that self-esteem is related to individual attributes, it is the dominant source of felt worthiness in Western, individualist societies [6,7]. In contrast, CSE is the evaluation of self-worthiness based on social groups and is found to have higher dominance in the Eastern, collectivist culture [5]. Hence, by embedding these two sources of worthiness in a revised homeostatic model of subjective wellbeing (SWB) [8], this study aims to examine the relative importance of self-esteem and CSE in predicting SWB for Hong Kong Chinese and Australian Chinese people, respectively. This revised homeostatic model integrates the affective (content, happy and excited), cognitive (self-esteem, optimism and perceived control) and experiential factors related to SWB [8].

2. LITERATURE REVIEW

2.1 Normative Levels of Subjective Well-Being

SWB is defined as the affective and cognitive evaluation people make about how happy and satisfied they are with their lives [9,10]. Within psychology, a growing number of studies support the view of SWB as relatively stable and moderately positive [e.g., 11,12]. One of the first studies to indicate this stable positivity [13] combined the population means from 16 life satisfaction studies conducted in Western nations. Data were standardized to a statistic called the percentage of scale maximum (%SM), which converts scale scores into a range from 0 to 100. Using the mean values from each survey as data yielded a mean of 75 points and a standard deviation (SD) of 2.5. Hence, the means from these disparate studies were in the range of 70-80% SM. However, the subsequent inclusion of survey means from non-Western nations revealed that the mean SWB was 70 (SD=5), thus causing the normative range to expand downwards to 60-80% SM [14]. This downwards expansion is due to two different influences. One is the effect of poverty and disadvantage in economically underdeveloped countries. The other is the downwards influence of cultural response bias, acting particularly within Confucian-based cultures [15].

2.2 Subjective Well-Being Homeostasis

The stable positivity of SWB as described is explained by a revised homeostatic model of SWB as follows in Fig.1.

The affective factor of homeostatically protected mood (HPMood) is a construct evolved from Russell's [16] conception of core affect. Similar to core affect, HPMood exists without reference to objects or events [17]. It is proposed as a genetically determined, constant positive affective background that pervades many thought processes but most especially those that are evaluative of personal and general characteristics. The archetypical form of such evaluative is 'How satisfied are you with your life as a whole?' It was found that the response to this item was heavily saturated with HPMood [18]. Based on the above

conceptualization and use of structural equation modelling, Davern et al. [18] found HPMood to comprise three affects as: content, happy and excited. These scholars also proposed that HPMood is the basis of the SWB set-point and the positive mood defended by homeostasis. The domination of SWB by HPMood has also been confirmed by [19] and [20].
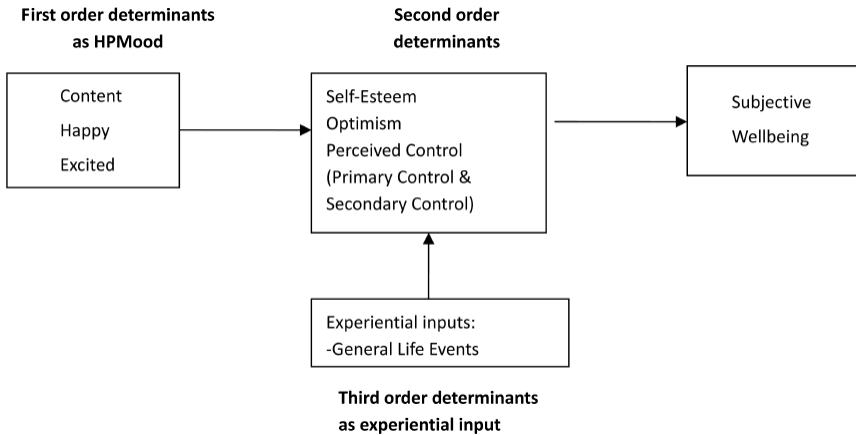

Fig. 1. A Revised Homeostatic Model of Subjective Wellbeing [8]

In the model, the three cognitive buffers of self-esteem, optimism and perceived control are not only strongly perfused with HPMood but also have a cognitive component responsible for adjusting each buffer to defend HPMood [21]. That is, they interact intimately with momentary experiences and assist in the process of defending HPMood against life experiences [21,22]. As such, people with high self-esteem sustain their wellbeing more effectively than those with low self-esteem [23,24]. Besides, optimists buffer against adversity by holding the global expectation that current difficulties will not last and things will get better with time [25,26]. Additionally, when facing threatening events, people with high perceived control tend to hold positive beliefs about their ability to change a situation and achieve a desirable outcome [27,28]. In short, the homeostatic model proposes that SWB is the output of the interaction between HPMood, cognitive buffers and experiential factors. In this study, CSE will be added as a cognitive buffer in the homeostatic model and is predicted to contribute unique SWB variance beyond the variance accounted for by the homeostatic factors.

2.3 Relationship between Individualism/Collectivism and Self-esteem/Collective Self-esteem

While self-esteem emphasizes that feelings of self-worth and self-respect are derived from, or related to, an individual's personal attributes, competencies and standing relative to other individuals [6], CSE refers to the feelings and evaluations of self-worthiness based on the social groups, such as ethnic or work

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groups, of which one is a member [29]. In this light, the distinctiveness of these two constructs can be illustrated by their relative influence, as the dominant sources of worthiness, in different cultures, i.e., individualism and collectivism.

In individualist societies, for example, the U.S.A., Canada, Australia and New Zealand [30], people's identity is derived from their individual attributes. This type of personal identity lets individuals view themselves as separate and autonomous entities. Hence, people are emotionally independent from groups and reliant on individual interests to guide their behaviour [31,32]. As in these societies, the individual self is emphasized and self-concept is mainly related to personal identity, self-esteem should be the dominant source of felt worthiness. Indeed, this claim has been empirically supported [6,7].

However, in collectivist societies, for example, China, Hong Kong, Korea, and Japan [30], individuals derive their identity from the social groups to which they belong. The social identity, so derived, allows the individuals to view themselves as interconnected and embedded in interdependent social relationships. Hence, people in these societies are emotionally dependent on collectivities and give priority to the collective interest [31,32]. As the collective self is emphasized in these societies and self-concept is primarily associated with social identity, CSE should have higher influence than self-esteem. In support of this, Zhang [5] demonstrated that people who live within collectivist cultures are more likely to derive their sense of worthiness from the collective nature of social identity.

In short, by embedding these factors in the homeostatic model, this study aims to investigate the relative contribution of self-esteem and CSE to SWB for Chinese people in Hong Kong (HK) and first-generation (AU1) and second-generation Chinese immigrants (AU2) in Australia. While Hong Kong is predominantly a collectivist Chinese society, Australia is an individualist Western society. Thus, it is likely that CSE will be more important than self-esteem in contributing to the SWB of HK. Additionally, compared with AU1, who migrated to Australia in the later part of their life, CSE will be less important than self-esteem in contributing to SWB for AU2, as the latter group is likely to be exposed to a higher influence of Western culture during their upbringing in Australia. Hence, it is hypothesized that CSE will explain unique SWB variance beyond the other homeostatic model factors and that the proportion of unique SWB variance contributed by CSE will be the highest for HK, intermediate for AU1 and lowest for AU2. However, the proportion of independent contributions made by self-esteem will be in reverse order for these three groups.

3. METHODS

3.1 Participants

Through convenience sampling, three groups of samples were drawn as: HK (N=716), AU1 (N=204) and AU2 (N=134). The composition of participants is summarized below:

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In terms of gender distribution, except for AU2, which was slightly dominated by males (male: 53.44%), the other groups were more female dominant [HK (female: 59.68%); AU1 (female: 64.47%)]. In terms of age, the majority of HK (57.81%) and AU1 (44.78%) participants were in middle adulthood (36-55 years), while over half of the AU2 (53.38%) participants were aged 17 or below. Three income levels were used for both the Australian participants (Low: AU$30,999 or less; Medium: AU$31,000-$60,000; High: AU$60,001 and above) [33] and Hong Kong participants (Low: HK$14,999 or less; Medium: HK$15,000-$20,000; High: HK$20,001 and above) [34]. The income categories correspond with the standard income levels of each country. Regarding income distribution, nearly half of the HK (49.62%), AU1 (43.11%), AU2 (42.99%) participants belonged to the high-income groups.

3.2 Measures

The Chinese participants in both Hong Kong and Australia completed a questionnaire using an 11-point end-defined scale for all items.

Subjective Wellbeing (SWB). This was measured by the Personal Wellbeing Index [35]. The scale comprises seven items measuring satisfaction with domains as: standard of living, health, achievement in life, relationships, safety, community connectedness and future security. The reliability coefficient for this study was.88.

HPMood. The three affective predictors—content, happiness and excitement— were measured by asking participants to indicate how each of them described their feelings when they thought about their life in general. A coefficient alpha of .85 was obtained in this study.

Self-esteem. The ten-item Rosenberg Self-Esteem Scale [1] was used. The coefficient alpha in this study was.78.

Optimism. The Life Orientation Test – Revised (LOT-R) [36] comprises six questions framed either in an optimistic or pessimistic fashion. This survey only used the three optimistically framed questions. In this study, the reliability coefficient reported for this three-item scale was.79.

Perceived Control. A six-item scale was used as a measure of primary and secondary control. These six items were extracted from [37], which originally consists of nine items, including a three-item measure of relinquished control. In this study, using the six-item version, an alpha of.83 was obtained.

Experiential Input. Life events were measured by asking participants whether anything had happened recently that caused them to feel happier or sadder than normal. Participants were asked to respond with one of the following three response categories: 'yes, happier'=3, 'no'=2 and 'yes, sadder'=1.

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Collective Self-esteem (CSE). The sixteen-item CSE scale [4] comprising four subscales was used. In this study, the coefficient alphas for the subscales were the Membership Esteem subscale (alpha=.66), the Private CSE subscale (alpha=.73), the Public CSE subscale (alpha=.72), and the Importance to Identity subscale (alpha=.60). The total scale alpha was.84.

Individualism-Collectivism. The eight-item Individualism-Collectivism Scale [38] was used, with a high score indicating collectivistic belief and a low score reflecting individualistic belief. In this study, an alpha of.68 was obtained.

4. RESULTS

Descriptive statistics for the studied variables are presented as follows:

Table 1. Descriptive statistics

	HK		Australian Chinese (1) + (2)		(1) AU1		(2) AU2	
	M	*SD*	*M*	*SD*	*M*	*SD*	*M*	*SD*
SWB	65.55	12.90	73.17	12.02	70.85	11.76	76.32	11.69
HPMood	64.28	16.70	71.12	16.60	69.15	16.60	78.73	16.26
Self-esteem	62.28	12.24	62.27	14.82	60.56	13.04	64.70	16.79
Optimism	68.83	16.01	69.90	17.25	71.66	17.90	67.36	16.01
Perceived Control	73.01	13.72	74.59	13.53	75.78	14.09	72.92	12.57
CSE	64.65	16.70	69.98	13.01	68.98	12.85	71.34	13.14

The hypothesis to be tested is that CSE will explain the unique SWB variance beyond the other homeostatic model factors and that the proportion of the unique SWB variance contributed by CSE will be the highest for HK, intermediate for AU1 and lowest for AU2. However, the proportion of independent contributions made by self-esteem will be in reverse order for these three groups. Hierarchical regressions were performed for all respondents and separately for each of the three groups (HK, AU1 and AU2). The homeostatic model factors of life events, HPMood, self-esteem, optimism and perceived control were entered in Step 1, and CSE was added in Step 2. SWB, as the dependent variable (DV), was computed as the mean of 7 domain scores of the Personal Wellbeing Index. The assumptions for regression analyses were met. A summary of the results is provided below in Table 2.

Taking all respondents together, CSE explained 4% (0.04) significant SWB variance in Model 2. Contrary to the prediction, CSE failed to explain any unique SWB variance for HK but made 2% (0.02) and 4% (0.04) independent contributions for AU1 and AU2, respectively. Again, contrary to the prediction, self-esteem explained the same amount of significant SWB variance, i.e., 3% (0.03), for HK and AU2 but failed to contribute any significant variance for AU1. Instead, for AU2, the amount of explanatory variance made by CSE is 1% higher than that self-esteem (3%).

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Table 2. A Summary of the Hierarchical Regression Analyses for Homeostatic Factors and CSE on SWB for the Chinese in Hong Kong and Australia

	All respondents			HK			AU1			AU2		
	sr²	*R²*	*ΔR²*	*sr²*	*R²*	*ΔR²*	*sr²*	*R²*	*ΔR²*	*sr²*	*R²*	*ΔR²*
Model 1		0.51***			0.50***			0.45***			0.47***	
-Life Events	-			-			-			-		
-HPMood	0.02*			0.08***			0.03**			0.02*		
-Self-Esteem	0.07***			0.05***			0.03**			0.07***		
-Optimism	-			0.01***			0.03**			-		
-Perceived Control	-			0.01***			0.02*			-		
Model 2		0.51***	0.04**		0.50***	0.00		0.47***	0.02*		0.51***	0.04**
-Life Events	-			-			-			-		
-HPMood	0.02*			0.07***			0.03**			0.02*		
-Self-Esteem	0.03**			0.03***			-			0.03**		
-Optimism	-			0.01***			0.03**			-		
-Perceived Control	-			0.01**			-			-		
-CSE	0.04**			-			0.02*			0.04**		
-(SWB : DV)												

sr²: the proportion of unique variance explained
***p<.001. **p<.01. *p<.05.

Exploratory Study: Comparing the level of collectivism between groups.

Given the above findings that CSE is more related to the SWB of the Australian Chinese than Hong Kong Chinese, one-way ANOVA was performed to investigate the strength of individualism-collectivism of these three Chinese groups, with a higher score indicating higher collectivism. As such, the results are provided below in Table 3.

Table 3. The Chinese Groups in Australia and Hong Kong x Individualism-Collectivism

Groups	Collectivism		
	N	Mean	SD
AU1	182	66.46	12.90
AU2	130	66.01	11.10
HK	660	63.62	13.23
ANOVA each column	$F_{(2,969)}=4.51$, $p=.011$		
Post-hocs Tukey	AU1>HK, $p=.024$		

This result was consistent with previous findings in that both AU1 and AU2 scored higher in collectivism than HK. Post hoc analysis indicated that the score of AU1 was significantly higher than that of HK.

5. DISCUSSION

The findings of a higher level of collectivism and greater importance of CSE for Australian Chinese may perhaps be explained in terms of the encounters specific to this group, i.e., migrant status and nostalgic sentiment.

5.1 Migrant Status

Australia is a multinational and multicultural society in which Chinese people make up one of the numerous migrant ethnic groups. Indeed, the identity derived from being a member of the Chinese ethnic group is a salient social identity to Chinese immigrants, thus leading them to view the ethnic group they belong to as an ingroup but the other ethnic groups as outgroups [39]. This ingroup-outgroup categorization will, in turn, enhance their group cohesiveness [40]. In addition, Chinese immigrants tend to automatically internalize the ingroup attributes as part of their self-evaluation, which eventually contributes to CSE [41]. However, the outgroups, referring to the other ethnic groups in Australian society, may become potential competitors or threats to the survival or wellbeing of Chinese immigrants. Hence, the development of a highly cohesive ingroup and strong sense of collectivism has functional and adaptive significance to them. That is, in facing life difficulties and challenges, Chinese immigrants can depend on each other to resolve them, provide emotional support, and form into a coalition to voice grievances and/or fight for their rights or benefits. Indeed, these functional utilities also apply to their second generation. That is, although the second-generation are born in Australia, the Chinese ethnic group identity

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remains a salient social identity due to their inhabitation in a migrant country with a heterogeneous population. Thus, as Australian Chinese people are highly dependent upon one another, their ethnic group is of vital importance to them and is pivotal as a source of felt worthiness.

5.2 Nostalgic Sentiment

Another explanation of the higher level of collectivism and greater importance of CSE for Australian Chinese people may be related to their deliberate attempt to preserve traditional Chinese cultural values due to nostalgia. Life transitions, such as migration, inevitably lead to changes in social settings and disintegration of social bonds, thus causing people to feel directionless and isolated [42]. In turn, nostalgia is triggered, which is a sentimental longing for the past, serving the psychological function of bolstering social bonds in the country of migration. In effect, migrants have an enhanced tendency to initiate interactions and provide emotional support to those from the same ethnic group [43]. These behaviours may help them to re-experience the past and, hence, counteract the negative affect resulting from nostalgia [44]. As such, it is understandable why Australian Chinese immigrants are eager to form close network ties and develop a cohesive Chinese community, manifested as living close together in the same or nearby district; organizing voluntary activities to offer support and share resources; running community centres to facilitate communication; establishing educational institutes to impart Chinese education; and building religious facilities for gatherings. This is illustrated by the development of Chinatowns in all the provinces in Australia [45]. Hence, nostalgic sentiment reinforces ethnic group identity as an important dimension of self-evaluation for Australian Chinese.

There may perhaps be another plausible explanation for the findings regarding AU2. Due to their parents' (AU1) migrant status and the abovementioned nostalgic sentiment, a tight-knitted Chinese-style living environment will be enthusiastically provided for their growth, and collectivistic thinking will be actively passed on to them. As it is noteworthy that parenting behaviour exerts a pervasive and enduring influence on individuals' development [46], it is possible that the upbringing of AU2 under such circumstances influences them to place higher value on collectivism than individualism, as well as to rely more on CSE as the source of worthiness than self-esteem.

The failure of CSE to explain the unique SWB variance for HK implies that this group might have experienced a fading of Chinese cultural influence, which is attributable to the history of British colonization and westernization of Hong Kong society.

6. CONCLUSION

This study offers some insights into the relative importance of CSE and self-esteem as a source of felt worthiness for Hong Kong Chinese and Australian Chinese people. However, given the use of convenience sampling and

overrepresentation of respondents aged 17 or below for AU2, further study in which a systematic sampling method is used to validate the findings is warranted.

COMPETING INTERESTS

Author has declared that no competing interests exist.

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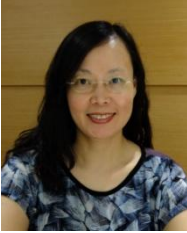
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The Comeback Home of WWII American Veterans: Social Consequences

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ABSTRACT

The end of the Second World War in 1945 brought many American soldiers home, though they did not return to the prosperous country that had existed during the war time. The economy had greatly benefited from the war effort, but when it was all over, the thousands of jobs that had been created across the nation disappeared and the American economy suffered because of that. Although the dropping of the atomic bombs over Japan made the war end more quickly than expected, the country was still not ready for conversion. As a consequence, this forced the Truman's administration to return America's economy to normal, which resulted in a period of economic troubles, by means of a specific plan for rehabilitation and reintegration to civilian life.
The G.I. Bill, often referred to as the Service Readjustment Act of 1944, was a significant piece of legislation that offered a number of benefits to returning World War II veterans. This law, which was enacted in the United States in June 1944 and later became Public Law 78-346, is available to all veterans who served during the war years. Of the numerous connected measures that the US administration hurried, it was the most illustrative and striking. The main objective throughout this paper will lay the focus primarily on the major social consequences that the adoption of the various measures undertaken had on American society in the late 40s, especially after the return home of the Second World War veterans.

Keywords: American veterans; G.I. Bill; reintegration; social rehabilitation; social measures.

1. INTRODUCTION

Romantic visions of reuniting with returning veterans filled advertisements in the waning days of the war and, especially, into the postwar period. From every walk of life, men and women answered the call to service and discharged their duties honorably. Along with those families that grieved sons, fathers and brothers who

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made the supreme sacrifice, many others coped with disabilities, both physical and mental, wrought by war. In the meantime, most returning veterans wanted to get on with their lives and live the "American Dream" they had deferred for so long.

American society has witnessed a long tradition of providing benefits to veterans. After the Civil War, for example, the largest unit within the federal budget expenditure was aimed at the benefits to veterans. But after the First World War, this current spending became a concern and an obsession for the administration. Because of this apprehension, the veterans of the Great War did not receive pensions which were at the same level as their predecessors.

Instead, they only obtained a return trip home and a small pay for their enlistment. These veterans eventually received compensation that was quite more substantial. This American tradition of appreciation towards the veterans was repeated after World War II again. And the way in which these benefits took shape was by means of the Servicemen Readjustment Act of 1944.

Popularly known as the G.I. Bill of Rights, or simply as the *G.I. Bill*, this bill guaranteed to the veterans who were returning from the battlefront educational opportunities, loan guarantees, employment service, unemployment benefits and some other lesser-known benefits [1].

Although it could be said that the educational benefits were considered as the most important impact of the *G.I. Bill*, there were other measures which also had an enormous impact for veterans and the civil society that welcomed them in the second half of the 40s.

In this period, between the late 1940s and the early 1950s, a great deal of the academic work related to this bill focused on its achievements and how well the law was working, at least apparently, as well as the benefits available to veterans at that time. The vast majority of these studies promoted the social work that this measure provided.

2. THE COMEBACK HOME OF WWII VETERANS

The demobilization of about 12 million men and women serving in the US Armed Forces at the close of the war was destined to be a drawn-out affair for practical and strategic reasons. Simply moving that many people quickly from the far corners of the globe would be impossible. So, just as President Truman was officially announcing the surrender of Japan in August 1945, he was also making demobilization plans, forecasting that over 5 million men would return to civilian life in the next months. He ordered the immediate reduction in selective service inductions from 80,000 to 50,000 per month. And he ordered the local draft boards to stop inducting anyone over 25 years old.

The end of the First World War and the ensuing depression not until fourteen years later that followed it were two factors which propelled the creation of the *G.I. Bill.* After the First World War, the veterans who had been injured were

eligible to opt for federal benefits while those veterans who had served but were lucky enough not to be hurt or injured in the battlefield were only offered little more than a trip back home.

In 1924, veterans asked Congress to receive a bonus for their service time, especially after seeing the prosperity of those who had remained in the country during the war. The law enacted to put a remedy to this situation was the Adjusted Compensation Act of 1924. Although this bonus was agreed and passed on the House, it was never paid.

The culmination of these events was demonstrated in the two demonstrations scattered by the so-called "Bonus Expeditionary Force" in Washington D.C. in 1932 and 1933 respectively. Republican President Herbert Hoover crushed these incidents violently by sending federal troops over to the capital. This was the first time that federal troops were deployed against former US soldiers in the country. Democratic President Franklin D. Roosevelt helped to rectify the second march of these veterans with the due payment to the veterans eligible for benefits. When writing about the incidents that took place in 1932, the American sociologist William W. Waller wrote the following: "No planning now is to plan disaster for the future" [2]. Waller was undoubtedly referring to the fact that it was necessary to formulate a plan in order to avoid repeating the mistakes from the past.

The realization that there would soon be a new group of unemployed veterans returning home and the fact that they would require that the country take care of them came from the highest political level, specifically from the President Roosevelt and his wife Eleanor Roosevelt. Then, the latter said in 1942: "the veterans could create a dangerous pressure group in our midst" [3]. So the president took action to combat this potential threat in an informal talk pronounced on June 28, 1943: "Besides concentrating on the military victory, we are not neglecting the planning of the things to come. Among many other things, we are laying out plans to the return to civilian life of our brave men and women in the Armed Forces. I have assured them that the American people will not let them down when the war is won" [4].

President Roosevelt continued detailing a pattern of six points of what he felt it was to be included in terms of benefits for the veterans returning home. This list included a payment of enlistment output, unemployment insurance benefits in education, allowance credit, and health care for the disabled in the war and pensions for disabled veterans.

There were a number of different factions involved in the drafting and approval of the *G.I. Bill*. The American Legion, for example, had the best wishes of veterans as its vanguard. This organization had been struggling to ensure that veterans were not forgotten at the end of the war and were left in misery as it had occurred after World War I.

By the fall of 1943, Congress had submitted 640 bills regarding veterans' affairs, but it did not act upon any of them. As a result, in November 1943, the American

Legion had formed a committee, headed by former Illinois governor, John H. Stelle [5], to draft a bill for readjustment of the veterans of the Second World War.

At the time when this committee was working on this bill, the Senate approved a bill to allocate five hundred dollars to veterans on pay compensation. The importance of this bill was simply the fact that it provided money for veterans when they were discharged. But before the House could pass the bill, it was postponed to the Second Session. Once more, it was another example of the lack of action undertaken by Congress.

In the House of Representatives, Congressman John Rankin of Mississippi, chairman of the "Legislation Committee of the Veterans of World War II", presented the *G.I. Bill* on 10 January 1944. Senator Bennett Champ Clark [6] of Missouri, and one of the founders of the *American Legion*, introduced the companion bill in the Senate the next day. The promise of support for returning veterans that President Roosevelt had imagined less than six months ago finally appeared in Congress.

Both bills were approved in their respective chambers and had to go through a joint committee in order to standardize the projects that each House had approved. On the morning of June 9, 1944, the bill was unanimously approved after both the House of Representatives and the Senate had passed it on 12 and 13 June, respectively. A compromise agreement was reached between both chambers so as to get the bill passed.

Until finally, on June 22, 1944, the Servicemen Readjustment Act was finally signed into law, which is commonly known by the name of the *G.I. Bill of Rights* [7]. As its name suggests, the Servicemen Readjustment Act was primarily designed to help integrate the waves of veterans returning back home to American society after World War II. The main purpose of the *G.I. Bill*, therefore, was to ensure that soldiers returning from the battlefront have a smooth transition to civilian life so as to avoid the mistakes from the past.

During the war, the politicians from the two main political parties wanted to avoid the confusion of postwar upon the benefits given to veterans, who became a political target in the twenties and thirties. President Roosevelt wanted a post-war assistance program to help the transition to civilian life to this huge mass of veterans.

Veterans' organizations mobilized their support in Congress, which rejected Roosevelt's approach providing benefits only to veterans from the military service. Professor of political history at the University of Florida, Stephen R. Ortiz, said that his efforts "barricaded the *VFW* and *American Legion* as the two pillars of the pressure of the American veterans for decades" [8].

Republican congressman from Kansas, Harry W. Colmery [9], a former national commander of the *American Legion* and former chairman of the Republican

Party, was awarded the responsibility of writing the first draft of the *G.I. Bill*, passing onto the Senate the next day. According to a disclaimer by Glenn C. Altschuler [10], professor at Cornell University, Congressman Colmery wrote down his ideas on the devices of a desk or even on the napkins from the hotel where he was staying at.

US Senator Ernest W. McFarland [11], a Democrat from Arizona, was also actively involved in the approval of the project and is known as one of the fathers of the *G.I. Bill*, as it is recognized by the historian James E. McMillan [12] in his book. Likewise, we could then consider the Republican congresswoman from Massachusetts, Edith N. Rogers, as the mother of the *G.I. Bill* since she helped write and co-sponsored the legislation that was pending in the House of Representatives. As it happened with Colmery, in the opinion of the historian Kathleen Frydl [13], her contribution to the drafting and approval of this law has been obscured by time.

However, all these criticisms and reservations at the start were overcome by the pressure of public opinion. Finally, the Democratic President Franklin D. Roosevelt signed the *G.I. Bill* on 22 June 1944. The notoriety of this measure was clearly demonstrated in the statement by President Roosevelt after its approval: "With the signing of this bill, it is completed a full program of special benefits to veterans of World War II. It provides an emphatic notoriety to the men and women of our Armed Forces so that they can feel that the American people will not disappoint them" [14].

3. The G. I. BILL IN THE AMERICAN SOCIETY OF THE 40S: SOCIAL CONSEQUENCES

Demobilized veterans returning home experienced vastly different circumstances during the war, depending on where they went and what they did. Some spent the entire war in a relatively routine and uneventful environment not greatly removed from their civilian experience. But conversely, other were thrown into a maelstrom of death and brutality.

Likewise, the communities they returned to experience the war in different ways as well. some communities, far away from defense industries or military bases, changed little. They may have stagnated and lost some of their population to migration during the war, but they were essentially the same. But others were transformed by defense activity. Their populations boomed with many outsiders moving in and changing the culture. Thus, the range of reactions varied greatly from veteran to veteran and community to community.

Even before being discharged, many servicemen had specific opinions about returning to civilian life. And jobs were high on the list of priorities. Others were frustrated that they would be late for the postwar scramble for jobs. Some servicemen also resented the frivolous civilian life shown in magazines. Many returning veterans emphasized that each person needed to be treated as an individual, not as a potential problem in their readjustment to civilian life.

There is a popular belief that the *G.I. Bill* treated all veterans alike. Unfortunately, this widespread belief does not seem entirely truthful. From now on, we will explain some of the provisions of this law that are not so well known, with special attention to the groups that it was intended to, especially the effects that this law had on minorities. Although the *G.I. Bill* was popular for its seemingly egalitarian principles for all veterans alike, it was less egalitarian in its further application, in particular, the distribution of benefits to black veterans.

Prior to the passage of the bill, Congressman John Rankin of Mississippi worked to ensure that the actual distribution and application of funds from the *G.I. Bill* were handled by the states. He argued that the application of this law was a state matter, not a federal one. As Michael J. Bennet said: "The *G.I. Bill* was the first social legislation that did not notice the skin color in America" [15]. However, other studies show that this was not always as such. To this end, the purpose of this article is to explain whether this law really helped all veterans alike as it is popularly believed, though it is also true that it changed their role in society forever.

The *G.I. Bill* has a number of provisions in its final writing, some of which are not as well-known as the educational aspects. In fact, the final bill which was tabled in the House of Representatives contained fifteen chapters, dealing with a number of different aspects of life in the military discharged from service, from the right to housing to low-interest loans and assistance in education matters.

These chapters of the articles of the law include provisions such as the following: the benefit of the guarantee of part of a loan to buy a house or to start a business, employment services, unemployment services, amount of allowance benefit, disqualifications, money for hospitals, the administration of the law, and a number of legal issues which any law requires [16]. An important aspect of the law is the definition of what qualifies as a veteran: "Anyone who served in the military on or after September 16, 1940 and before the end of this war, provided he or she has served for 90 days" [17].

The application of the *G.I. Bill* allowed many veterans to buy homes, to attend high school or college, opportunities that otherwise would have been economically impossible for them. But this bill, although it is described as primarily intended for all veterans, did not affect them all equally. For example, women had not even been seriously considered as eligible for these benefits.

The Veterans' Administration (*VA*) was the responsible for the implementation of this law. Unfortunately, in its first fifty years of existence, no records relating to women have remained. Without this sort of information there is no way to determine the real inability of women to thrive within the framework of the law. Besides this fact, it was expected that women, as a general rule, were housewives and not much else in this era. In a questionnaire experiment carried out in the Air Force about the postwar ambitions of women in the military

(Women's Army Corps, WAC) "73% said that they preferred the marriage and the maintenance of the family home" [18].

So, it is no surprising that women and their ambitions under the *G.I. Bill* were not discussed very often. Women served in the army in all the different branches of service: the Women's Army Corps (*WAC*), the Army Nurse Corps, the Navy Nurse Corps, the Women's Marine Corps, and the Women Airforce Service Pilots (*WASPS*). The majority of these women was granted the status of veterans and therefore had the ability to participate in the *G.I. Bill* like their male counterparts did, but not all them could. To give just one example, the Air Force pilot women were not granted the veteran status as their colleagues from other services were. As a result, these women lost the opportunity to improve through programs aimed for veterans.

An article written by Doria Higgins said that in 1940 "the percentage of women studying at university was 40%" [19]. By 1947, that percentage had dropped to 29% due to the fact that the *G.I. Bill* typically benefited men, not women. It was obvious, then, that women were not finding their niche in the universities at that time.

Women may have struggled harder under the provisions of this law, but they were not the only group who experienced some form of discrimination. Hispanics, as a group, soon realized that the *G.I. Bill* was also discriminatory against them. A former army major and medical doctor named Hector P. Garcia started an organization in 1948 called the American G.I. Forum. This organization was formed because "they were denying benefits to Americans of Mexican ascendency and to other Hispanics throughout the entire country" [20].

One benefit which this group, logically, wanted to participate from was that of education. This can easily be surmised through the forum motto: "Education is our freedom and liberty should be the business of everyone". As Hector Ramos said: "Hispanic veterans of World War II contributed to the political integrity of the country and to its social progress" [21]. The Hispanic veterans have not been, ultimately, the target of many studies. What we do know for certain is that this group of veterans found some difficulties under the *G.I. Bill*. Perhaps, further research on this social group will be completed in the future.

But there is another group whose struggle has been better documented and studied, African-American veterans, who experienced an uneven application of the law. Howard Johnson, in an article which came out in a magazine in 1947 said that "there were 1,554,000 black veterans returning from the war, with more than 700,000 black veterans in the southern states" [22]. What we should always keep in mind is the fact that during the time in which the *G.I. Bill* was approved, both the military and the country were scavengers. Even the man who introduced the bill in the House of Representatives, Congressman Rankin, has sometimes been vilified for being a racist who almost let the law die in the committee because of their opinions.

Hilary Herbold wrote an interesting article full of the injustices and inequalities faced by African Americans at the hands of the Veterans Administration (*VA*). She reported that in 1947 in a southern state for which she would not provide the name, "the Veterans Administration employed 1,700 veterans, of which only seven were African-Americans" [23]. And all this despite the fact that one third of all South veterans was African-American.

Added to this problem was the fact that the "separate but equal" principle was applied in hospitals dependent from the VA. As it was typical in the case of other services following the application of this principle, these hospitals were, in the best case, below the norm. The *VA* obviously had some problems with the issue of race. However, they were not the only group of veterans who fought for this. As a general rule, cities had two separate messages, one for whites and another one for blacks. In the fifties, the national organizations changed their laws to include the provision that membership could not be based on race, religion or gender.

The misdistribution of benefits for black veterans resulted in two important but contradictory social effects in opinion of Sarah Turner [24]. First, the unequal distribution of educational benefits exacerbated the socioeconomic differences between blacks and whites in the South. And secondly, for the few blacks who were able to take advantage of the law may have had the same consequences for their confidence in the government and participation as to whites.

4. THE BENEFITS OF G.I. BILL FOR THE EDUCATION OF WWII VETERANS

In spite of the fact that the economy was doing quite poorly, American soldiers still had a lot to look forward to on their massive return home. Those veterans who wished to settle down and start their own families could do so with much more ease, while those who wanted to continue with their education could worry less about the finances for such an endeavor.

These things, among some others, were made possible because of the *G. I. Bill*, which was created so that American veterans would have more opportunities to return to normalcy, offering them financial aid in medical areas, home investments and business, and especially in the field of education. More specifically, the Truman administration paid for all school material needed and they helped them pay for the cost of living while any veteran attended a college. The *G.I. Bill* also allowed veterans to attend any college that they wanted. As long as they met the previous requirements, they could attend for free. As a result, millions of veterans benefited from this bill.

The title II of the *G.I. Bill* provisions intended not only to achieve the broader objectives of the same, but also to revive the US economy which suffered a decline in the number of citizens with higher education. On the other hand, the decade of economic depression which preceded the war created a generation of workers not only uneducated but also without any significant work experience.

So, as the title II of the provisions states, "it would help in replenishing the human capital of the nation", capital that had been devastated by years of depression and war.

This law provided to any veteran with at least 90 days of service, the opportunity to follow one year of education at the government expense, with a maximum of four years available for those who had served longer. The government promised to pay the full tuition up to $500, with an available additional stipend to cover living expenses. These benefits were distributed directly to veterans instead of being distributed to universities or vocational schools, regardless of factors such as race. This fact prompted some analysts to describe the law as "a very egalitarian politics".

The veterans took definitely advantage of these benefits in overwhelming numbers, with more than 2.2 million veterans who wanted to pursue higher education by 5.6 million more who attended college or vocational education, according to the data provided by George K. Pratt.

In total, during the postwar period, it is estimated by the prestigious educator David Snedden, that the total number of veterans accounted for 49% of all students enrolled in vocational schools and universities, and 51% of veterans took advantage of the education benefits in one way or another. These overall figures significantly exceeded the projections of the federal government that had been calculated using data from a survey which showed that only between 8% and 12% of the veterans wanted to study full-time after the war.

Despite the high number of veterans who flooded the vocational training centers and universities across the country, there are a number of factors that make it difficult to discern the results of the *G.I. Bill*. To start with, it was demanded to the military recruitment offices that they provided evidence of the literacy and intelligence of those who tried to enter the armed forces and should deny it to those who did not meet the minimum requirements. Because of this policy, the average soldier under 25 years entered the army with at least one more year of education than the average of the general population, according to the data provided by the professor of Sociology Charles Nam. So, the veterans were not singularly intelligent but they were also more likely to have the necessary academic training to immediately begin a university degree on their return. Therefore, it seems logical that they had significantly contributed to an increase in the enrollment rates, even without the *G.I. Bill*.

It also contributes to the difficulty of studying the results of this law the fact that a large part of those who served in the army were those who would have gone to college had not been called up for service. On the other hand, many soldiers had already enrolled in college before entering the Army. It is estimated, according to Karen Thomas, that about 14% in the Army and 6% in the Navy were enrolled in college studies.

Finally, another factor to consider is that the *G.I. Bill* came at a time when there was already a strong increasing trend in the composition of formal education

received by the male population in the country. In fact, the estimates by the "*National Center for Education Statistics*" show that the proportion of the US population that had completed at least four years of college education rose from 2.7% in 1910 to 4.6% in 1940.

It is very likely that, even when it had never been fought the Second World War and that the *G.I. Bill* had never been approved, higher education in the United States would have continued to see an increase in the enrollments with the already existing social trend. Several studies approved after the adoption of the law have attempted to discern about what the effect of the *G.I. Bill* was. Different econometric studies have attempted to estimate the random effects of the law establishing comparisons between the data and studies of the Veterans Adjustment Act of 1952, which provided similar educational benefits to veterans of the Korean War.

A study carried out by the "National Bureau of Economic Research" found that the *G.I. Bill* probably increased the rate of college completion for veterans between 4% and 10%. Given the low rates of college completion at that time, the study concluded that the service in time of war increased the rates of college completion about 50%" [25] due to the bill.

A similar study found that 75% of men who completed their first year at university during the years in which the benefits of the *G.I. Bill* were in force did so as a direct result of the law. Inevitably, this kind of change in the educational attainment of US veterans of course had a significant impact on society in general. The *G.I. Bill* drastically adjusted the American university system and the social perception regarding the university and the government.

However, an estimation of the social consequences of the law should be tempered by two important factors. First, the massive flood of returning veterans from the war would probably have created a large increase for attending college, with or without the law. And secondly, the creation of the middle class and other social changes commonly attributed to the *G.I. Bill* was almost certainly a product of many cultural factors that should not be attributed to a single piece of legislation.

The change in the perception of citizens about who should go to college was perhaps the biggest and most obvious consequence of the influx of veterans into the education system. Before the war, American universities were "typically rural, private, small and elitist for white Protestant" in the words of Willard Waller [26], with little to offer for the average citizen. The veteran was, meanwhile, the quintessential American citizen, called to serve their country in times of war. The massive arrival of these American citizens to the universities created the perception that the university could be useful for more than just the privileged elite.

In addition, the egalitarian structure of the *G.I. Bill* began to challenge the traditional racial and ethnic divisions of higher education. Although its access

was not the same as for white Protestants, blacks and Jews began to make greater progress in college, according to Hilary Herbold. Even Catholic centers began to admit a wider range of students to help accommodate the influx of veterans into the system. As Americans began to see the university as an institution with something to offer to ordinary citizens, they also began to see themselves as members of the college class.

A study examining the cultural representations of university and college focused specifically on this trend: "The same media images and the messages celebrating the common veteran man in the street and their influence on the change of aristocratic institutions could also be interpreted in the opposite direction" [27]. This probably led to the perception that the university was a vehicle for the American working class in order to improve their social position and to seek a level of economic comfort that otherwise would not have been available for them.

This potential perceived as an upward social mobility strengthened the idea that the university was an institution that could benefit not only the elite and probably contributed to the sharp rise in college attendance. All this led to Paul Simon [28] to conclude that "the *G.I. Bill* helped transform the nation from a hierarchical society sharply divided by wealth and class to one where citizens aspired and reached middle-class status". Although the massive increase of veterans attending college transformed the perception that society had of higher education in the US, their presence also caused a change in the nature of the courses which these institutions offered.

A study by Edward Humes [29] at the end of the war of the soldiers returning home, found that 82% of them sought university studies with a high degree of practical application. Recent studies have confirmed that American universities responded to this call for practical training by creating programs specifically designed to meet the wishes of veterans. The impact of this law on the perception of higher education was not limited only to American society. Recent studies have claimed that the *G.I. Bill* had a significant impact on the way in which veterans interacted with the government. Suzanne Mettler, professor of political science at Syracuse University, argues that this law finally helped foster a strong civil society, creating the perception among veterans that the government was willing to care for them.

Mettler argues that these positive perceptual influences made veterans participate in the civic and political life at a much higher rate. In fact, the study found that those who used the educational benefits participated in a 50% increase in civic organizations and that they got involved in politics a 30% more [30].

To make matters worse, state governments were reluctant to increase their funds to accommodate more students. As a result, black institutions of higher education often rejected around 55% of applicants, while whites' centers were expanding rapidly to meet the increasing demand. And since the vast majority of African-

American veterans, over 75% were native of southern states, only 12% were able to pursue a college education, as opposed to 28% of whites. Besides the many immediate consequences of the *G.I. Bill* on American society, the law also left a lasting legacy of government involvement in the system of higher education in the United States forever in terms of great involvement or the number of scholarships awarded. This transformed a system of merit-based aid to one that focused on helping as needed.

5. CONCLUSIONS

The Service Readjustment Act of 1944 is a very important piece of legislation, as well as an important part of American culture. That law made it possible for a multitude of US veterans to receive a number of benefits that would have been impossible for them otherwise. As it happened with a number of past events, there is a tendency to idealize the real achievements of the law. As a veteran of World War II said: "The *GI Bill* was the way in which America said thank you".

The *GI Bill* has been revived on three occasions since the end of the 1944 original law in 1956. In each of these successive laws there have been people who remained in the top of the original ideals. For some, the *GI Bill* allowed pursuing what they regarded as "the American dream", while for others this dream was postponed.

The Service Readjustment Act of 1944 was remarkable, especially for fulfilling its goal of helping veterans returning to civilian life. In turn, it also contributed to the social consequences the implementation of this measure had on American society in the late forties.

Although whole volumes could be written on the legacy of the *GI Bill* on the policy of the federal government of the United States and the social effects thereof, it should be enough to say for now that the benefits provided by it opened the gate to the final government involvement in some of the measures implemented as higher education or tax benefits.

So, this comprehensive review of the legislation and quantitative analysis of its aftermath has shown us the true implications of the implementation of this measure to American society in general, and particularly the veterans themselves.

COMPETING INTERESTS

Authors have declared that no competing interests exist.

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An Investigation of the Longitudinal Effects of Network Latency on Pedagogic Efficacy: A Comparison of Disciplines

H. Francis Bush [a], Vonda K. Walsh [b], Jay Sullivan [b] and James Squire [b*]

ABSTRACT

Interactive web-based learning tools, such as engineering simulations, are becoming increasingly common. Universities find them cost-effective, and students find them convenient. Professors find web-based simulations effective to intuitively convey the complex cause-and-effect relationships that are central in engineering education. For example, moving a slider can be used to interactively see how changing a resistor's value changes current flow through a current divider. There are many studies investigating the effectiveness of interactive web-based learning materials, yet, little systematic investigation of the pedagogic impact of network delay. This paper, therefore, seeks to quantify the relationship that network latency, or delay, has upon student enjoyment and student comprehension. An interactive software application was designed purportedly to teach Fourier Analysis concepts, but embeds a hidden delay between the time a student moves one of the interactive controls and the time that the screen updates. Different versions of the application were designed, each identical except for the delay. Students were randomly assigned application versions, ensuring double-blind test conditions. Students used the application while completing a short guided lesson that used the Socratic Method to intuitively teach Fourier Analysis. After completing the tutorial questions, which provide an objective assessment of student comprehension, students self-rated their comprehension and enjoyment, and recorded their program version number which encoded the delay. The data was least-squares fit to several different functions with varying degrees of freedom and residuals were computed. Data involving 281 students from four universities and one high school using eight equally spaced delays from 0 to 420 ms was analyzed. Student objective comprehension, as measured by an objective test following a learning experience with one of these Fourier Analysis programs, was compared to their self-reported comprehension estimate, and their self-reported enjoyment.

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Relationships were compared between students in technical majors or humanities and social sciences. The study suggests that the accumulation of experience and choice of major are important factors in mitigating the effects of network delay on learning.

Keywords: Academic disciplines; e-learning; enjoyment; feedback delay; latency; learning styles; network delay; objective learning; pedagogical efficacy; self-reported learning.

1. INTRODUCTION

According to Allen and Seaman [1], enrolment has grown more quickly than overall higher education enrollment. According to Dollar and Steif [2], Reisel et al. [3], interactive web-based learning aids like engineering simulations and mathematics tutorials have recently surpassed textbooks in popularity as resources for undergraduate education. With 61 percent of two-year and four-year educational institutions offering online courses as of the 2006–2007 academic year, Parsad and Lewis [4] report that web-based educational software has propelled online courses out of traditional classrooms and into the mainstream. The Sloan Consortium Annual Report states that 3.9 million students were taking on-line courses in 2007, Allen and Seaman [5], and that by the fall semester of 2010 this number had risen to 6.1 million, Allen and Seaman [6]. While the ranks of students involved in some form of web based education expands every year, the effects of the physical limitations of the internet, such as bandwidth combined with network delay, on learning is only partially understood.

Allen and Seaman [7] reported in a ten year study on online education in the United States discussed the concerns facing online education in the United States. Specifically, they reported three critical barriers when adopting online education. The need for online students to be more disciplined has been cited by 88.8 percent of academic leaders in their survey, which is an approximately 10 increase in their concern over ten years. Following from the first concern, the majority of chief academic officers perceived that the retention rate is lower for online courses. The last concern is focused on the acceptability of online degrees in the marketplace. Approximately forty percent of academic leaders indicate that potentials employers' lack of acceptance of online degrees is a barrier to online education, which has not yet change. However, the study indicates that academic leaders see online education has a critical component to their long-term strategy is at an all-time high of 69.1 percent.

Four years ago, during the 2007-2008 academic year, a systematic study was conducted to address this topic using a web-based Fourier synthesis tutorial with an initial sample of 281 students to characterize the effects of network delay on learning [8,9,10,11]. Students were provided with one of eight possible versions of an interactive tutorial, each of which was coded with a particular delay. Students were then presented with a set of conceptual questions about Fourier synthesis and instructed to use their version of the tutorial interactively to answer the questions. Students were also queried as to their enjoyment of the learning

experience [12-14], as well as how confident they were about their answers to the conceptual questions. Based on this data, an initial assessment as to the effect of network delays on objective learning scores, self-assessed learning and enjoyment were made. In general, it was found that the group as a whole was fairly intolerant to delay for objective learning, with scores falling off at delays of 60 ms; the smallest non-zero delay in the study. In contrast to the objective learning results, enjoyment declined gradually with increasing delays, and self-assessed learning ratings only decreased for delays greater than 300 ms.

The purpose of this paper is to report on the outcomes of a longitudinal study started in the fall semester of 2008. Of the students who participated in the study during their freshmen year, 113 were enrolled in the spring semester of their senior year and willing to participate again in the study. Not all of the initial participants were enrolled at the institution and others were not enticed by the rewards, a free pizza and a chance for a fifty-dollar gift certificate at a local restaurant. Originally, each participant was randomly assigned a version of the Fourier synthesis tutorial and asked to use the tutorial to answer the same questions posed in the original study. They were reintroduced to the Fourier synthesis tutorial as seniors, with each student receiving the identical version of the tutorial that they used as freshmen. As in the original study, students' performance on the Fourier synthesis tutorial was assessed using measures of objective learning, subjective learning and enjoyment. In addition to examining the effect of delay time on these measures, the notion of a self-critique measure is introduced as a means to gage changes in the learning characteristics of the students over time.

2. RESULTS OF PREVIOUS WORK

In the original study [11], 281 students from four different universities participated. One hundred fifty-five students identified their major as engineering or sciences, 96 stated their major as humanities and 30 did not specify a single major. The age range of participants was 15-25 years of age, with a mean age of 19.15 years, and 86 percent of the students were male.

A C# interactive software application containing a hidden delay was created for the experiment, with eight different versions corresponding to delays of 0 ms to 420 ms in increments of 60 ms. The program can be downloaded at:

https://www.jimsquire.com/research/phasors/phasors.htm

Students were randomly assigned a version of the Fourier synthesis tutorial and then were given a questionnaire to work on interactively with the tutorial program. The questionnaire consisted of 6 personal information questions to establish information about the students such as their age, gender and academic major, as well as 11 questions concerning Fourier analysis concepts and two questions related to students' enjoyment of the tutorial, and their confidence in the answers they gave. Data from questionnaires was tabulated using a MATLAB program and used to calculate three measures of learning with the interactive tutorial:

- Objective learning: The proportion of correct answers from the 11 conceptual questions.

- Subjective Learning: How well the students felt that they performed on the 11 conceptual questions. Scoring was based on Likert scale where 5 corresponded to "very confident" in their responses and 1 corresponded to "not sure at all".

- Subjective Enjoyment: Scoring was based on a Likert scale with 5 representing the most enjoyment and 1 the least enjoyment.

In each case the mean values of these measures were calculated and plotted against the delay time. The error bars on each of the plots are given as +/- the standard deviation of the measurements. Bilinear models were fit to the data to identify the "elbows" of the various learning measures as a function of delay. In general objective learning scores were the most sensitive to network delays with a 10% drop for delays 60ms or higher. Subjective learning, (i.e. student confidence), was much less sensitive to delay, dropping steeply only for delays greater than 300 ms. Enjoyment on the other hand, decreases steadily from a high value of approximately 4.75 at 0ms delay, until it levels off at a value near 3.7 at a delay of 300ms. These results are interesting in that they point out that students may be somewhat confident about their answers and happy with the learning experience at delays which produce poor objective learning results. The study concluded that delay times must be minimized to meet objective learning goals.

Further, Bush, et al. [10] reported that the tolerance for screen update latencies were greater for students who were in non-technical majors (humanities and social sciences) than those in technical majors (engineering and sciences) in terms of objective learning, subjective learning, and enjoyment. The investigation of the change in the interaction of objective learning and subjective learning was identified in a preliminary investigation [8].

3. RESULTS OF THE LONGITUDINAL STUDY

The original experiment was expanded to collect data from entering freshmen for three years (2007 through 2009) and then again three years later in the spring of their senior year (2011 through 2013). Of the students who were tested originally, 113 students agreed to participate a second time motivated by a free pizza coupon and the chance to win a gift certificate to a local restaurant.

As freshmen, students were randomly assigned to an interactive software application based on the Fourier synthesis with an imbedded screen delay from 0 to 420 milliseconds in increments of 60 milliseconds. As seniors they were specifically assigned to the same group. Each time the students were provided a tutorial and a questionnaire which provided the responses to process the measures of objective learning, subjective learning and enjoyment.

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To investigate the longitudinal impact of the different levels of screen update delayed on the interaction of objective learning and subjective learning, objective learning and enjoyment, and subjective learning and enjoyment, data spaces were developed. For example, to investigate objective learning and subjective learning the data space appears in Fig. 1 [8]. Ideally, students' perception of their learning should be consistent with their objective learning. Using the scores from the objective learning questions and by normalizing the subjective learning Likert scale to a value of 0 to 1, the ideal combinations lie on a line rising at 45 degrees from the origin.
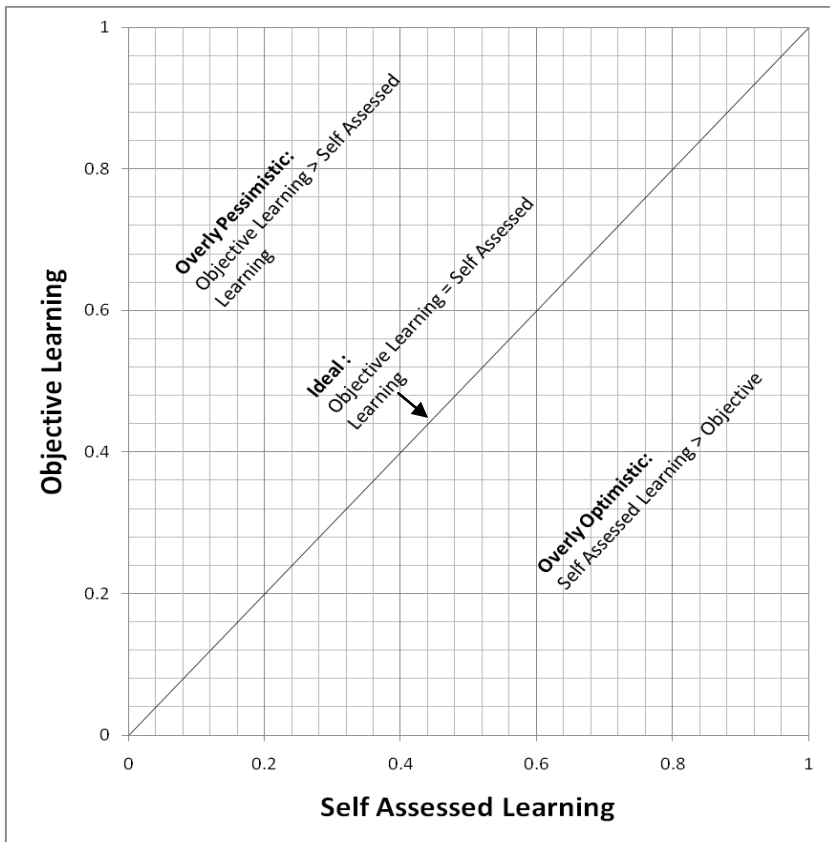

Fig. 1. An example of an interactive plot

When viewing the results, the term, "Scores as Freshmen," refer to observations from the beginning of the study and the term, "Scores as Seniors," refer to observations from the end of the study. See Fig. 1 through 10.

The Interaction of Objective Learning and Subjective Learning

The relationship between objective learning and subjective learning cannot be assumed to be well matched [15]. The importance of the maintaining a balance between objective learning and subjective learning is demonstrated by deviations from the 45 degree line. Those individuals in the upper left-hand portion of the graph score higher than their perceptions indicate. This pessimistic view represents a lack of confidence in one's ability. Such lack of confidence could be manifested in hesitation or unwillingness to make a decision. Those individual in the lower right-hand portion of the graph perceive their abilities to be above their actual nature. This overly optimistic view represents a confidence level in excess of one's abilities. Such over confidence can lead to quick and perhaps faulty judgments. Using the data space for objective learning versus subjective learning, ideally, the observations would lie on the 45 degree line rising from the origin. (See Fig. 1.) Both situations are suboptimal. Overly optimistic learners are likely to make errors of commission by making choice from misunderstood knowledge, while overly pessimistic learners are likely to make errors of omission from failing to act from when they actually do understand the material.

To investigate the longitudinal effects on the interaction of objective learning on subjective learnings, the observations were plotted and the best fit ellipse was developed in Fig. 2. The plot reveals two key effects of the three-year college experience. First, the students' ability to understand the task has increased. The center of the ellipse has increased approximately .1 on a one point scale and the vertical span of the ellipse has decreased. Second, the students have also increased their level of pessimism. The center of the ellipse has moved further to the left of the ideal line and has a larger concentration of the ellipse to the upper left of the line. However, the horizontal span has increased indicating that more students have become overconfident. Further research would be warranted to verify that the increase lack of confidence is based on the online experience. Such a shift if maintained would imply that these students would be less prepared for decision making.

A greater understanding of the longitudinal effects can be achieved by segregating the sample populations based on the nature of their majors. As seen in Figs. 3 and 4, the plots diverge from the previous story. Fig. 3 plots the observations of the students who chose technical majors and Fig. 4 plots the observations of those who chose non-technical majors. The impact on the interaction of objective learning and subjectively learning differed for the two groups. First, although both groups increased in their understanding of the task, the students who chose a technical major experienced greater improvement in their objective learning. However, these students did not experience a proportional reduction in their subjective learning scores. The vertical movement was much greater than the than the horizontal movement of their scores. Students who chose non-technical majors had more proportionate change in their subjective learning as compared to their objective learning. The pattern of increased understanding and increased pessimism is more pronounced for students in technical majors.
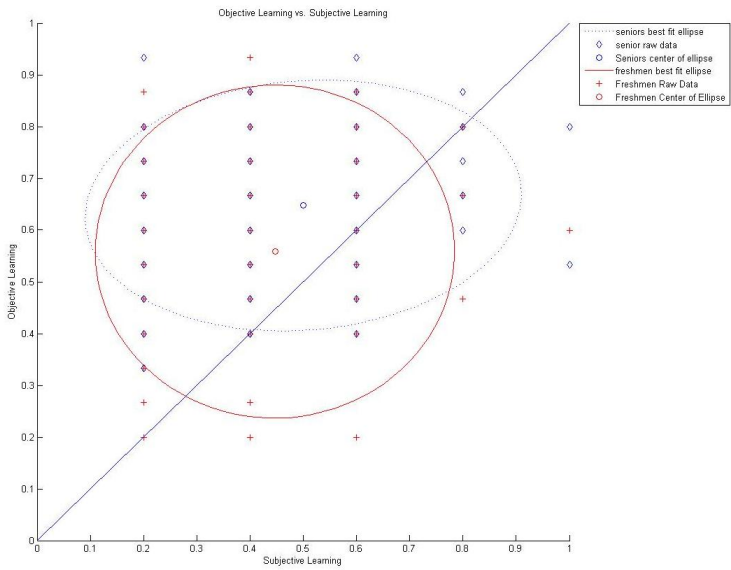
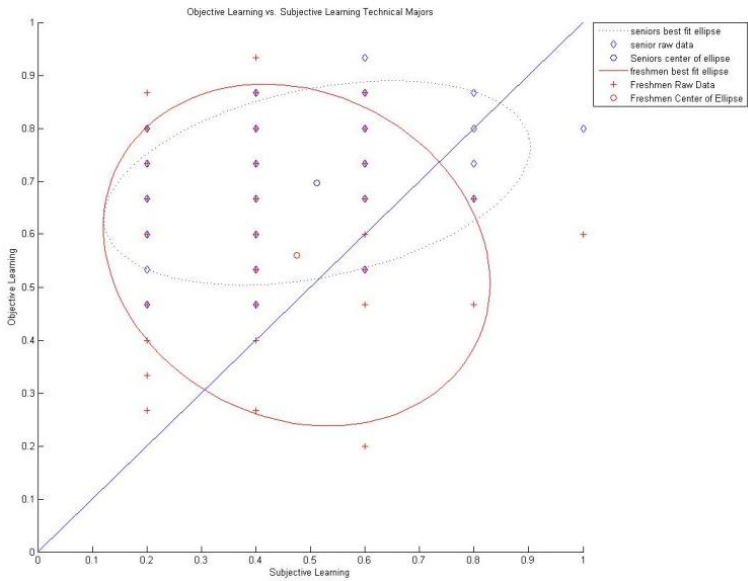**Fig. 2. Interaction of objective learning and subjective learning plot over the longitudinal study**

Fig. 3. Interaction of objective learning and subjective learning plot over the longitudinal study - Technical Majors
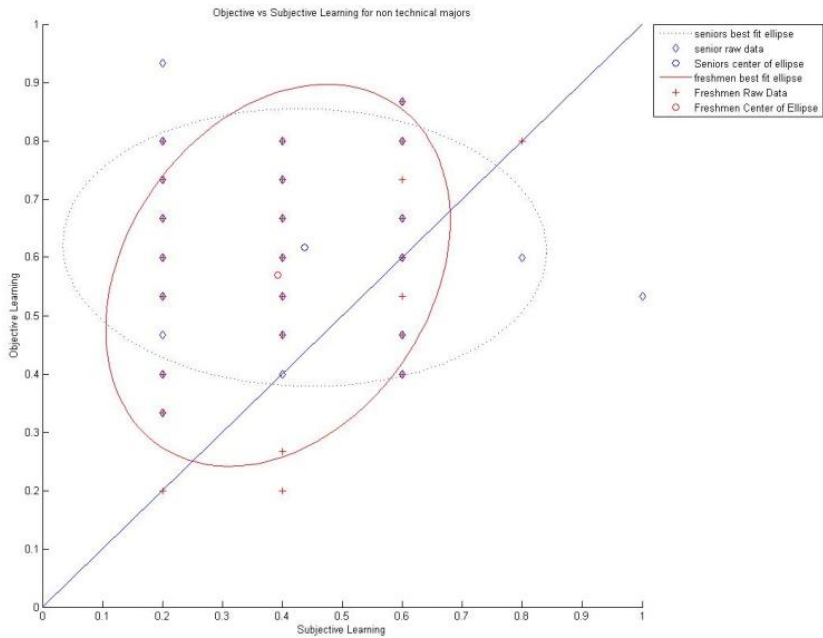
Fig. 4. Interaction of objective learning and subjective learning plot over the longitudinal study – Non-Technical Majors

Second, the area of the ellipse is indicative of the subject's sensitivity to the delay in response on the computer screen and the interaction of objective learning and subjective learning. Students who chose a technical major had become less sensitive to the delays. The area of their ellipse went from 0.3545 to 0.2216. Students who chose a non-technical major had the opposite experience. Over the three years, the size of their ellipse had increased from 0.2839 to 0.3019. The responses differed for students based on their choice of major. Given the different responses to the delay, the importance of the delay will vary among online programs.

The Interaction of Objective Learning and Enjoyment

Allen and Seaman [7] identified two barriers which concerned academic leaders when adopting online learning approaches, the need for a more discipline student and the retention rates for online courses. The tasks with higher level of enjoyment are more likely to be completed. The level of enjoyment however, needs to be matched to the level of knowledge gained. Consequently, maintaining a balance between objective learning and enjoyment is critical to the success of online learning experiences. As with objectively learning versus subjective learning, the ideal relationship lies on the 45 degree line on the objective learning versus learning plot.

The plot of the interaction of objective learning and enjoyment involves comparing a dimension which is unknown to the subject with one that is known measures a different dimension of the experience. Unlike objective versus subjective learning, where the subject is unaware of the objective learning, enjoyment is a different dimension from learning. The 45 degree line still represents an ideal tradeoff between learning and enjoyment. Observations lying in the upper left-hand corner report are not enjoying the experience but are learning. However, if the experience is undesirable, it might not be applied regularly and appropriately. Observations in the lower right-hand corner report higher enjoyment but less objective learning. The enjoyment might lead to an unhealthy reliance on the technology. Neither situation is optional.

The plot comparing objective learning versus enjoyment, Fig. 5, reveals three effects of the three-year college experience. First, the students' ability to understand the task has increased. The center of the ellipse has moved higher. Second, however, the center has also become closer to the 45 degree line. The greater increase in objective learning relative to the lesser increase in enjoyment reduces the risk associated with excess enjoyment, a greater interest in the technology than in the actual decision. Third, the area of the ellipse has decreased, indicating that the students have become less sensitive to delays in terms of the interaction of objective learning and enjoyment. The experienced gained in the three years has improved students' interaction of objective learning and enjoyment as well as decreased their sensitivity to the delays.

A greater understanding of the longitudinal effects can be achieved by segregating the sample populations based on the nature of their majors. Fig. 6 plots the observations of the students who chose technical majors and Fig. 7 plots the observations of those who chose non-technical majors. As seen in Figs. 6 and 7, the plots diverge to a lesser extent than the interaction between objective learning and subjective learning. Further both groups had several common experiences. First, both groups experienced a decrease in area from the freshmen to their senior year. In terms of the objective learning and enjoyment interaction, students demonstrated a decline in the sensitivity to the delays. Students who chose technical majors declined from 0.4617 to 0.2206 and students who chose non-technical majors declined from 0.4909 to 0.3996. Second, the interaction indicated that the objective learning score is declining relative to the enjoyment as the students become seniors. However, the impact on enjoyment indicates a difference between the two groups. Students who chose technical majors do not differ in enjoyment while students who chose non-technical majors enjoyed the experience less. This last result could possibly be driven by a task centered on Fourier series, a more familiar task for students choosing a technical major.
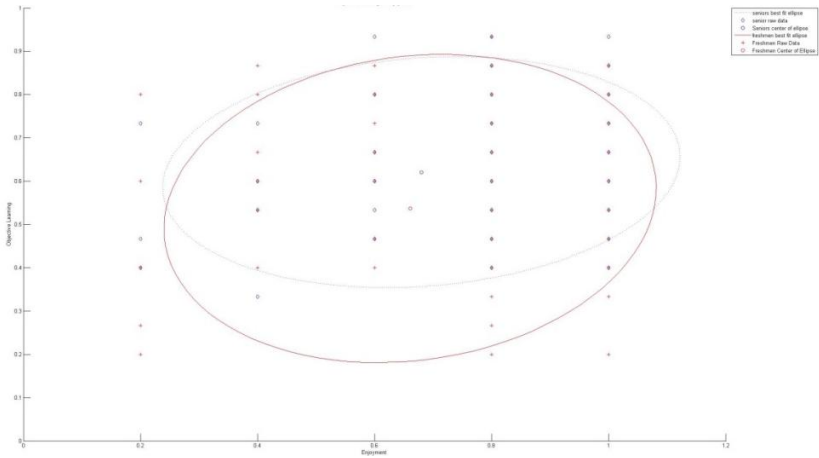
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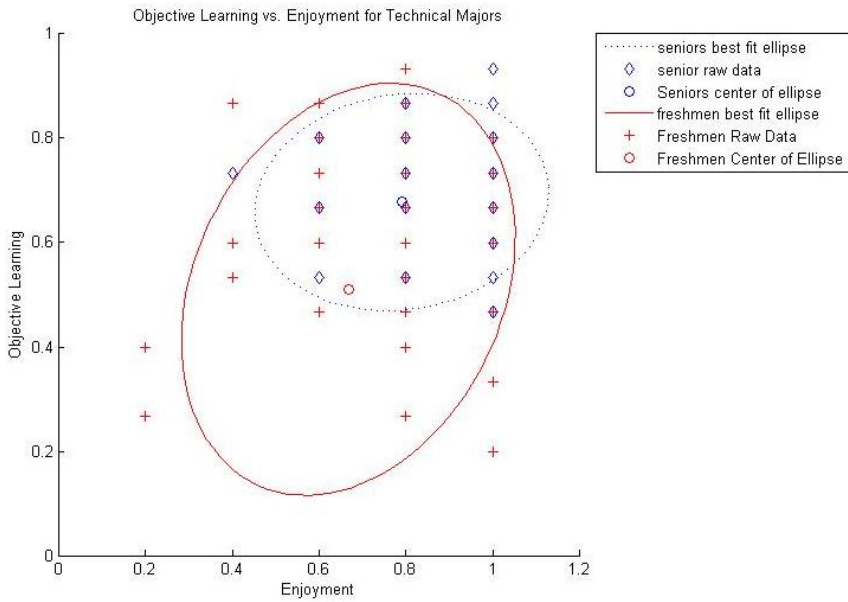**Fig. 5. Interaction of objective learning and enjoyment plot over the longitudinal study**

Fig. 6. Interaction of objective learning and enjoyment plot over the longitudinal study - Technical Majors

The Interaction of Subjective Learning and Enjoyment

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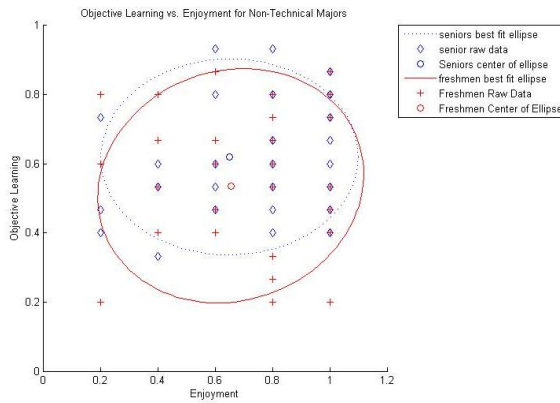*Disciplines*

Fig. 7. Interaction of objective learning and enjoyment plot over the longitudinal study – Non-Technical Majors

The plot comparing subjective learning versus enjoyment, Fig. 8, reveals conflicting effects of the three-year college experience. First, the students' enjoyment has not changed but is disproportionate to their subjective learning. Second, over the three years, their subjective learning has increased bringing the interaction closer to the 45 degree line. However, the students appear to perceive the task more of a "game" than a learning experience. This perceptive might also explain the third observation. Third, the students have become more sensitive to the delays over the three when reference to the subjective learning and enjoyment interaction. The area of the ellipse has increased, indicating that the students have become more sensitive to delays in terms of the interaction of subjective learning and enjoyment.
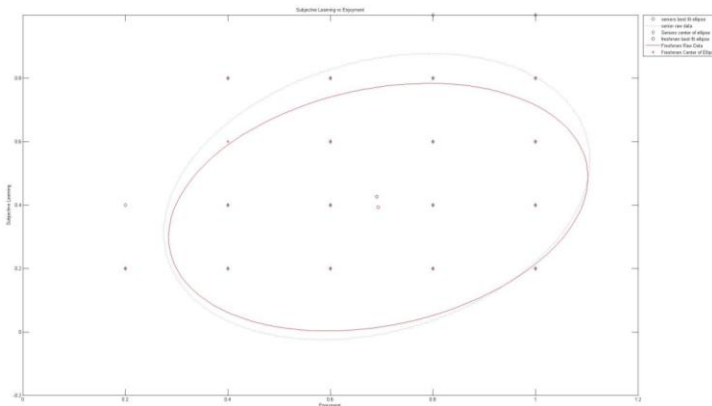

Fig. 8. Interaction of subjective learning and enjoyment plot over the longitudinal study

The difference between students who chose technical majors and those who chose non-technical majors are apparent in Figs. 9 and 10. The centers of all of the ellipses are in the lower right corner, indicating more enjoyment than confidence. Both groups' centers move closer to the 45 degree line. However, the adjustment is very different. Students who chose technical majors have gained more confidence while achieving a small increase in enjoyment. Students who chose non-technical majors demonstrated a small increase in confidence but a greater decline in enjoyment. Given the nature of the task and the differences in their program, the decline in interest in the task is not unexpected.

Second, the area of the ellipse is indicative of the subject's sensitivity to the delay in response on the computer screen in reference to the interaction between subjective learning and enjoyment. Students who chose a technical major experienced no change in their sensitivity to the delays in terms of this interaction. The area changed from 0.5659 to 0.5736. Students who chose a non-technical major had a more pronounced experience. Overall they were less sensitive to the delays and over the three years, the size of their ellipse had decreased from 0.4815 to 0.3915. During the three years of college education, the students who chose a technical major were more sensitive to the delays while the students who chose non-technical majors less affected by the delays and became even less sensitive to the delay in reference to the subjective learning and enjoyment interaction.
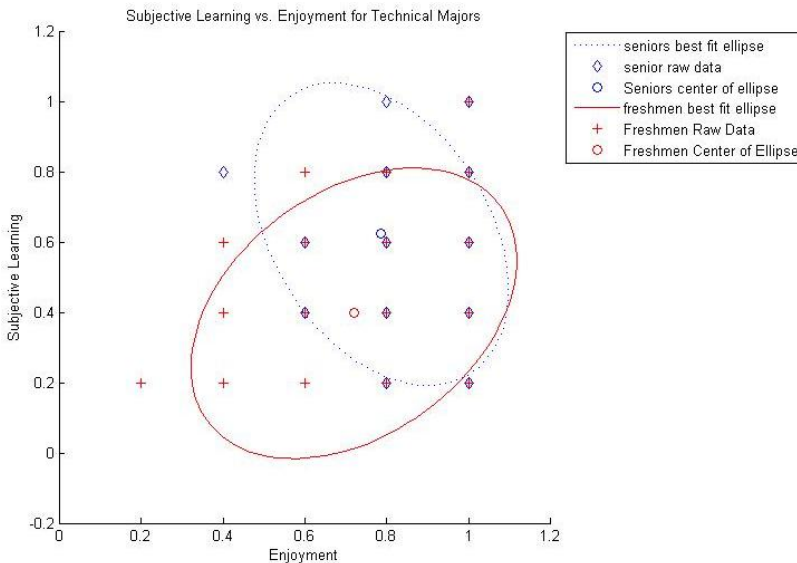

Fig. 9. Interaction of subjective learning and enjoyment plot over the longitudinal study - Technical Majors
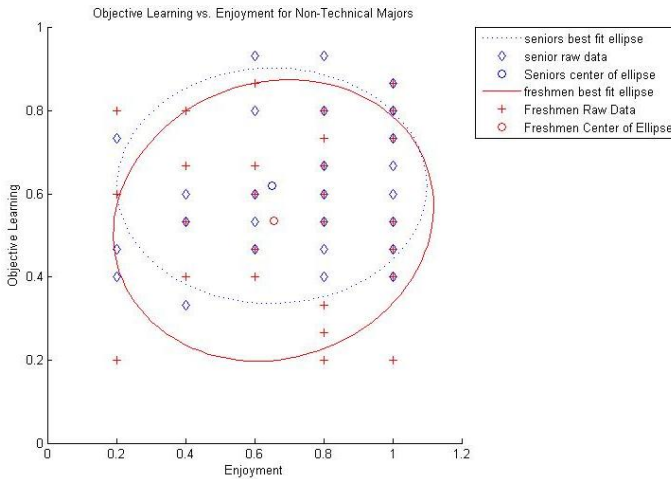
Fig. 10. Interaction of subjective learning and enjoyment plot over the longitudinal study – Non-Technical Majors

4. CONCLUSIONS AND LIMITATIONS

The impact of the computer delays on students change over their college experience. Some changes are observed for all students, but other changes are dependent on the students' choice of major, technical or non-technical. When studying the interaction between objective learning and subjective learning, all the students indicated an increased understanding and expressed over confidence in their abilities. When investigating the interaction between objective learning and enjoyment, the ability to understand the task increased more than the self-report measure for enjoyment bring their response closer to the preferred 45 degree line, and they were less sensitive to the delays. Finally, the investigation of the interaction of subjective learning and enjoyment revealed students' enjoyment is disproportionate to their level of enjoyment. The excess enjoyment over perceived learning might reflect the students' perception of the experimental nature of the task as opposed to a real learning experience.

When the students were separated by their choice of major, technical versus non-technical differences became evident. In reference to the interaction of objective and subjective learning, students who chose a technical major experienced a greater increase in their objective learning when compared to the perceptions. Students chose a non-technical major tended to proportional gains in their objective learning and their perception of its increase. Further, students who chose a technical major had become less sensitive to the delays, while students who chose a non-technical major became more sensitive to the delays. When the interaction between objective learning and enjoyment was studied based on the choice of major, only students who chose non-technical majors

change their level of enjoyment, which decrease. The differences between students who chose technical majors and those that chose non-technical majors were observed with the interaction of subjective learning and enjoyment. Students who chose technical majors gained more confidence and enjoyment while students who chose non-technical majors had only an increase in confidence and a decline in enjoyment. While students who chose technical majors do not appear to be affected by the delays, students who chose non-technical majors did reduce their sensitivity to delays.

These observations must be considered along with three possible limitations which were inherent in the study. First, as indicated a various points in the discussion of the results, the nature of the task may have an impact on the results. These results could be driven by a task centered on Fourier series, a more familiar task for students choosing a technical major. Further studies must investigate various tasks to determine what is any generalizations can be made across all of e-learning. Second, when considering the interactions of objective learning and subjective learning, further research would be warranted to verify that changes in confidence is caused by the additional online experiences gained during college. Shifts in confidence would have implications about the appropriateness of online experiences for learning various types of tasks. Third, the impact of the enjoyment dimension might reflect the students' perception of the experimental nature of the task as opposed to a real learning experience. The use of online education must be appropriately understood to enhance decisions about its application and its development.

COMPETING INTERESTS

Authors have declared that no competing interests exist.

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A Case Study on Fluid Post-Modern Neo-Tribes-of the West Perth Cheer Squad (Australian Rules Football) During 1984-1986

Kieran James [a*] **and Sheikh Al Tanzil** [b]

ABSTRACT

The aim of this article is to apply Armstrong's theory of fluid "post-modern" "neo-tribes" to our West Perth cheer squad 1984-86 and draw appropriate theoretically-informed conclusions from this application. West Perth FC has been a foundation member of the Perth- based Western Australian Football League (WAFL) competition since 1885 I find that the anthropological approach is able to explain many aspects of our cheer squad's culture and members' behaviours including the quick disintegration of the cheer squad early in the 1986 season without anyone officially ending it. Theoretically, Marsh's definition of "aggro" as "the illusion of violence" seems to describe and explain our West Perth cheerleaders' aggressive posturing but mostly peaceful behaviour almost precisely. It also explains our group members' partially unintentional adoption of a subservient attitude toward the Swan Districts fans at Bassendean Oval in 1985 and their silent departure after that surrender (and their team's victory). Without throwing a single punch, they imposed the complete control of the Swan Districts fans over every square centimetre of Bassendean Oval.

Keywords: Aggro; Australian rules football; Australian rules football cheer squads; football hooliganism; illusion of violence; neo-tribes; perth history; sports history; western Australian football; western Australian history.

ABBREVIATIONS

WAFL : *Western Australian Football League;*
VFL   : *Victorian Football League;*
AFL   : *Australian Football League;*

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NSL   : National Soccer League;
BBB   : Bad Blue Boys;
VPL   : Victorian Premier League;
SDFC : Swan Districts Football Club;
WPFC : West Perth Football Club;
WAFC : Western Australian Football Commission;
WAFL : Western Australian Football League

1. INTRODUCTION

1.1 General Introduction

In this article I apply Gary Armstrong's [1] anthropological approach to soccer (i.e. association football) hooliganism studies to our 20-person West Perth cheer squad (hard-core supporter group) of 1984-86 (Australian Rules football's WAFL competition). The fast collapse of the cheer squad early in the 1986 season without anybody officially ending it is one of the many characteristics of our cheer squad's culture and members' behaviours that I feel the anthropological approach is able to explain. The majority of our group members attended every home and away game from May 1984 to March 1986, showing that they did not reduce their dedication during the cheer squad's active years.

West Perth FC has been a foundation member of the Perth- based Western Australian Football League (WAFL) competition since 1885. However, the WAFL was reduced to second-tier status when the newly-formed Perth-based West Coast Eagles club entered the expanded Victorian Football League (VFL) (now Australian Football League (AFL)) in time for the 1987 season [2]. The VFL/AFL now operates as a de facto national premier league (first division). As in American professional sport, there is no promotion to or relegation from the VFL/AFL to the various second-tier leagues based in each of the major cities. During the twentieth century, up to 1982, the VFL/AFL was based solely in the state of Victoria (and 11 of its then 12 clubs were based in the city of Melbourne). Traditional class-based fandom was based upon the assumption that individuals were locked into particular class determined 'ways of being'; in contrast Sandvoss views fandom as an active consumer choice that is central to a notion of self constructed identity. In addition to the lack of engagement with actual fans, the conceptual basis of this research is limited to a discussion of consumption as both a cause and consequence of the different ways in which people can explore their fandom, as such much of the research is teleological in nature and lacks conceptual depth [3,4].

A cheer squad (an Australian Rules football term) is a semi-organized group of hard-core supporters (comprising typically but not always a male teenager majority) which sits in the same strategic place at home matches and which supports the team through chants, songs, flags, and banners [1]. However,

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[1] *Some of these cheer squads (such as the cheer squad at WAFL club East Perth from 1982-88, according to David Lockhart) were club-sponsored and financed (source for information on East Perth Cheer Squad: comment by David Lockhart on Lost WAFL Facebook page, 4 December 2013). Others,*

traditionally, cheer squads did not sing or chant continuously but only at significant moments in the match such as when the team runs out on to the field and after goals (which are far more numerous in Australian Rules than in soccer). Unlike soccer ultras, the groups generally did not stand in circles singing and chanting at off-stadium locations such as pubs or railway stations. This ultras-style behaviour may be infiltrating cheer squad culture so we must be careful to restrict ourselves in this article to discussing the cheer squads of the eighties. (Since 1989 the national soccer league has been played in summer so it is possible and not uncommon for supporters to support an Australian Rules club and a soccer club and the supporters of both sports are likely to be the ones who have been bringing ultras' culture into Australian Rules. For example, leading members of the South Fremantle Cheer Squad (WAFL), formed 2002, also attend Perth Glory soccer matches in the summer.) A cheer squad typically attends some or all away matches, and usually sits in a humble location at away venues (near the entrance which is closest to the train station for example) and rarely tries to take over the home cheer squad's territory[2]. Australian Rules football cheer squads should *not* be confused with the cheer squads of American Football which are, obviously, completely different.

The dominant culture at Melbourne- and Adelaide-based cheer squads, since the formation of the first cheer squad at VFL/AFL club Richmond in 1959 [5], has included an important fraternal ethos among rival cheer squad members especially away from the grounds. The cheer squads took on some of the "illusion of violence" [6] or tough-guy posturing from British and European soccer hooligans and ultras. However, this was more in terms of style and posturing; cheer squads rarely sought out or engaged in actual violent actions. Another influence on the cheer squads arguably was the ultras groups formed by Australian soccer supporters from European ethnic immigrant backgrounds including those connected to clubs such as Melbourne Croatia, South Melbourne Hellas, Sydney Croatia, and Sydney Olympic [7].

Aim: The aim of this article is to apply Armstrong's theory of fluid "post-modern" "neo-tribes" [1] to our West Perth cheer squad 1984-86 and draw appropriate theoretically-informed conclusions from this application. We also use Peter Marsh's concept of "aggro" as the "illusion of violence" [6] which suggests that, in order to gain and demonstrate control over territory and resources, rival groups engage in symbolic behaviours (advances and retreats) which more often than not involve only mild violence or no violence at all. If group self-respect, integrity, and territorial control can be achieved without actual violence then, as the theory goes, so much the better.

Motivations: It is important to study the behaviours and cultures of Australian Rules football hard-core supporters and cheer squads as this has been an under-researched area. Much of what we do know to date comes largely from personal

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such as our West Perth Cheer Squad, were unofficial only and had no official connection to the football club.
[2] *Australian Rules football (including the WAFL) has never had mandatory segregation of fans into different areas of a stadium on match-days.*

memories and anecdotes and from occasional comments and digressions in Australian Rules football history books of various kinds [8].

2. BACKGROUND

2.1 General Background

The three largest population centres where Australian Rules football is the most popular winter sport are Melbourne, Adelaide, and Perth. Traditionally the Melbourne-based VFL/ AFL competition had and has the best football, the largest crowds, and the most passionate supporters compared to the local competitions based in the other two cities (the SANFL in Adelaide and the WAFL in Perth). Football supporter culture has typically diffused from Melbourne to Adelaide (654kilometres to the west) and, only to a much lesser extent and at a slower rate, from these two centres to Perth. Slow diffusion to Perth is largely due to distance: Perth is located far away on the country's west coast 2,131kilometres from Adelaide and 2,721kilometres from Melbourne. Until recently working-class and lower middle-class people rarely travelled from Perth to Melbourne but travel from Adelaide to Melbourne was much more common due to the fact that it was within easy over-night driving distance. As a result seventies' and eighties' football supporter culture diffused faster and to a greater extent from Melbourne to Adelaide than from these two cities to Perth.

In the peak cheer squad years of the VFL/AFL in the seventies and eighties, when it was a Melbourne suburban competition plus Geelong FC, cheer squad members from various clubs would catch up with each other after games at Flinders Street Station and shout across station platforms the scores from their respective grounds. There was also a place called Classic Cafe in Melbourne city-centre where cheer squad members congregated and interacted on Saturday nights after the regular Saturday afternoon home-and-away games [8]. If anything, cheer squad members have been less violent than ordinary supporters of Australian Rules' clubs. A distinction has been made between the inner and outer cheer squads at the popular Collingwood club where the inner cheer squad was the approved membership that adhered to fraternal cheer squad ethics whereas the outer cheer squad was the hooligan element not under the restraining influence of cheer squad leaders. However, I argue that, despite this, the "illusion of violence" has always been important, to some extent, for Melbourne- and Adelaide-based cheer squads.

The fraternal Melbourne- and Adelaide-based cheer squad culture merged with the outwardly more aggressive English soccer hooligan culture, which regularly appeared on Australian TV news reports, to create the ethos of groups such as our West Perth Cheer Squad. Growing up as teenagers in Australia in the eighties we all saw the TV news reports of soccer hooligan violence coming out of the UK and, being eager to prove our credentials, we adopted some of their tough-guy posturing or "illusion of violence" [6]; the influence was there definitely at the subconscious level if not at the conscious level. So to say that Australian Rules football crowds and soccer crowds are unrelated topics is simply

nonsense. However, we never initiated violence and we were only once seriously threatened by it (at Bassendean Oval). The events of that particular day will be presented and analysed in the Results sections of this article.

The leading cheer squads in WAFL (Perth-based) football in 1984-86 were Perth Demons, Claremont, Subiaco, West Perth, and East Perth, probably in that order or with West Perth as third. None of the remaining three WAFL clubs had semi-organized cheer squads of any type as far as key people were aware. Perth and Claremont might have had 20-30 people on a good day, and our West Perth group had a stable core of 15-20. By the second half of our existence we had around 15 large red-and-blue flags or one flag per core member.

West Perth in fact had three cheer squads during the 1984-86 periods:

a) Fat Pam (Pam Hynsen)'s cheer squad, which disbanded at the end of the 1983 season but continued to still make the banners the players ran through before the games;
b) Our unofficial group situated behind the northern-end goals, which replaced Fat Pam's group which had formerly used that location; and
c) The Grandstand Falcons, a group of older guys then in their twenties who sat at the top of the Leederville Oval grandstand and sang songs (but had no flags or floggers).

The existence of three supporter groups shows the passion and commitment of grassroots supporters for many of the WAFL clubs during the eighties when average match attendances for home-and-away fixtures were around seven to eight thousand.

At one Subiaco Oval (neutral-venue) game, our cheer squad sat in front of the Grandstand Falcons with a third section of seats in front of our cheer squad reserved for our flags and banners. (Our group never took floggers to away games but instead we stored them in the West Perth FC club facilities at Leederville Oval.) Altogether there would have been over 50 people there that day across both groups combined. The noise the combined group made under the grandstand roof, on the second- (middle-) tier of the three-tier stand behind the Fremantle-end goals, was magnificent when magnified by the echoes. We sang the Grandstand Falcons' powerful song "This Time, We'll Get It Right"[3] about England's 1982 World Cup hopes (with England changed to West Perth and the "white" dropped from "red, white, and blue"). This song summed up perfectly people's emotions at the time because it had been a decade since West Perth had last won a premiership [9] and the supporters' hopes had been dashed on many an occasion. In hindsight, this was our cheer squad's greatest day.

The largest and best organized cheer squad was Perth Football Club's under the leadership of a very warm, cheerful, and sophisticated "metro-sexual" guy with blond-rinse hair called Nick. Nick brought the disciplined and fraternal

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[3] *See: https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=2w3_PZh0IR4 [accessed 14 September 2017].*

Melbourne-based (VFL/AFL) cheer squad culture and ethics over to the Perth Football Club. This cheer squad had existed since at least 1981. To this day the wooden bench seats behind the northern- or city-end goals at Lathlain Park, Perth's home ground, are painted red-and-black, a permanent reminder of the days (and years) when Nick's passionate cheer squad occupied those benches.

The Claremont cheer squad was probably similarly influenced by the Melbourne-based cheer squads since one of its core members wore a Melbourne-style duffel coat with club name and favourite player name and number (Peter 15 Jamieson) emblazoned on the back in big iron-on lettering. The duffel- coat culture never caught on in Perth as, unlike in Adelaide, few school-aged Perth-based supporters then made trips to Melbourne or Adelaide to watch VFL/AFL or SANFL games, and the only places to see the duffel-coat culture were Melbourne and Adelaide. Furthermore, the Perth winter is milder and too hot for duffel coats.

These duffel coats were excellent for standing on the terraces in the rain on Saturday afternoons in Melbourne because the rain-soaked coats could simply be left out to dry and would be wearable one week later. It was common in 1982 to see these duffel-coats with team and player names ironed on and pin- on player badges being worn on the streets by teenagers on weekdays in the city-centre. However, by 1986, the coats were mostly only being worn at games while by the nineties they had disappeared from the stadiums as well. All-seater stadiums with covered roof sections had made them redundant.

2.2 Fat Pam's West Perth Cheer Squad (Disbanded 1983)

I had become aware, early in the 1984 season that the earlier famed West Perth Cheer Squad, which had congregated behind the northern-end goals at Leederville for many years, had quit completely at the end of 1983. This cheer squad was interesting as unlike most cheer squads in Australian Rules' history in Melbourne, Adelaide, and Perth it was dominated by middle- aged females and young children. The legendary leader of this group was a woman known by the woefully politically incorrect moniker of "Fat Pam" (real name: Pam Hynsen)[4]. The leading women used to stand upright on the last row of wooden benches behind the northern-end goals[5]. Their cheer squad was large, committed, and dedicated; it had a huge collection of flags and floggers[6]. This group had operated for a number of years and was well known and respected. I sat near the

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[4] *Pam's family name was supplied many years later in a comment post by long-term cheer squad member David Barr on the Facebook page Lost WAFL on*
21 September 2017. This comment post appears to have been deleted.
[5] *The word "goals" is used in plural form in Australian Rules football culture because the goals are made up of four separate vertical posts.*
[6] *Fat Pam's cheer squad can be seen on the video-clip of the 7 May 1983 West Perth versus Subiaco game recently posted to YouTube.com. The cheer squad is at far left of screen (behind the Leederville Oval northern-end goals). To find this video search YouTube for "West Perth v Subiaco 1983" or simply copy-paste the following link into your browser: http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=3gmZMzTr7CA&feature=related [accessed 7 August 2011].*

group at the northern- end of East Fremantle Oval for an East Fremantle versus West Perth match in Round 17 (8 August) 1981[7].

However, with Fat Pam's cheer squad disbanded, I sensed a gap and an opportunity. As far as I was aware, in May 1984, Fat Pam's group continued to make the banners that the players ran through at the start of each game (they may still make these banners today), and our group never attempted to get involved in this activity, mostly out of respect for Fat Pam's group which had been there long before it. The northern-end at Leederville Oval in 1984 was strangely quiet, empty, and barren, now devoid of West Perth flags and floggers on home match days. I felt that the team would be inspired by a vocal group of home supporters, with a colourful red-and-blue visual presence, at the northern-end of Leederville. A Melbourne Knights' soccer supporter puts forward her view (below) that her team has been inspired and encouraged on occasion by the vociferous, noisy, and colourful support of the club's hooligan firm Melbourne Croatia Fans or MCF:

"From what I can gather, the MCF is largely made up of young men who are passionate about their club, its heritage and its importance to the Croatian community. They are loyally devoted to their team and will often travel great distances in order to show their support. The songs, chants and banners have (according to the players) been known to lift our team in crucial moments during the match"[8].

I was inspired to set up a new unofficial cheer squad to replace Fat Pam's group behind the northern-end goals at home matches and to travel to select away games. I expected that the demographics of my new group would be totally different to Fat Pam's group but I hoped that our members would show the same loyalty, dedication, commitment, and spirit. The new cheer squad would have a lot to live up to.

2.3 West Perth Versus South Fremantle, Leederville Oval, Round 6 (5 May), 1984

My high-school friend Mike B (also a West Perth supporter) was willing and interested in the cheer squad idea so, on Saturday 5 May 1984, we took the Number 105 bus from Booragoon into Perth city-centre, walked two blocks from St George's Terrace to Barrack Street (just north of Murray Street), and then caught the 1.15pm Number 15 bus to Glendalough. Mike B and I then alighted near the ground along the Oxford Street cappuccino strip, not far from the corner with Vincent Street. I am fairly sure that Mike B and I already had two large red-and-blue homemade flags on this day. On this day Mike B and I both wore long-sleeved West Perth replica playing jerseys. Although these were not the height of

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[7] *Two pictures of Fat Pam's WPFC cheer squad at East Fremantle Oval on 8 August 1981 can be viewed at the following link: http://waflgoldenera.*
blogspot.com/2013/12/picture-gallery-fat-pams-west-perth.html [accessed 5 December 2013].
[8] *Melbourne Knights' supporter, personal e-mail communication to the author dated 23 August 2010.*

fashion even in the mid-eighties Mike B and I were both proud to show off our club loyalties.

Contemporaneous newspaper reports confirm that this match was the thrilling home draw against South Fremantle on 5 May 1984 described by Atkinson [9] in his West Perth FC official history book. Atkinson recounts that the slender Aboriginal forward flanker Ron Davis[9] kicked two goals out of three for West Perth in the last five minutes to draw the game with only 15 seconds remaining. The final score was: West Perth 15.15 (105) drew South Fremantle 16.9 (105) (source: match scores are taken from *ibid.*, p. 334; *The West Australian*, Monday, 7 May, 1984, p. 81) and the official attendance was 7,790 (source: WAFL Online website). I certainly do remember a joyous mood that day commensurate with an exciting come-from-behind draw. It was the perfect on-field start to begin the cheer squad era. It was the first drawn match in the WAFL since 20 April 1974[10].

Mike B and I must have exerted an aura of charm and authenticity on this day as a number of people came up to us, introduced themselves, and stayed for the rest of the afternoon including Courtney; Rohan H; and Mark T aka "Thommo". Some of these people, including the three names mentioned, would go on to become core members of the cheer squad.

2.4 Courtney, 14-years-old, from Carine, Friend of Rohan and Thommo

Blond 14-year-old Courtney was a designer dresser in the manner of the English "soccer casuals" of the eighties. He was very interested in fashion. I think that he also had a long- sleeved West Perth replica jersey but, other than that somewhat unfashionable item of clothing, he always wore colourful vee- neck woollen jumpers (pullovers); bulky cargo shorts (even on the coldest days); and navy deck shoes without socks. Courtney came from a middle-class or upper middle-class family suburb in WPFC's geographic district. It was most likely Carine which is today part of Subiaco FC's recruiting zone[11].

Rohan H, 14-years, from Carine, Courtney's Friend: Brown-haired, 14-year-old Rohan H was a slender, quiet lad who stuck close to Courtney. They were school-friends in the northern suburbs and both were committed to the group from the first match. I can't say that I ever got to know Rohan well. His manner was aloof and unapproachable, but this was not due to arrogance; more likely it was because of shyness and caution. Rohan was very much an introvert but he showed his commitment to the group by his regular attendance for two years.

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[9] *Ron (Ronald Brian) Davis (DOB 11/8/1963) played 13 senior games for West Perth in 1984-85 and kicked 22 goals (Atkinson, 2008, p. 354).*
[10] *The creation of allocated zones within the metropolitan area for each WAFL club was introduced c. 1970.*
[11] *For the location of the suburb Carine within Subiaco FC's recruiting zone as at 2009 see the metropolitan area maps at the following link: https://www. bigfooty.com/forum/threads/wafl-zoning-and-expansion.1085307/ [accessed 16 February 2018].*

Courtney and Rohan were together the "middle-class" and the relatively more self-controlled sub-gang within the core but they also enjoyed the more boisterous chants and songs.

Mark T aka "Thommo", 14-Years-Old, "Floater" / Non- Aligned, Courtney's Junior Football Friend: The next character I will introduce to readers is the redhead "Thommo", always known to the group members by the nickname of "Thommo" which he brought into the group from his home-suburb and high-school. Group members did coin some nicknames within the group. "Half " for the eight-year-old Michael was the best and most famous of these. However, most of the nicknames people naturally brought into the group from outside and it were more authentic and simpler to use these pre-existing names than to invent new ones.

The senior Thommo's character was complex. He was, like many of the others, a working-class rebel and a very loyal and tough person. He could chat calmly and intelligently with people, but, if he felt that he was being disrespected, then he would change in an instant, and give that person a swift rebuke and stinging defence of himself and of his arguments. In that way people learned to respect him and be slightly wary of his reactions although you could also praise and respect him for his mild-mannered nature, self-control, and good humour. He was great for joking and laughter and he also enjoyed getting analytical at times about West Perth's players and performances.

Another point to note is that Thommo knew Courtney through junior football although they were not from the same high-school. Thommo then became an important natural link between the various sub-gangs in the group. His background, dressing, and style were more proletarian than those of the "Carine group", Courtney and Rohan. However, the link between Thommo and "the Carine group" was important and a part of the glue that reinforced trust and goodwill especially in those early weeks in 1984 when group members did not know each other well.

Cheer squad members all used to stay behind after games until well after darkness on the playing surface of Leederville Oval and away venues to kick footballs amongst themselves. Thommo, in these encounters, was a fast, courageous, and skilful footballer. He would contest marks against the immobile rock that was Peter "PA" Brennan (family name changed) who was six- feet-two and a veritable 18-year-old man mountain. PA would stand in one place to mark and kick whilst Thommo and the others would use their speed and skill to steal the marks from PA, either in front or to the side of him, or else they would pick up the loose balls that P.A. spilled. I can remember Thommo's habitual long-sleeved checked flannel shirts, later made famous in the grunge music era of the early-nineties, and how he would always have a cigarette packet in his chest pocket which would often fall to the ground whilst he was running at or with the football. He would then quickly run back to recover his cigarette packet from the ground in order to beat any potential "thieves". Group members stuck with their own group in these football games, and would never formally join in with strangers. This is

perhaps further evidence for the proposition that the cheer squad was a "group-for-itself " (see Results section).

Michael aka "Half ", 8-Years-Old, from Bayswater: I now move on to mention the group's most important and famous younger member, Michael, or "Half " as the group members christened him because he was one-half the height of the other people in the group. Half was a sandy-haired eight- year-old whose parents were financial members of the West Perth Football Club. They sat in the grandstand at home games and attended all away games. They allowed Half to set his own agenda, go his own way, and make his own friends during the games as long as he did not leave the enclosed confines of the grounds. That was an era where people generally let their children roam free and people were less conscious of the threat of paedophiles. His parents were never seen by the group members but I suppose that group members viewed them as spectral support from the more respectable section of the West Perth supporter base. They attended all games home and away. Certainly they gave the group a certain amount of trust and group members did feel some obligation and responsibility regarding Half's welfare. Half was a very passionate West Perth supporter although I believe he lived in the East Perth FC geographic district in either Bayswater or Maylands.

Half joined the cheer squad for every home and away game for two years and he always joined group members on the playing surface after games for the informal kick-to-kick sessions among the group members. He was always regarded as an important part of the cheer squad and his nickname was a sign of affection. He was a carefree extrovert who liked chatting and laughing and would get very excited during significant moments of play when West Perth was doing well. At such times he would run around and climb up on to empty seats, waving his flag furiously. He would enjoy the insulting cheer squad chants and enjoy negative discussions about other teams and verbally jousting with rival fans of his own age if any of them came too close. Like every group member, he genuinely loved and admired the playing group, the team, and the club but in the innocent way you would expect of an eight-year-old. When he urinated on the oval during kick-to-kick sessions he would receive a rebuke from other members who would quickly look away!

Once I recall telephoning half 's house to discuss with him tickets relating to either the Sandover Medal Night, at the now demolished Perth Entertainment Centre in 1984, or to the first semi-final of 1985. I recall Half 's father answering the phone and being very wary initially. However, when he heard that I was from "West Perth cheer squad", he totally relaxed, and he handed the phone over to Half. I arranged with Half for the buying of his ticket in conjunction with his father. Half could be quite mature in discussing things such as buying tickets to events. He certainly did not want to miss out on anything. Overall Half was an extremely interesting character and almost the cute and cheeky mascot of the cheer squad.

"P.A." and Dave S, 18-Years-Old and 16-Years-Old, the Balga Sub-Gang: My personal 1984 WAFL season notes, compiled during the 1984 season, state that

Peter "PA" Brennan (family name changed) (hereafter "PA") and Dave S (name changed) first joined the group for the Round 12 (23 June) 1984 match when West Perth defeated Claremont 21.10 (136) to 9.14 (68) at Subiaco Oval (source: match scores taken from Atkinson [9]). Although at that time PA and DS were regarded by group members as being the "Balga group"[12] DS was actually from Tuart Hill as he confirmed via a since self-deleted comment he posted on the *WAFL Golden Era* website (waflgoldenera.blogspot.com) on 14 June 2013. PA and DS together made an interesting spectacle, and I do remember that it was with great interest and some anxiety that group members watched the pair walk towards us on the first day. PA was six-feet-two, stocky, and built like a country league football ruckman (or like ruckman Ron Boucher of the Swan Districts Football Club) whereas DS was much shorter and quite slim.

DS, the cheer squad's only Asian member, was an ethnic Chinese who also, from day one, wore the "uniform" of long- sleeved West Perth replica playing jersey and plain blue or black jeans (the most popular dressing style in the cheer squad). He was first seen with PA before they joined the group, and he also was associated with the "Balga group" although he came from Tuart Hill. He was also an interesting character and he had a love-hate relationship with PA that involved frequent insults directed at PA's alleged gullibility.

An interesting coincidence was that West Perth's then league-team captain and one of the club's greatest ever players was Les Fong, a Chinese-Australian who was nicknamed "Chopsticks", "Choppy" or "Chopper", and then the cheer squad had its own Chinese member in DS Perhaps Les Fong's presence at West Perth made it easier for the cheer squad members to accept DS. Their actual real names in fact rhymed and had only two different letters out of seven. Group members regarded it as interesting, symmetrical, and appropriate that the cheer squad had its own Chinese member. It meant that the West Perth senior team had its mirror image, in terms of ethnic mix, on the other side of the playing fence.

I cannot remember DS facing any racism that was hostile from any of the cheer squad's core members but of course he may have experienced some teasing and put-downs. As with Thommo, DS had a very well-developed self-defence mechanism so people knew where they could stray verbally and where they could not. DS must have enjoyed cheer squad membership or he would not have stayed with us for two years. He was also a very faithful member even though he could never have been described as warm or even as friendly much of the time. He could also vary significantly in temperament and mood from week to week so on some weeks he might greet you warmly while on other weeks he might ignore a greeting. People had to work hard to earn his respect although he probably respected all or most of the cheer squad members, to some certain basic extent,

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[12] *For the location of the suburb Balga (traditionally regarded as West Perth territory) within Subiaco FC's recruiting zone as at 2009 see the metropolitan*
area maps at the following link: https://www.bigfooty.com/forum/threads/wafl-zoning-and-expansion.1085307/ [accessed 16 February 2018].

if his continued attendance at games with the cheer squad was any indication. Of course people learned to expect DS's mood changes and to live with them.

One of DS's strong points, other than his loyalty to the cheer squad, was that he would often laugh at the humour being shared around, and his face would sometimes light up in a wide and magnificent smile. If DS wanted to discuss something serious, he would come up very close to you, remove his black sunglasses, and quietly and carefully make his points. The removal of the "sunnies" was the sign of his respect and the seriousness of his point. DS loved the actual sport of Australian Rules more than most fans; watched each game pan out with eagle eyes; and he would rebuke people who made what he considered to be unnecessary noise. Sometimes the joking would set off among five or six group members. PA would double up, bend down lower, and emit loud laughs. DS would rarely laugh but he would have this wide smile while his eyes remained intently focused on the game. These were some of the better moments of the cheer squad. DS clearly had a strong bond with PA *that appeared to* pre-date the day on which PA and DS first joined the cheer squad. The way the cheer squad worked was to honour and respect, and to some extent even to trust, these pre-existing bonds that people brought into the group from their home-suburbs and high-schools.

Mike C and Pete C, 16-years-old and 14-years-old, no fixed abode: The brothers Mike C and Pete C were an integral part of the cheer squad from very early on. Cheer squad members knew that both had a background of reform and foster homes, but no-one ever thought that either would steal anything from the group members or anything similar. Mike C could find it hard to control his emotions, whether anger or excitement, so group members assumed his troubles with the police had related in some way to this. No-one ever asked him what his troubles had been. Pete C once said that Mike "hated pigs" and no-one found this hard to believe. Cheer squad members adopted the "don't ask, don't tell" policy.

Mike C (16-years-old) was a scary sight to people that didn't know him and even to some of those who did. When he got excited by the football he would walk straight up to someone in the group, stand right in front of him, and totally invade his personal space, without seemingly being aware of it. He would also do this when greeting someone for the first time each match-day. His big green eyes got fiery when excited and, in his muscle tee-shirts of the eighties and his long, thick, black, wavy hair, he cut a scary figure, and he was a vital part of the group's tough-guy image. Under his replica West Perth playing jersey, Mike C would wear short-sleeved muscle tee-shirts, in bright colours, made famous by Australian rock stars of the era such as Cold Chisel's Jimmy Barnes and AC/DC's Bon Scott and Malcolm Young (6 January 1953 - 18 November 2017). Mike C. was at his most boisterous on West Perth's good days when he would loudly and gleefully start and continue chants and songs. Mike C. was completely unafraid of opposing supporters, enjoyed loudly and conspicuously "invading" opposing team's grounds, especially at Bassendean Oval, and he could become oblivious to place and context. Only the eight-year-old Michael aka "Half " was as

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openly boisterous as Mike C. When excited, both individuals would cover large amounts of space in and near the cheer squad's chosen area, standing on and leaping over seats and waving flags and chanting.

Pete C (14-years-old) was a complete contrast to Mike C: short, quiet, softly spoken, polite, thoughtful, gentle, analytical yet equally loyal - to his brother, to the cheer squad, and to the WPFC. He was one of the people whom I most enjoyed talking to. As with his brother, his standard match-day "bogan"[13] attire was long-sleeved West Perth replica jersey, tight blue or black jeans, and sneakers. Both the brothers were fiercely loyal to each other and, of course, this fact and the underlying attitude behind it were very helpful to the cheer squad. Group members all valued the brothers' loyalty, warmth, and dedication to each other, to the group, and to West Perth. The C brothers, along with Thommo and Robbie, gave the group much of its "illusion of violence" and the hooligan look and attitude. Group members knew that the C brothers had no fixed abode and lived hand-to- mouth, and the group members thrived on this knowledge; it gave the cheer squad a working-class tough-guy persona that it might otherwise have lacked.

3. LITERATURE REVIEW

3.1 General Introduction

Dunning et al. [10] outline the main academic approaches to soccer hooliganism studies used by academic researchers. The academic theories can be divided into: The early-dominant "figurational" or "process-sociological" approach of Dunning et al. [11,12]; the "anthropological" approach of Armstrong and Harris [1,13]; the post-modern approach of Giulianotti; the Marxist approach of Taylor, Clarke, and Hargreaves; the "ethogenic" approach of Marsh [6]; the "psychological reversal theory" approach of Kerr; and the historically sensitive / historical approaches of King and Robson [10]. We rely predominantly on Armstrong's anthropological approach while hoping to gain insight from all of the relevant theories (including Marsh's theory of "aggro" as being "the illusion of violence").

3.2 Fluid "Post-Modern" "Neo-Tribes" (Armstrong and Hughson)

Next I move on to review the ethnographic academic research on hooliganism that began in the nineties with two landmark PhD theses, one in the UK by Gary Armstrong on Sheffield United's Blades hooligan firm (later published as *Football*

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[13] *Bogan was a youth sub-cultural term used only in Australia. It referred to long-haired football and heavy-metal music fans who would dress in tight jeans; tight tee-shirts (usually black); long-sleeved checked flannel shirts with sleeves rolled up; and black desert boots (referred to as DBs in Perth). They usually were associated with those lower socio-economic suburbs of the major cities which were located some distance away from the ocean. (In seaside suburbs surfer culture was influential.) In the popular imagination they were often counterposed to both surfers and British-immigrant skinheads. Their favourite bands tended to be AC/DC, Rose Tattoo, and Iron Maiden.*

Hooligans – Knowing the Score) and one in Australia by John Hughson on Sydney United's Bad Blue Boys National Soccer league (NSL) firm from the early-nineties. Subsequent articles by Hughson [14-18] synthesize key findings of these two studies and relate some of Armstrong's key findings to the unique context of south-west Sydney's Bad Blue Boys (BBB), a group of Croatian-Australian teenagers who are, or perhaps were, hard- core supporters of the former NSL's Sydney Croatia club (which was renamed Sydney United in the nineties). It should be pointed out that these "anthropological" authors have been criticized on a number of grounds by other academic researchers. Armstrong [1] has also criticized the early-dominant Leicester University School approach of Dunning and Williams.

Using the anthropological approach, Armstrong [1] focuses on the disorganized nature of Sheffield United's Blades' firm and the fluidity of group membership. People come to and go from the Blades according to the needs of their lives at particular stages and no-one is ever "bound" to the Blades in any sense. People connected with the Blades acknowledge that hooliganism is an acquired taste and a profession at the edge of even hard- core fan support [19]. Armstrong [1] talks in terms of fluid "post- modern" "neo-tribes" and this terminology and its associated logic is taken up by Hughson in his ethnographic study of Sydney United's BBB.

Armstrong [1] points out that firm allegiance is bounded and held in tight check. It is generally subordinated to ordinary relationships so that a Blades member would put to one side (or suppress) his / her hostility towards Sheffield Wednesday's "Owls" hooligans when relating in the normal way to friends, family members, and work colleagues. When Blades and Owls meet outside of match days the context is often ambiguous and people have to determine whether this is a "soccer context"[14] where fighting is justified or not. When groups of Blades or Owls invade each other's pubs on London Road or West Street on a Friday night this is a soccer context whereas if Blades or Owls are socializing with women or with non-hooligan mates this is not a soccer context and so soccer-related violence is unacceptable.

Significantly, neither Blades nor Owls members meet frequently outside of soccer seasons because such meetings are ambiguous and hard to interpret as being soccer-related. Armstrong [1] writes as follows: The *raison d'être* of the Blades was a football [soccer] match, and a *collective* identity more or less died outside the football season, to be resurrected at the early August pre-season friendly games". On the other hand, it was *possible* for the Blades' collective identity to assert itself as dominant at gatherings outside of the soccer season such as a marriage celebration and a 30th-birthday celebration. Armstrong [1] states as follows: "Blade identity *could* therefore be automatically sustained away from the club and the match in other contexts that did not need a game of football [nor even the football season]".

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[14] *Armstrong uses the word "football" but we prefer to use "soccer" because of the Australian setting of our data.*

Likewise, our West Perth Cheer Squad 1984-86 met only once outside of football seasons - when Mike C, his younger brother Pete C, and I arranged to attend a one-day domestic cricket match at the WACA Ground. However, this was early in the cricket season (October or November) and the planning to meet took place at the last West Perth football game. In effect, this cricket match can be seen as a special one-day extension of the football season.

Armstrong [1] ends his book by describing how Blades would sometimes in 1997 watch games at pubs close to the Bramall Lane ground partly as a protest against rising ticket prices. This is the beginning of, in Armstrong's words, "post-fan" behaviour. Armstrong's data ends in 1997 and so we do not how the Blades are functioning in the new millennium. Generally rising season ticket prices and the rising cost of train travel have meant that the demographic of soccer support in the UK has changed while improved policing methods are a further factor in creating disinterest in hooliganism.

Armstrong [1] produces very interesting data in the form of a list compiled in April 1987 of 190 Blades with ages, occupations, and criminal record (if any) listed. He classifies these into sub- gangs and, as with our West Perth Cheer Squad (Appendix A for a list of West Perth Cheer Squad sub-gangs), some sub-gangs might have had as few as two or three members. Larger sub-gangs which were part of the Blades included Old Lads; Drug Squad; Suicide Squad; Max's Coach Blades; Villagers; and Rotherham Blades. These last two groups were the most obviously separate since their outside-of-Sheffield locations influenced how they viewed themselves, other Blades, and other firms, and also influenced their willingness to fight. They felt that certain City Blades were too close to certain City Owls and hence sometimes not willing to confront them. Clearly, the out-of-Sheffield Blades were more idealistic and less pragmatic than the City Blades. The present article follows Armstrong's [1] example. Appendix A lists our West Perth Cheer Squad's sub-gangs and the members belonging to each.

Armstrong [1] emphasizes the casual nature of group ties and the recognition that a person was not morally bound to the firm in any way if he / she decided to give up soccer fandom or give up hooliganism as part of a natural evolution within his / her own personal life. Some people might "come out of retirement" for big matches against the Owls or if a confrontation came to them. They would often continue to go to games and London Road Friday night pub sessions but sit with non-hooligan mates or sit with Blades but not leave the pub (bar) to meet a challenge from outside.

Generally, Hughson's research of BBB supports this. He tells the humorous example of one Croatian-Australian hooligan with his girlfriend being ridiculed by the group for his love interest to the extent that over time he, and others in similar positions, disappeared to the fringes of the group or left it entirely. This hooligan was taunted by the Croatian word for "slippers" which signifies domestic bliss and a certain married lifestyle.

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4. RESEARCH METHOD

This is an ethnographic study of the West Perth Cheer Squad 1984-86 told from my viewpoint as co-founder and co-leader of this group alongside my then school-friend Mike B. It is both strength and a weakness of the research data that I was an active participant in events rather than a researcher performing typical ethnographic research *ex-ante* as a non-participant. I rely upon

a) Personal memories backed up by;
b) Newspaper reports from the era;
c) Official club history books for West Perth and Swan Districts;
d) My personal 1984 season notes which were hand- written by me during 1984;
e) A personal interview with Mike B conducted in person in Kalgoorlie, Australia on 14 July 2011 and since then by personal online communications;
f) Several long online conversations during the course of calendar year 2017 with ex-cheer squad member Ben McAuliffe; and
g) Posts from older supporters on the Facebook page *Lost WAFL* and in the Facebook group *Say NO to any AFL Clubs in the WAFL*. During the cheer squad era, Ben McAuliffe was aged 13-15 and attended John XXIII (Roman Catholic) College in Perth (Appendix A).

Both Mike and Ben read through first-draft copies of my book (which is the extended version of this article) and Ben corrected three errors:

a) I had forgotten and left out his friend Rob who had attended Perth Modern SHS in the cheer squad era;
b) the Italian brothers Tony and Mario (whom Ben remembered) had attended Perth Modern SHS with Rob and not Churchlands SHS as I had earlier believed; and
c) Ben himself had attended John XXIII College rather than either Perth Modern or Churchlands (although he was a friend of Rob's at the time).

Apart from DS, who would not take up my offer to correspond with him online after I saw his post on the *WAFL Golden Era* website in 2013, most of the other cheer squad members were and are impossible to contact since I never knew their full names back in the eighties[15]. In the case of some of the others, their full names were and are simply too common to track them down in a city of two million people (i.e. modern-day Perth).

5. RESULTS

The Cheer Squad as Fluid "Post-Modern" "Neo-Tribe": Generally speaking the West Perth Cheer Squad conforms to the idea of fluid "post-modern" "neo-

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[15] *The leaders of the Perth and Claremont cheer squads were and are impossible to contact for the same reason.*

tribes" where affiliations are very loose and people can easily adjust their degrees of commitment to a group and / or leave the group when their personal priorities and interests change [1,14-18]. Hughson indicates that few people remained integral parts of soccer hooligan firms in the UK beyond their early-twenties although Cass Pennant and Rob Silvester suggest that Millwall's Bushwackers firm was probably an exception in this regard [20-22]. Armstrong [1] writes that by the 1980s the "vast majority of Blades were aged between seventeen and twenty-eight".

As with Sheffield United's Blades hooligans, people recognized that joining the West Perth Cheer Squad was totally voluntary, without any of the legal and economic ties that define workplace, marketplace, and institutional relationships. As such, the group was always careful not to "invade" another member's outside life, i.e. his life at home, school or work. Group members rarely contacted each other by telephone or met during the week outside of Saturday match-days. Group members only met five times outside of match days during the whole 1984-86 period and only once outside of the football season (when Mike C, Pete C, and I attended a season-opening one-day domestic cricket match at the WACA Ground).

Our West Perth Cheer Squad's experiences in 1984-86 definitely lend credence to Armstrong's [1] theory about the casual nature of group ties and the fluidity of group membership with telephone calls between our members being rare; members knowing most other members only by first name and / or by nickname; members usually not knowing where other members lived or if they did know they knew only the suburb name; members meeting only five times outside of football match days and only once outside of the football season (the cricket match referred to above); and the group withering and dying of its own accord, without any fanfare, over the first few weeks of the 1986 WAFL season. However, unlike some of the Blades members in Armstrong [1], our group members did not adjust their commitment downwards during the cheer squad's years of action; most members attended all home-and-away matches during May 1984 - March 1986.

When I stopped going to games during 1986, no-one ever contacted me (and I had been co-founder and co-leader) and when I met ex-member Pete C at Fremantle Oval at a game against South Fremantle late in the 1986 home-and-away season we conversed only as friends and neither of us made any mention (if my memory serves me correctly) of the end of the cheer squad. There was only the two of us; we met by chance rather than by arrangement; and the flags and banners were long gone. We probably avoided discussing the cheer squad's end as it may have been a sad topic. Possibly people could sense my and key others' new-found lack of enthusiasm for the cheer squad in 1986 and the infectious zeal that had held the group together for two years simply saw its opposite occur: people drifted away because the igniting zeal had left. Only the zeal for West Perth and for the cheer squad had kept the cheer squad together for two full years and through two complete summer off-seasons (which are six months long in Perth). I admit that my new pre- occupation during 1986 was my

university studies. In hindsight I wish that I had been slightly more pro-active in extending the life of the cheer squad.

"Group-for-Itself" versus "Group-in-Itself": Regardless of his background, everyone in the cheer squad was treated and valued equally, and I believe that each group member experienced and enjoyed the camaraderie of the group. Without these positive factors each individual in the core would not have stuck with the cheer squad for two years when there were no legal, economic or moral ties to bind anyone to the group (*ibid.*). People had to enjoy sitting with the group or the group would lose them. Everyone made the effort to create a warm and cheerful atmosphere; to welcome newcomers; and to encourage each other amidst the usual banter that you might expect in the male group situation. Everyone certainly was a dedicated West Perth supporter and the core members regarded the group as important in their lives and vital in their match-day experiences of fandom. No-one in the group was like those English soccer hooligans whom, allegedly, are not interested in the actual game or their club. The founders felt responsible for providing the group with a minimum of organization; making sure that banter was in a good spirit (especially when young members such as Half were on the receiving end); and resolving disagreements. It would be impossible to argue that continuing membership in the group was something not freely chosen by the core members for that two-year period.

Pave Jusup (aged 22 at date of interview), a leader and founding member of the MCF firm at ex-NSL soccer club Melbourne Knights, states consistent with the "loose ties" theory that the only things MCF members have in common are:

a) Attending the games;
b) Drugs and alcohol; and
c) Croatian heritage (source: group interview with the author, Sunshine North, Melbourne, 11 January 2011).

However, he also suggests that the MCF is more organized than the firm at fellow Melbourne-based Croatian club, St Albans Saints (at date of interview it was a Victorian Premier League (VPL) club which is one tier below the national league). The reasoning is that the MCF is organized sufficiently to arrange bus trips interstate whereas St Albans' supporters are not. In Pave's words: "The supporters of St Albans are not like us but they [also] do silly stuff. They are not organized like us. We are a proper group. They are just people that turn up at games and sing and drink a lot. We organize time at the pub and away trips". Our West Perth Cheer Squad lacked the shared ethnic heritage that the MCF has and drugs and alcohol were never part of our cheer squad's routine. However, at least after the first four or five weeks, the cheer squad was definitely, in Pave's words, a "proper group" just like the MCF is today. As mentioned, in after-match kick-to-kick sessions and on train journeys back to the city- centre from away venues, we consistently stuck with our core members and almost never joined in with strangers or outside friends. Our group was a "group-for-itself " not just a

"group- in-itself " to use these philosophical categories sometimes attributed to Karl Marx.

The Sub-Gangs (Refer to Appendix A for a Full Listing): If my memory serves me correctly, Courtney and his friend Rohan H both joined the group on the first day. Both were to form part of the core for the next two years with Courtney arguably filling a role as deputy leader, along a second rank, with Rohan H and his suburban junior football friend Thommo (both of whom most probably joined the group on that first day as well). In our group there were tiny sub-gangs following the same pattern, but with smaller numbers, as Sheffield United's Blades; Portsmouth's 6.57 Crew; or the Peruvian *barras bravas* of Lima, South America [23]. The sub-gangs operated along the lines of friendships formed prior to joining the group and suburbs of residence. The sub-groups had two to five people in each, and each sub-group had a particular relationship with the joint-founders, Mike B. and me, and with the group as a whole.

Appendix A lists our sub-gangs and the members belonging to each. Courtney and Rohan (the "Carine group") was a sub- gang, as was the "Balga group" of PA and DS. Thommo and Robbie, who joined the cheer squad only in 1985, was viewed as "floaters" or non-aligned. Because Thommo and Robbie knew each other and Thommo knew Courtney prior to anyone joining the group these two floaters were key links between the sub- gangs. People from the same district were viewed as sub-gangs since they would habitually take the same buses to and from the home games together. (After home games the Balga gang, usually joined by Robbie and perhaps Thommo Senior and his eight-year-old brother Thommo Junior, would head east on foot towards Loftus Street where they would catch their homeward bound bus northwards).

The Nature of Fan Support within the Cheer Squad: As with the Sheffield United Blades members, the core cheer squad members were all dedicated West Perth supporters and the core members regarded the group as important in their lives and in their match-day experiences of fandom. The core group members were all "traditional" and "hot" supporters based on Richard Giulianotti's theory of the four types of soccer spectators in the global game, namely "supporters" (traditional, hot); "followers" (traditional, cool); "fans" (consumerist, hot); and "*flậneurs*" (consumerist, cool) [24,25]. Although Mike B, Courtney, and Rohan engaged in conspicuous consumption in the area of fashionable dressing this consumption did not extend to their football support which remained "traditional" and "hot". Group members who only occasionally attended games, such as 15-year-old Robert C (brother of Mike C and Pete C and not to be confused with either Ben's friend Rob or the floater Robbie), might be classified as followers with "traditional" yet "cool" forms of club identification.

Swan Districts versus West Perth, Bassendean Oval,1985: A trip to Bassendean Oval to play Swan Districts requires a long train journey from the Perth city-centre on the ancient Midland train line. Swan Districts is the most remote from the city-centre of the six traditional WAFL clubs which are not Fremantle-based. (Fremantle is often regarded as a separate city in its own

right.) By WAFL standards Bassendean is a fairly compact ground with the outer grassy banks being less wide and less high than those at East Fremantle Oval, Leederville Oval (prior to its recent renovations) or Lathlain Park. Like a soccer ground, all spectators are relatively close to the play. The famous old stands hug the playing arena closely and cast much of it in shadow in the late afternoons.

Since the formation of West Coast Eagles in 1987, "Swans" has had a reputation, fiercely and jealously guarded, of being the epitome of a traditional WAFL club. Bill Walker of Swan Districts was one of only two WAFL club presidents to vote against the entry of West Coast Eagles into the expanded VFL (now AFL). Even the once vibrant Midland and Guildford districts, at the centre of Swan Districts' geographic heartland, retain a large proportion of historic buildings and they seemed to have remained somewhat shielded from the economic, social, and demographic changes that the rest of Perth has experienced. Bassendean Oval used to be a fearsome place for visiting supporters; every corner of it was "claimed" on match-days by some gang or other of Swans' supporters[16]. Even today, Swans attract larger home crowds than other WAFL clubs and the compact nature of the ground makes a crowd of two to three thousand mostly Swans' supporters still a fearsome proposition for opposition players and fans. Although there was and is a members' stand, the R.A. McDonald Stand, in the ground's south-western corner, has always contained vocal and hard-core Swan Districts' supporters of all ages. The stand still contains such dedicated supporters today, although nowadays there are empty seats during the main game. In the WAFL's Golden Era (ending at the end of the 1986 season) patrons had to arrive long before the start of the main game to be assured a seat in the McDonald Stand (pronounced as if it had an extra "s" as in "McDonald's Stand"). My late maternal grandfather HAA (1906-1999)[17] and his mate Ernie Henderson supported Swans and they always sat there, towards the top, in the seventies and into the first half of the eighties. I also sat with them there, on three or four occasions, although never when West Perth was the opponent.

On this most memorable day, most probably in 1985, the West Perth cheer squad headed out to Bassendean Oval, from Perth city-centre on the Midland train line. I cannot recall how many people met in the city-centre beforehand. There was probably a sub-group which got on at the city-centre and the long journey then magnified our good spirits, self-confidence, and camaraderie. West Perth had been performing well on the field in 1985 and a win would certainly not have been an unlikely outcome. The cheer squad was in celebration and party mood, travelling to a distant and remote ground at the far end of the metropolitan area. Many cheer squad members would not have gone to the ground before[18].

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[16] Remember that mandatory fan segregation has never existed in the WAFL.
[17] H.A.A. had three brothers. Out of the extended family only H.A.A.'s nephew Fred and I supported a team other than Swans with Fred also being a West Perth supporter.
[18] The view of the McDonald Stand from the southern-end goals and the opposite view can be viewed at the following link: http://waflgoldenera.blogspot.co.uk/2017/02/opinion-presidents-response-to-todays.html [accessed 14 September 2017].

No part of Bassendean Oval is seemingly "reserved" for the away supporters (except perhaps the Bill Walker Stand which is located to the immediate right of the McDonald Stand when viewed from inside the playing arena). The McDonald Stand is only 20- or 30-metres from the southern-end goals. The northern-end goals are furthest from the train station so, logically, that was not the place for the away fans. The logic of the era was that visiting cheer squads (out of humility and respect) would stay nearest the entrance that was closest to the train station or major bus route so that meant, for example, the southern-end at Claremont Oval; the southern-end at Perth Oval; and the northern-end at East Fremantle Oval.

I can recall our West Perth group this day entering what were then the most popular gates of the oval, in the south-west corner closest to Success Hill train station, with our giant flags. In the environment of Bassendean Oval, these flags stood out like a sore thumb. Swans' fans then had a dour and austere culture where you would not wear club colours. Anything slightly showy was frowned upon as not befitting this working-class district some distance away from the city-centre. Furthermore, Swans' colours are black-and-white; the cheer squad's red-and-blue replica playing jerseys and flags stood out like the first year of colour television. People probably thought that we were show- offs and smart-arses. We took the path of least resistance and set ourselves up behind the southern-end goals. The group's flags and banners were right there in front of the line of sight of the McDonald Stand's inhabitants some 25-metres away heritage-protected ground is largely unchanged today.

The cheer squad was chanting its usual chants that day but with perhaps unusual venom. There had been animosity between West Perth supporters and Swan Districts' manager John Todd since Todd left West Perth's Brian Adamson out of a Western Australian combined state team in 1975 [26]. This animosity had then followed Todd across from East Fremantle to Swan Districts. Dawson writes as follows about the relationship between Swans and West Perth during the 1980s: "The feud was always publicly denied, but continued into the 1980s and all Swans-West Perth games were well-attended with many fiery incidents, off and on the field". Swans' record home ground attendance remains today the 22,350 people who watched Swans play West Perth on 10 May 1980 (Round 6) [27].

It may have been our "Ronnie Boucher walks on water / everybody knows that bullshit floats" chant that made the Swan Districts' fans increasingly upset on this particular day in 1985. Swan Districts had no recognized or organized cheer squad then but generally cheer squads accept each other's chants as just part of the job description and not to be taken seriously. The McDonald Stand was an intimidating place in that era and our cheer squad was insulting Swans' favourite players and showing off its vibrant red-and-blue colours directly in front of their noses. The cheer squad also had its famous song, sung to the tune of the classic children's song "Old McDonald had a Farm": "Old McDonald had a stand / eyie eyie oh / and in that stand was full of pigs / eyie eyie oh". The distant origins of

the real Mr. R.A. McDonald[19] meant that by 1985 our group clearly intended to insult a revered ancient folklore deity instead of an actual known person. The song was in effect an attack against local gods.

Around three-quarter time during the main game, we saw that a group of around eight to ten bare-chested Aboriginal youths, around the group members' ages or slightly older, had very quietly surrounded us and taken up strategic seating positions just outside the group on all three sides. This Aboriginal group began to make intimidating comments including that they would beat us up after the game. The Aboriginal group members wore no club colours but they were clearly Swans' supporters. They must have been offended by the West Perth flags and chanting. Our West Perth cheer squad watched the game much more diligently and stopped playing up to and taunting the inhabitants of the McDonald Stand. I could tell that our group members were apprehensive. Aboriginal gang culture and the culture of the suburbs around Bassendean Oval were not well known to any of the group. None of us had any reputation in the area that we could call on. It was the classic away fans scenario.

We all began to watch the game much more diligently and talk among ourselves; we adopted a much lower profile. People became grossly absorbed in the match, looked straight ahead, and quietly conversed in their twos and threes. This was partly a strategic act and partly a sub-conscious switch to the self- preservation mode. The chanting mostly stopped although I am sure that we still waved the flags after West Perth goals.

If we want some theorization of the West Perth cheer squad members' behavioural self-modifications after being threatened by the Aboriginal group of Swan Districts fans, we might cite Marsh [6] as follows:

"we can instantly recognize dominant or submissive stances in other people and we frequently employ them ourselves ... Adopting a submissive posture is the clearest way in which ... a person ... can signal that he has had enough and thus avoid serious injury".

When the game ended, or possibly five or ten minutes prior to that, the West Perth cheer squad looked around and we saw that the Aboriginal group had disappeared. I do not think that anyone even saw or heard them leave as they disappeared so quietly. Our West Perth group had passed some kind of test. Possibly the Swan Districts' group had decided that we were "good guys at heart" or possibly they had just lost interest in confrontation or had somewhere to go straight after the match. Swans' on-field victory that day might possibly have been seen by the Aboriginal group as having been vindication enough for them

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[19] *The R.A. McDonald Stand was opened on 23 July 1938, four years after the club was admitted to the WAFL (East, 2009, pp. 21, 87). R.A. (Dick) McDonald was President in the early years of the Swans club and played an important role in the then second-division club gaining WAFL admission in 1934 when he was acting in his capacity as member of the Bassendean Road Board (ibid., pp. 12-6, 20, 191).*

(as Mike B today claims (source: personal interview with the author, Kalgoorlie, 14 July 2011)).

Like the London Teddy Boys who menacingly surrounded Desmond Morris and his wife in a Camden Town cafe in 1957 but then paid the couple's bill and left with a friendly greeting (Morris [28] in the foreword to Marsh's *Aggro*), the Swan Districts group had reinforced territorial dominance by Swans' fans over all of Bassendean Oval, including the seats behind the southern-end goals, without resorting to actual violence. Marsh [6] explains further as follows: "When men enter into aggressive confrontations with each other, the object of the exercise is not killing but preservation of dominance relations, the defence of particular space or access to basic resources". Some might think that we outnumbered the Aboriginal group and we had the flags with long wooden stick handles which could have could be used as weapons. Therefore, why were we so nervous? However, we must remember that firstly we had a number of 8-12-year-olds present among our number; and secondly that there was also the risk that nearby Swans' supporters would join in or the Aboriginal group would signal or summon their mates from other parts of the ground to assist them. We took a middle course in that we did not walk away but we did keep quiet and refrained from normal cheer squad behaviour other than waving the flags after goals which was our last symbolic act of resistance and solidarity.

This event at Bassendean Oval's southern-end goals was a near-miss for the West Perth cheer squad and our group members probably learned a lesson to be somewhat quieter, more respectful, and more circumspect in hostile away territory. It must be pointed out that the cheer squad members never viewed this encounter as any sort of "racial war" - our group was multicultural and we had a multicultural ethos. For example, DS from Tuart Hill was an ethnic Chinese and the brothers Tony and Mario were of Italian ethnicity. In fact West Perth supporters have long been referred to by the racist tag of "Garlic Munchers" (especially by East Perth fans). This tag emerged because of the large southern-European immigrant supporter base which was attracted to the club in the post-World War II period; and especially from the seventies onwards when the Italian-Australian ruck-rover Peter Menaglio was a star player in the senior team[20].

About the near-miss at Bassendean Oval, on reflection, I can say that our group had probably become a little over-confident and cheeky (or "cocky" in the Australian vernacular). Our cheer squad went to Bassendean Oval thinking that, because there was no organized Swan Districts' cheer squad, we could pretty much express ourselves as we liked as far as flag-waving and noise-making were concerned. Being far from home created a carnival or a day-at-the-seaside atmosphere for our group members. The hostility between the two clubs was a

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[20] *Peter Ross Menaglio (DOB 4 September 1958) played 236 senior games for West Perth and kicked 185 goals between 1977 and 1989 (Atkinson, 2008, p. 367). He presently works as a Real Estate Agent for Edison Property Residential in North Perth. His office is only 2.4 kilometres away (via Bourke Street) from West Perth's original home ground Leederville Oval where Menaglio played many of his best games.*

factor in the background which was probably driving us on to chant a little louder. I probably did not "rate" the Aboriginal group when I first saw it as it was not a Melbourne-style cheer squad and its guys were shirtless and not wearing club colours. *Why was this day memorable aside from just the physical threat?* Perhaps because different concepts of fandom, match-day behaviours, and dress codes were operating and these concepts clashed. I respected and tried to keep cordial relationships with the Perth and Claremont cheer squads but I did not perceive any necessity to have a similar fraternal and respectful attitude with respect to any or all Swan Districts' fans (even though my grandfather supported the club).

This Swan Districts versus West Perth match was probably either the 19.14(128) to 15.12(102) Swans' victory on 8 April 1985 (attendance 10,500) or the 22.12(144) to 21.16(142) Swans' victory on 20 July 1985 (attendance 9,462) (source: match scores are taken from Atkinson, 2008, pp. 334, 335 and attendances are from WAFL Online). It was probably the first of these as I do recall that interest had drained out of the match in the last 15 minutes as West Perth's chances had dropped to zero by that point.

6. CONCLUSION

In this article I have applied the anthropological approach to our 20 member West Perth cheer squad of 1984-86. I find that Armstrong's anthropological approach is able to explain many aspects of our cheer squad's culture and members' behaviours including the quick disintegration of the cheer squad early in the 1986 season without anyone officially putting an end to it. However, our group members did not adjust their commitment downwards during the cheer squad's years of action; most members attended all home-and-away matches from May 1984-March 1986.

Theoretically Marsh's concept of "aggro" as "the illusion of violence" seems almost perfectly to describe and explain the tough posturing but generally peaceable behaviour of our West Perth cheer squad. It also well explains our group members' partly sub-consciously adopted submissive attitude towards the Aboriginal Swan Districts' fans at Bassendean Oval and their response to that submission (and their team's convincing win) which was to quietly walk away, their job done. They had enforced the total authority of Swan Districts' fans over every square-centimetre of Bassendean Oval without a punch being thrown in anger.

This research also shows the diffusion of Australian Rules football supporter culture from Melbourne to Adelaide and from these two cities to Perth, to a certain lesser extent, and the impact of TV news reports of British soccer hooliganism on our group's style and macho posturing.

7. SUMMARY

This article was a summary form of my book *Goodbye Leederville Oval*, which I self-published in 2017 via Lulu Press. It is about my own involvement as co-leader of a group of teenage hardcore supporters of West Perth Football Club in

an Australian Rules football competition known as the WAFL from 1984-86. I had read a number of articles and books on soccer hooligan studies for the book preparation and I use here primarily the anthropological approach of Gary Armstrong's PhD study of Sheffield United's Blades hooligan firm, later published as *Football Hooligans: Knowing the Score*. I found that many aspects he discovered applied to our group. He calls the Blades a fluid post-modern neo-tribe and discusses the casual nature of group ties, social class, and the sub-gangs within the larger group, and I use all these categories and ideas here, finding that they have remarkable explanatory power. Of particular interest is group identity when we had no name, headquarters, phone number or business card, but we were a group-for-itself not simply a group-in-itself, to use terms of Karl Marx. There is useful discussion of whether and how group identity can operate out-of-season. Readers will notice detailed descriptions of the character and style of each of our core members and discussion of key events as well as our beginnings and break-up. These give the reader a picture of how the personalities gelled together and the management challenges of keeping the group relations cordial and cohesive for two years and two summer off-seasons. There is a list of the sub-gangs we had too, based on the much more impressive and longer breakdown in Armstrong's book for the Blades. Another interesting challenge was relating soccer literature from Britain and Europe to Australian Rules football fandom where there was no such thing as organized pre-mediated violence between rival sets of supporters. My conclusion would be that the ideas in Armstrong's work have validity in the context where there is no pre-meditated violence between fans. This is autoethnographic research, although I was not aware of the term then.

DISCLAIMER

The opinions expressed herein are not necessarily the same as those of Brian Atkinson; Australian Football League (AFL); Swan Districts Football Club (SDFC); West Perth Football Club (WPFC); West Perth Football Club cheer squad 1984-86 or any of its members; Western Australian Football Commission (WAFC); Western Australian Football League (WAFL); and / or any of the study's interviewees. Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander readers should be aware that this article includes the names of persons who are deceased.

DEDICATION

This article is dedicated to my late maternal grandfather Herbert Arthur Acott (1906-99).

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COMPETING INTERESTS

Authors have declared that no competing interests exist.

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APPENDIX

Appendix A: Sub-gangs, West Perth Cheer Squad, 1984-86 (ages as at 1984) The Booragoon sub-gang

1. *The author, 15 years, Applecross Senior High School student (1984-85) then university student (1986).

2. *Mike B., 16 years, Applecross Senior High School (1984-85) then occupation unknown (1986), school friend of the author.

The Carine sub-gang:

3. Courtney, 14 years, high-school student, junior football friend of Thommo.
4. Rohan H., 14 years, high-school student, school friend of Courtney.

Floaters / non-aligned:

5. *Mark T. aka "Thommo", 14 years, high-school student (1984-85), plasterer (1986); junior football friend of Courtney.
6. *Robbie, 14 years, joined cheer squad 1985, lived in Balga, took buses home with Balga sub-gang, knew Thommo before joining cheer squad, also in Balga sub-gang.

The Balga sub-gang:

7. *"P.A.", 18 years, lived in Balga, employment situation unknown.
8. *Dave S. (name changed), 16 years, lived in nearby Tuart Hill but took buses to games with P.A. and Robbie, school / employment situation unknown.

The C. brothers sub-gang:

9. *Mike C., 16 years, in and out of reform homes.
10. *Robert C., 15 years, only went to games occasionally, had criminal record.
11. *Pete C., 14 years, in and out of reform homes.
12. *Female niece or cousin of the C. brothers, 4 years, attended 50% of games.

The Perth Modern SHS sub-gang:

13. Ben McAuliffe, 13-14 years, John XIII college student.
14. Rob, 13-14 years, Perth Modern SHS student, friend of Ben and Tony.
15. Tony, 12-13 years, Perth Modern SHS student, school friend of Rob.
16. Mario, 8-9 years, younger brother of Tony (also in younger members sub-gang).

The younger members sub-gang:

17 Michael aka "Half", 8 years, parents were financial members of West Perth, no relationship to other cheer squad members, lived in Bayswater or Maylands.
18 *"Thommo Junior", 8 years, younger brother of Thommo *denotes took public transport to and from games.

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Leadership-Managerial Satisfaction Factors Affecting Workers in the Industries under the Era of the Ruling Party (CCM) -School as to Any Industry

Tumaini J. Mbonea [a*]

ABSTRACT

The main purpose of this study was: (i)To investigate leadership- managerial satisfaction factors affecting workers in the industry –specifically school industry as to any industry. (ii)To find out leadership-managerial satisfaction factors affecting workers in public owned industries. (iii)To find out leadership-managerial satisfaction factors affecting workers in private owned industries. (iv)To find out the differences of leadership- managerial satisfaction factors affecting industry workers among working departments. The research design applied was survey. Research findings revealed that Secondary school industry workers in all types of (public and private) industries were affected by satisfaction factors which are: pay, social simulation, opportunity for promotion, job condition and job security.By the use of ANOVA test it shows that there is no statistically significant difference in satisfaction levels among all departments in the industry, had an alpha value of 0.428, which was greater than 0.01 and 0.05. According to such results the researcher therefore recommends that for raising satisfaction level for secondary school industry workers ,for effectiveness and efficiency in the work place as to have positive productivity in the industry(academic performance of the students),the policy by the government under the ruling party (CCM) should be formulated to make adjustment on the following; i) Secondary school industry workers(teachers) should be paid and given their returns with regard to time value of money without delay, given enough time for social simulation(to meet their family ,friends, shopping), promoted equally without delay, offered with good job condition such as housing and transport, all these should be of importance. Industry leaders (educational administrators) should use no threats to their subordinators. ii) Science secondary school industry workers, art secondary school industry workers in the industry and other secondary school industry workers in other departments should be recognized, appreciated and given priority equally. It should be kept in mind that any mistake

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done to undersign and pull back the growth in such educational industry, should be up on the ministry of education and its sectors under the government of the ruling party (CCM).

Keywords: Satisfaction; job security; social simulation; promotion; customer workers recognition & appreciation.

1. INTRODUCTION

Anything related to the management under a particular leadership in non central government is a reflection of the central government acts. As far as education is the key functional for any development of any nation that produces all kinds of experts such as civil engineers, medical doctors, teachers, professors, politicians and all scientists, should therefore be much cared. As to any industry, to school which receive raw materials, processing them and brings out the products i.e. administering and enrolling new students, teaching (processing) them and come up with qualified ones (new products): The research and the whole process of the current research was based on the fact that most of the industry workers face many job related challenges which to them act as dissatisfiers to fulfill their duties as oriented to them."Teamwork,commitment, culture,communication and training are the most important factors which led to job satisfaction and delegations" Nushra N et al. [1]. As far as education is the key functional for any nation to develop and is the engine that producing all kinds of experts such as civil engineers, medical doctors, teachers professors politicians all scientists should be much cared. Alice Reissova [2] states that 'Employees engagement in the exposed workplace has positive effect on job satisfaction and negatively affects potential turnover'.

To the such extent the dissatisfied industry workers in school industry would led them to ineffective in working/teaching which then may results to less production-students poor academic performance. "Job insecurity and Job engagement have significant impacts on Job performance". Saldanha E. Soares et al. [3] Brougham D.& Haar J. [4] who researched USA, Australia and Newsland by using 1516 sample size on the satisfaction of workers over the growth of technology states that ."An employees perceived threat of technological disruption had a significant effect on job insecurity-i.e. people willing to stay in their current line of work". This shows that employees were not satisfied with the growth of technology in their job.

To this research the areas of satisfaction(factors) chosen were: pay, job security, social simulation, opportunity for promotion, recognition and appreciation, interpersonal relation, opportunity to use one's ability, working hour and job condition ,opportunity working environment and adequate authority of control. Data collection and analysis had done from the vulnerable less producing industries (Poor academically performing schools) and others from the best producing industries (The best academically performing schools) based on the history and background. Purposive sampling technique was adopted in finding the leadership- managerial satisfaction factors affecting secondary school

industry workers in Lushoto Disctrict, Tanga region in Tanzania. The totals of 119 industry workers (teachers) were surveyed from both private secondary school industries and public secondary school industries. Satisfaction or dissatisfaction among categories (groups) of secondary school teachers (industry workers) were calculated in terms of means, while then ANOVA test was applied to find satisfaction difference among categories of secondary school industry workers.

To show the dissatisfaction of teachers in Tanzania, there has been existence of secondary school industry workers strike and claim to government of not responding to their claims at the right time and accordingly, e.g. Davidson [5] conducted a survey on teacher motivation in Tanzania and he found that most customer workers were unhappy with their pay, fringe benefits, accommodation, their promotion position, status and number of lessons allocated. This implies that they had a low level of satisfaction which may led them to poor performance and hence affecting production in the industry- i.e. students' academic performance. For instance the performance(production quality) of form four secondary school industry students was poor as follows: Division 1-IV in 2011 (53.59%) was lowered by 1.07.The overall quality of passes has dropped by 1.61% from 2010 to 2011. NECTA [6] J.Michael et al. [7] states that "Satisfied employee tends to be more productive creative and committed to their employers."For this reasons poor performance of many secondary school industrial students (low/poor production) especially form four livers in Tanzania existing today may be contributed mostly by dissatisfaction of industrial workers. In the same case failure of secondary school industrial students (poor/low production) may contributed by dissatisfaction of customer workers. Since dissatisfaction of customer workers tend to make them unproductive, uncreative and uncommitted to the job i.e. "Factors associated with job satisfaction are different from those linked to dissatisfaction". Hertberg F. Mausner. B & Synderman B [8]. According to Hertzberg theory, dissatisfaction relates primary to external or extrinsic aspects of a job, especially in adequate job Security, salary and fringe benefits, working conditions job status, quality of supervision and relationship with coworkers and supervisors. Herzberg F.et al (1959) claim that "the important factors in satisfaction include being given individual responsibility, having opportunity for advancement, and doing work that is challenging, allow one to demonstrate unusual degrees of achievement, and foster personal presence".

According to Lathan and Yuki ; Steer and Porter – one key component of jobs that are satisfying is to allow people to set and achieve clear goals. Zembylas M. and Panastasious E. [9] who studied industrial workers satisfaction and dissatisfaction suggest that, "there is an urgent need for policy makers to recognize the fact that educational quality is largely related to teacher job satisfaction".This aims to fill the gape for job satisfaction of the workers "There is a positive correlation and connection among job satisfaction and the, award,remuration,job security, promotion opportunities and good relations with employees" Bhardwaj A. [10]. As to Brougham Bhardwaj A. [10] who researched and made analysis to understanding the job satisfaction of employees in banking industry claims that "There is a positive correlation and connection among job

satisfaction and the award, remuration,job security, promotion opportunities and good relations with employees" Bhardwaj A. [10] A. Ravichadran [11] who study the job satisfaction of employees of manufacturing industry in Pondicherry ,India discovered that "Majority of employees are satisfied but the factor for promotion gives maximum job satisfaction to the employees" This implies that industrial workers job satisfaction is an important aspect for a country like Tanzania which is trying to fight ignorance among its citizens both quantitatively and qualitatively.

D. & Haar J. [4] who investigated the influence on Job insecurity and turnover intentions states that "An employee's perceived threat of technological disruption had a significant effect on job insecurity-i.e. people willing to stay in their current line of work. Zahayu Md .Yusufu [12] who explored the job satisfaction among employees in a manufacturing industry in North Malaysia revealed that "There is a significance of employees' satisfaction between male and female and between single and married workers".

If industry workers/ teachers are not satisfied, may remain as agitators, mourners, reluctant or resistant to school industry, project, programs or plans programmed and planned for the best of school industry. As far as there is poor products (performance) of many Secondary school students especial Form Four leavers (products) in Tanzania, especially in Lushoto district.There was need to research on satisfactioin of employees who are the engineers to ensure students'academic performance. According to Braja Deepon Roy [13] nine best practices to keep employees satisfactions high are: 1 positive work environment 2. Feedback 3. Rewards and recognition 4. Work life balance and employees satisfaction 5. Involve and engage your employees' 6.develop employee skills 7. Evaluate and measure employee satisfaction 8.employee well being 9.clearly defined goals and objectives.

Nushra Najimuddin et al. [1] point out that"Job design opportunity reward, are the factors of job satisfaction need to be work on"Poor (products) performance of Secondary School industry students may led by low level of satisfaction of teachers that afterward shall be caused by poor educational industry management. According to Lilian et al. [14] "Private secondary schools teachers in Tanzania were more satisfied and motivated than those of Public secondary schools-Most teachers were dissatisfied with lack of promotional opportunities, poor supervision, lack of organizational policies, undefined nature of jobs and poor organizational communication networks". Etehadi B. Karatepe O. M [15] who researched on the impact of job insecurity on critical hotel employees' outcome argues that"self efficacy, absenteeism, service recovery, performance and service innovation behavior were the outcomes of job insecurity among employees".

Rationale for this study is to come up with the solution for job related problems which affect secondary school industry professionals for them to work (teach) effectively and efficiently inoder to raise industry production- students academic performance for national development. In the sense that it will contribute to good and effective educational industry practices within the Tanzania and the world

over. It will also contribute to knowledge and shall be the guideline in developing theory which would eventually serve as a presiquisite to job satisfaction in all sectors of secondary school industries in deliverance of quality education (products) to the benefit of industry workers (teachers), students and Tanzanians, education implementers as well as educational industry administrators (leaders) within Tanzania and the world over.

Moreover, stakeholders and educationists who are the policy makers in this industry(under the government of the ruling party-CCM) shall use the study to formulate and implement educational industry policies that could promote to job satisfaction, foster a better employee- employer relationship with regard to educational administration and management.

2. LITERATURE REVIEW

2.1 Types of School Related for Job Satisfaction

There are several studies conducted on satisfaction and on the factors that affect satisfaction for industry workers who are the teachers, especially secondary school industry teachers global wise and local wise. For stance a study that was conducted on satisfaction for teachers who are the workers in school industry in the United Kingdom indicated that school industry workers who worked in independent and private school industries in the United Kingdom showed to have higher levels of satisfaction than their colleagues in other types of schools industries [16]. However, other research findings indicate that "teachers in public and private secondary schools industries did not differ in their satisfaction levels significantly" Songhan Z [17]. For these findings and their variation, it is obvious therefore that industry workers job satisfaction do not depend on type of school industry but rather depends on the areas of satisfaction factors affected under the management in the industry of which they are working. Foristance the study conducted by Dinham and Scott [18] found that industry workers/teachers who had earned promotions in their school industries were more satisfied with their job than un promoted ones. For these geared reasons it is expectation to them to work willingly, effectively and efficiently for better production. The investigation done by Eric [19] revealed that industry workers (Teachers) in Tanzania were dissatisfied with salary, promotion opportunity, fringe benefit, work load, job security and stability"

2.2 Interpersonal Relation as Satisfaction Factors

As for other study it was found that workers satisfaction is derived from collegial relationship that they enjoy at their work place Dessler [20]. This interpersonal relation was seemed therefore to be among the factors that affect satisfaction for industry workers including secondary school industry workers. Another managerial related satisfaction factor (salary) was studied by Shafriz et al. [21] who argues that salary is the main demand which a worker is making of his employment and that what an employee wants is simply to be assigned work that he or she is supposed to do and the amount of money they will earn by the end

of the day for such a job and nothing else. This implies that money is the factor for satisfaction to some industry workers/employees under the particular leadership management.

Robbins S.P and Judges T.A (2008) assert that employees derive their job satisfaction from such facets like: the job itself, salary, possibilities to advance themselves, supervision and relationship with their workmates. Job itself mean tasks given under particular leadership in the industry i.e how the tasks a worker perceives under industry management is what to be termed as factor for satisfaction in this area.

Oshagbemi T. [22] in his study on job satisfaction among university lecturers and professors in the United Kingdom, employed a modified Job Descriptive Index which included eight aspects and these include: "1) teaching; 2) research; 3) administrative and managerial duties; 4) present pay; 5) opportunities for promotion; 6) supervision/supervisor; 7) co-workers; 8) physical conditions/ working facilities. This implies that previous researchers did not conduct the research on some of the facets of satisfaction though some of them are similar.

2.3 Recognition and Appreciation as a Satisfaction Factor

Duodu F.W.K [23] statement on human relations theory affirms that "the attention paid to workers and their involvement in activities in the organization could bring about increased productivity on the role of educational administrators". Mordedzi states that, educational administrators are managers of educational institutions who need good management techniques to carry out their tasks, encourage harmony and ensure effective performance. As for the above statement, those are responsible for management in all matters pertaining in the school industry. Such that production in the industry depends very much that, are satisfied and willingly to work effectively and efficiently.

Agyeman D.K. [24] affirms that the importance of the teacher – learner relationship in the classroom lies in the fact that it has a direct bearing on the personality development and achievement of the leaner. Another area where students (as to industry materials) contribute greatly to workers satisfaction is the response they get from students' performance (good production in the industry) with regards to reward for good production. Mankoe J.O. [25] also identified that the use of student committees and the suggestion boxes promotes a healthy staff-student relationship.

2.4 Interpersonal Relationship and School Industry Type as Satisfaction Factors

For effective working in the industry (teaching and learning) to take place in any educational industry, there is the need to develop good interpersonal relationship. i.e. good relationship with the managers, staff, non staff members and the community' relationship should be of more importance. As posited by Dessler G. [20] interpersonal relationship should be the teaching and non-

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teaching staff, teachers and students and non-teaching staff and student. For this kind of relationship it plays crucial roles in the industry workers satisfaction. As for research conducted by Raymond L. et al. [26] "Teachers in Tanzania perceived problems related to housing, social services, conflicts in schools industry, the teaching and learning situations and limited opportunities."It proved that workers are affected by satisfaction factors such as, housing, social services and interpersonal relation i.e conflicts in the industry is to where a worker is working in regard to provision of social services.

2.5 Working Environment as a Satisfaction Factor

Working environment in school industry termed as school industry climate or school industry atmosphere is one of the most important determinants of a prevailing and consequent satisfaction factors among staff and leaders of the school industry.The head of the school industry may not determine the school industry atmosphere yet, his unapproved leadership style may have some negative effects on the climate of the industry.Where people- workers (teachers) work under able leader, they become happy and consequently give out their best for better production in the industry/school. Six major types of organizational climate identified by Asiedu Akrofi K. (1978). According to him there are types of climate as follows: 1) a situation where members of staff are aware of what goes on in the school industry is what classified as open climate. 2) The controlled climate is a school industry climate in which the manager/ head teacher's concern is all about school industry achievement. All activities are directed towards attainment of goals for heavy and good production. Teachers who are industry workers cooperate well in such circumstances, but do not feel happy. 3) Explaining the paternal climate, he described the head/manager of the school industry as a person who is on the average older than the subordinators/ workers (teachers). Teachers in this type of climate are free to do whatever satisfies them but cannot influence the manager's (head teacher's) decision. 4) To him another climate is the closed type. In this type of school industry climate, workers(teachers) are not involved in decision making hence they tend to be apathetic consequently,indiscipline gains ground both among teachers and students-the staff members and non staff members in the industry since none of the staff is prepared to cooperate with the head(manager) in the administration/management of the school industry. 5) The fifth aspect of the school industry climate is the autonomous climate which is based on consensus of staff, students, non staff and the head/manager of the school industry. 6) Group leadership plays prominent role in causing things to happen and it could be linked to the open climate. 7) The familiar climate is that head or manager of the school industry is indifferent to the main purpose of the school; as a result, teachers/workers do not see the need for sustaining set goals. In this type of climate, parents (the community) and students(non staff members) suffer as they become losers. Douglas D.T [27] conducted a research which revealed that teacher(industry workers) generally have position perceptions about the District, their colleagues and the working environment i.e how other industries workers are getting social services and distanced from CBD compared to themselves?. Furtham A et al. (2005) asserts that positive educational industry environment

prevails in countries where children go to school in well-equipped buildings, have 900 hours of learning time per year, a curriculum that is carefully planned, a teacher with 16 years of education and pupils teacher ratio of 20:1. Comparatively, he assessed classroom (working place) conditions in developing countries as generally poor, inadequate or poorly maintained facilities with instructional materials in short supply.

2.6 Pay as Satisfaction Factor

However, the teachers (industry workers) expressed low satisfaction with respect to factors such as remuneration, benefits and opportunities for professional development. R. H. Schaefer (2005) claims that, high wages give workers a sense of accomplishment apart from the task before them. This assertion may vary according to the type of job satisfaction investigated. For instance, a teacher in either public or private secondary school with higher wages may still be dissatisfied when he spends several hours at work to the neglect of his health and family needs.

2.7 Use of One's Ability as Satisfaction Factor

Several factors may contribute to the satisfaction among employees, that are economical, social prestige recognition, emotion satisfaction, psychological or any form of reward by employers.

R.H. Schaefer (2005) asserts that, people of greater responsibility for finished product such as white-collar job professionals and managers, experience more satisfaction than those with less responsibility. This is affirmed by the fact that both women and men working in blue collar-job with repetitive nature of work can be particularly unsatisfied. As for that assertion, workers who employed appropriately of their qualification posts, do satisfy. Gibson J.L [28] believes that satisfaction is the attitudes that workers have about their work as a result of their perception of the work. From this perception it could be said that workers' attitudes could be influenced by the environment under particular leadership management. These may be the style of supervision, workplace policies and their implementation, group or union affiliations, fringe benefits and the condition of service as for the others.

2.8 Job Security as Satisfaction Factor

It is obvious that when employees feel unhappy or not the part and parcel of organization inco operate the fear of dismissal from job. According to Mankoe J.O [25] the three salient basis upon which morale of organizational workers thrive are: The extent to which organizational goals and individual needs are met,the compatibility of bureaucratic expectations and personal needs, (sense of belonging) rational, logical and bureaucratic organizational goals (sense of rationality).These are the areas that workers can feel unhappy with industry to incorporate the fear of dismissal i.e. job security.

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2.9 Working Hours as Satisfaction Factor

The administrator/leaders, as posited by Duodu F.W.K [23] perform executive duties and works with human beings to achieve set goals within a set framework of time. He further asserts that, school administrators (managers) spend a considerable amount of time working with various groups in different settings. To his statement various groups are the workers who spend amount of time to fulfill their own work day to day duties.i.e. Too long working hours without considerable pay may led them to be disappointed by the work.

2.10 Industry Workers (Teachers)' Dissatisfaction Factors

According to Albanese A.R [29] dissatisfaction associates with: monthly salaries, incapable and nonsupportive administration and lack of collegian relationship or with co-workers. According to him incapable leaders and salary were the key factors that influence job dissatisfaction. This implies that industry workers' (teacher's) dissatisfaction is associated with leader's incapability. The study done by Nyamubi G.J. [30] found that "Teachers were satisfied by both monetary and non monetary incentives such as community support.They were pleased with fair remuneration packages that related to their labor input, opportunity for career development, a well defined individual appraisal systems, time promotion and requisite workplace conditions. Teachers/ workers showed that friendship and cooperation with workers and students(non staff members) as well as the respect of community members also enhanced satisfaction in teaching industry" The results of the research conducted by Msuya O.W. [31] showed that "Job satisfaction in Tanzania was not homogenous: social economic and demographic factors had a great contribution on varying satisfaction levels".

According to Eutimi B. [32] "There was a significant different in financial motivation between public and private secondary school industry customer workers (teachers) in Kigoma District inTanzania"

2.11 Impacts of Teachers/Industry Workers' Satisfaction

Satisfaction results in teacher's performance, job turnover, absenteeism and involvement in teacher's union activities (Judge T.A. et al., 2008). Though, there is no empirical data that justifies direct or indirect influence of employee's satisfaction on productivity. Latham A [33] posited that "job satisfaction can do far more than to help retain in job for teachers; it can improve their working/teaching." This implies that satisfied workers can contribute significantly to the improvement of production (students' academic performance) and school industry effectiveness at large. Similarly Shan M. H. [34] asserts that satisfaction helps to retain teachers and makes them committed to their job and through this also makes their school industries very effective. In other words, satisfaction it contributes to improvement of teaching in the industry, students learning in the industry and teacher retention in the industry.

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Travers C.J and Cooper C.L. [35] Claim that low satisfaction with salary and the lack of promotion opportunities contributed significantly to industry workers (teacher's) intention to quit the job. This implies that high satisfaction with these variables would contribute to their intention to remain in the job. Through, recent survey conducted in United States of America revealed that employees do not remain in their jobs because of good salaries and fringe benefits, but they stay because of the collegial relationship with co-workers and managers.

A research conducted by S.Syepwa [36] showed that "Teachers in Tanzania worked under difficult condition due to inadequate number of physical infrastructure and shortage of teaching and learning facilities" Nnadi E.E [37] claims that job satisfaction is composed of the reaction, attitude or perception of the individual to work. These are what the work should be.An employee/ worker is concerned about the content and the context as well as the end result. He is satisfied if he believes what the job values, and may become disillusioned and dissatisfied when he finds that the job is below his expectations.

Bootzin et al. [38] in affirming the state of a satisfied customer worker in the industry made it clear that, a happy worker is a productive worker. In support of Bootzin et al. Mcshane.S.L and von Glinow J. [39] point out that, satisfaction represents a person's evaluation of his or her job and work context. Job condition and the environment in which job takes place also contribute immensely to job satisfaction. Hellriegel. D.et al. [40] posits that it "the feelings about various aspects of the worker's job setting and worker's expression of happiness could vary as regards to job satisfaction".

Factors for job satisfaction as identified by Nnadi. E.E [37] are economic rewards, social rewards, company policy and its implementation or administration. The rest are interpersonal relationships, working conditions, achievements, recognition, work itself and advancement. From the few constituents of satisfaction so far identified, it would be quite obvious for any employer/worker of the industry to meet all these demands at focus. It is however not surprising when the organizational psychologists postulate that the modest association between job satisfaction and task performance is that, general attitude do not predict specific behavior very well. R. Creitner and Kinicky [41] identified that job satisfaction is not a unitary concept, rather, a person can be relatively satisfied with one aspect of this job and be dissatisfied with one or more other aspects.

Job satisfaction is one measure of the equality of life in the organizations/industry, then, this measure need to be defined as to what level the workers and other employees could accept; R.H. Schaefer (2005).Schaefer however, did not see how a segment of the need could be satisfied without others. He therefore claims that, "Job satisfaction may vary directly with the extent to which those needs of the individuals can be satisfied are actually satisfied R.H. Schaefer (2005).Satisfaction is however defined as "the good feeling that you have when you have achieved something a need or desire" R.H. Schaefer (2005).In a related research, Bame [42] identified commitment to work as a variable of job satisfaction and is the degree to which a person is

identified psychologically with his work or the importance of work in his total self-image.

Peremode V.F [43] posits that job satisfaction is a concept which is closely related to motivation. This makes many people think that motivated employees are synonymous to satisfied employees. Mullins. L.J [44] affirms this by saying that "motivation is the driving force within individuals by which they attempt to achieve some goal in order to fulfill some need or occupation". For example, psychologists view many different motives such as needs for order, understanding and economic independence guide behavior.

Mullins. L.J [44]) states that, "motivation (satisfaction) is based on values rather than financial reward". Adequately remunerated worker is motivated both intrinsically and extrinsically. The intrinsic motivation and satisfaction derived from successful completion of a task makes the worker find similar and improved means to approach a given task under a similar prevailing working environment. Since intrinsic motivation is limited to personal experience, McClelland's concept of motivation is therefore linked to Hertzberg's motivation hygiene theory that people with high achievement motivation tend to be interested in the motivators (the job itself). Motivation and satisfaction may appear to be synonymous; however, research has shown that they are two different things. Gibson. J.L et al [45] identified that the two terms are related but not synonymous. They see satisfaction as one variable or a constituent of motivation. To them motivation primarily is a goal directed behavior while satisfaction refers to fulfillment required by experiencing various activities and rewards. From this assertion it is possible that a low level income employee may not feel motivated but would be satisfied with his job. On the other side of the coin, a highly motivated employee may turn to be dissatisfied with every aspect of this job.

2.12 Satisfaction through Leadership Management

Morale is closely related to job satisfaction as such, leaders who are managers hold the key to employees' attitude, job satisfaction and high morale Mankoe J.O [46]. This is supported by Duodu [23] who remarks that the function of organizational leadership is to influence the group toward achievement of group goals, and leadership which rings its strength from the willingness of others to follow, the art of inducing or influencing others to work willingly is an attribute of job satisfaction and morale derived from employees' task performance.

However there is no need to compete too hard or too little, unfairly, or you won't win much cooperation from other supervisors; to attract competitors to your department, create room for workers to upgrade themselves to attain their goals. This also affords you the opportunity to win friend among other supervisors; See to your own business and allow other supervisors to go about their work in the industry. This limits the rate of dispute among employees; finally, administrators/managers are to cooperate with their employees who are industry workers to enable employees by their success to promote assistance; a good administrator who cooperates with the staff helps the staff to be satisfied from

their task performances hence morale becomes very high.When these done lead to attainment of enduring organization that will thrive most efficiently Mankoe J.O [46] quoted in Amratwum A.M.

According to Lilian et al. [14]"Private secondary school industry workers in Tanzania were highly satisfied and motivated than those of Public secondary school industries. Most industry workers were dissatisfied with lack of promotional opportunities, poor supervision, lack of organizational policies, undefined nature of jobs and poor organizational communication" networks. This is another area of school industry type where management differ and hence differing of employees' satisfaction.

2.13 Customer Worker's Satisfaction Impacts

Bame [47] in his study he revealed that teachers' plan to remain or leave teaching, commitment to teach, and teachers' transmission of value, coupled with both negative and positive attitudes about the work to their pupils and absenteeism cannot be ruled out. He asserted that an alternative to dissatisfied teachers performance is that, dissatisfied teachers who remain in teaching may reduce their performance (productivity) created by their dissatisfaction. The behavior of dissatisfaction and unwilling to perform better in job place is termed as "citizenship behaviors" Gibson J.L. et al [45].

3. METHODOLOGY

3.1 Research Design

Research design implied in the current research was survey. The type of questionnaire which used in the current research consisted a Likert Scale type of questionnaire that asks individuals to check their level of satisfaction with various statements about their satisfaction under the leadership management (e.g., 4. Strongly agree, 3. Agree, 2. Disagree, 1. Strongly disagree). Data collection had been done where questionnaire distributed face to face to the respondents in three public secondary school industries and two private secondary school industries which make the total of 5 Secondary school industries out of 38 in Lushoto district,Tanga region in Tanzania that were selected.

3.2 Population

The research involved 119 workers (teachers) out of 720 secondary school industrial workers in both private and public secondary school industries within Lushoto District, Tanga region in Tanzania. Two private secondary school industries in Lushoto district council were chosen in addition to other three public secondary school industries. These industries were used because they are accessible as well have the characteristics of other secondary school industries within the district/council. Thus, the current study was conducted among indusstrial workers from Public and Non-Public (Private) Secondary

School industries in Lushoto District which form research population for survey on factors affecting job satisfaction for secondary school industry workers.

3.3 Sample and Sampling Procedure

The purposive technique sampling was applied in this research. 71 male custom workers from public secondary school industries and 48 female custom workers from private secondary school industries in lushoto district were selected. 63 Male secondary school customer workers and 56 female secondary school customer workers which make 119 secondary school customer workers out of 720 were involved in the study. The use of purposive sampling technique is to ensure that customer workers who had at least one year experience and above in teaching industries in the council involved in responding the questionnaire. Again it was to prevent heads/managers of the respective school industries from participating because aspects of the questionnaire had to do with assessing them as managers against their subordinators/ workers, and also to do away with conflict of interest of which heads (managers) of school industries were to be observed. In this study convenience sample were selected not only because they are easily found but also because do present the characteristics of the whole population of the study.

3.4 Validity and Reliability of the Instrument

3.4.1 Validity

To ensure validity of the instrument the study employed the following techniques: First the study applied outside questionnaire consisted of the discrimination validity of 0.80. These quetionairre brought from Specter P.E,(1997) consisted nine job satisfaction factors which expanded to the research instrument typically related to it. The questionnaire items from outside sources were then expanded to many items. The validity of the instrument was also ensured through which items originated under the same criteria were jumbled to avoid bias during the responses and to reduce validity-related risks. First, the related literature was reviewed to get the theoretical knowledge about the content or subject and definitions of concepts that should be used before designing the instrument for the particular study. Additionally, content validity was implied to test the instrument through presenting it to experts and peers for discussions and comments. This helped to eliminate ambiguities of some items.

3.4.2 Reliability

Internal consistency reliability of the instrument obtained through spilt half mathod.External reliability attained by ensuring all procedures of administering questionnaire were followed e.g. good instructions were given to the participants before they were supplied with questionnaire.

To obtain good reliability, all main variables were prepared for satisfaction and the survey instrument was presented to peers in the Masters of Educational in

Management and Leadership program me whose majority were secondary school industry workers in their respective councils/Districts in Tanzania. Supervisors and Professors commented during the research seminars and thereafter adjustments and corrections were made to the instrument before it was administered to the targeted population sample. The Spearman Brown formula was applied such that the reliability of 0.93 obtained in the current study.

3.4.3 Instrument

The questionnaire was divided into two sections: (A) Demographic data (B) factors of job satisfaction for secondary school industry workers. Under each main item there were minor items which were the aid for reliability. The second part of the questionnaire contained items on which respondents were responded on: pay (return), job security, social simulation, and opportunity for promotion, recognition and appreciation, interpersonal relation, use of one's ability, working hours and job condition, equal opportunity working environment adequate authority of control. The scale applied was a 4-point Lirkert type Scale weighed as follows: 1 = Strongly Dissatisfied, 2 = Dissatisfied, 3 = Satisfied, 4 = Strongly Satisfied. To measure satisfaction level a rating scale questionnaire prepared for employees to report their perception reaction to their job in the school industries.

3.5 Data Collection Procedure

An introductory letter from the head of directorate of the post graduate studies faculty of education from the University of Arusha was delivered so to establish the authenticity of the research for data collection from the respondents.The researcher then procured another letter of introduction from District Executive Director in Lushoto and its copies submitted to the heads of the proposed secondary school industries expected for data collection. Questionnaire were distributed and administered within five weeks limit due to the fact that the researcher had to rely on self transport preparation and costs incurred to reach more scattered and remote targeted secondary school industries. After the face to face distribution of questionnaire the participants were given enough time to consider/organize their answers to every item that they responded at the convenient time. This gave them freedom to think thoroughly before they can made responses.

3.6 Data Analysis

Data that gathered from respondents was analyzed and presented in form of means to find satisfaction or dissatisfaction of industry workers on each factor. ANOVA test was applied to find job satisfaction difference among categories of secondary school industry workers. Each research question was analyzed based upon (under) the main satisfaction factors.

4. RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

Industry workers' job satisfaction may or may not vary with regard to either public or private school industries. As for this study results, public secondary school industry workers were satisfied on pay Mean = 1.65, social simulation Mean = 1.92, working hours and cognition Mean = 1.75, these data fall under dissatisfaction according to the scale, Table 1. Private secondary school industry workers ranked high in mean job satisfaction followed by public secondary school industry workers except in the domain of job security where public secondary school workers were highly satisfied than private secondary school workers (teachers) i.e. public secondary school industry workers(teachers) satisfaction was Mean = 2.37 of satisfaction and private secondary school industry workers satisfaction was mean = 1.67 satisfaction (Table 1). Public secondary school industry workers were strongly dissatisfied on opportunity for promotion by Mean = 0.77 and strongly satisfied on equal opportunity working environment by Mean = 2.92.Private secondary school workers were dissatisfied on job security by Mean = 1.67,opportunity for promotion by Mean = 1.98.

Table 1. Satisfaction level for secondary school industry customer workers

Factors	Public	Private
Mean		
Pay	1.65	2.42
Job security	2.37	1.67
Social simulation	1.92	1.13
Opportunity for promotion	0.77	1.98
Recognition & Appreciation	2.04	3.54
Interpersonal Relationship	2.38	3.30
To use one's ability	2.21	3.21
Job condition	1.75	2.46
Working environment	2.92	3.40
Authority of control	2.25	3.79

Source: Field work data analysis 2019

In other domains of job satisfaction, private secondary school industry workers were smoothly satisfied. Both public and private secondary school workers were satisfied on opportunity for promotion by Mean = 0.77 and Mean = 1.98 respectively. In other domains private secondary school industry workers were highly satisfied followed by public secondary school workers.

This means therefore that public secondary school industry workers' face challenges on pay, social simulation, working environment and opportunity for promotion i.e. they are not supplied with appropriate returns, they have no ample time to spend with their families or relatives, and they are not promoted at the right time. While private secondary school industry workers face challenges on job security and opportunity for promotion. This shows therefore that there is regular firing of workers in private secondary schools, as well no promotion for

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improvement of returns (salaries) no freedom of speech, no direct involvement on decision making in various matters related to industry development.

It indicates therefore that secondary school teachers were dissatisfied in this area of opportunity for promotion. As for this results public secondary school industry workers 'share satisfaction level in some aspects with private secondary school workers. This means that, there is no direct relationship of the problems facing public secondary school industry workers with those facing private secondary school industry workers but they share some aspects of satisfaction factors.

This research reveals therefore that private secondary school industry workers were slightly satisfied than public secondary school industry workers and both categories of industry workers face the same challenges in some domains i.e. there is no significance relationship of satisfaction level between public secondary school and private secondary schools in Lushoto District.As for the research conducted in the United Kingdom indicated that workers differed in satisfaction in relation to the type of school in which they worked.according to Cross. A and Harris. P [16] the workers who worked in independent and private school industries in the United Kingdom indicated higher levels of satisfaction than their colleagues in other types of school industries. However, other research findings indicate that industry workers in public and private secondary school industries did not differ in the satisfaction levels significantly Shongshan, Z [17].

Job satisfaction differences for Arts, Science and other departments of secondary school industry workers in Lushoto district.

As for the following the results obtained by an inferential statistics test namely one way ANOVA in testing the hypothesis were such that:

H$_0$: There are no significant differences among the means of satisfaction factors for art department workers, science department workers and other departments workers (H$_0$: $\mu_1 = \mu_2 = \mu_3$)
H$_1$: There are significant differences among the means of job satisfaction factors for art department teachers, science department teachers and other departments. (H$_1$: Means are not all equal). The significance for this test required alpha to be between 0.05 and 0.01.

From Table 2 analysis we observe that *p*-value is greater that the α value—that is 0.428 ≥ 0.05, therefore we fail to reject the null hypothesis in this situation that there was no need to carry out post hoc test, and we conclude that there are no significant differences among the means of satisfaction factors for art department industry workers, science department industry workers and other departments industry workers. This research indicates that there is no different of satisfaction level between secondary school industry workers working in different departments while also other research. E.g. shows that teachers' satisfaction did not differ significantly in relation to departments they teach i.e. science and Art teachers Fred (2009).

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According to this research result it is obvious therefore that secondary school teachers/ workers in all departments face the same administration (leadership managerial) challenges which in one way or another reflecting to their performance(production) at work place/industry. There is no need to find out the solutions for a particular category/department of secondary school industry customer workers in comparing to others i.e. any policy formulation to solve secondary school customer workers should not discriminate any class of them i.e. science department, art department or other departments in the school industry.

5. FINDINGS

Q.1. What is the factors affecting satisfaction level for secondary school customer workersin lushoto district?

There are factors found affecting satisfaction for secondary school workers such that:Public secondary school workers were dissatisfied on, pay, social simulation, opportunity for promotion, and job condition. While private secondary school workers were dissatisfied on, job security and opportunity for promotion.

Table 2. Satisfaction difference among categories of secondary school workers

ANOVA Table: Job satisfaction difference among categories of secondary schools teachers

	Sum of Squares	d f	Mean Square	F	Sig.
Between Groups	.209	2	.104	.855	.428
Within Groups	13.689	112	.122		
Total	13.689	114			

Source: Field work data analysis 2019

Q.2. Is there different of job satisfaction among science, art and other departments of industry workers?

By using ANOVA test it was found that there is no different of job satisfaction level between secondary school teachers working in different departments with, *p*-value greater than the α value—that is 0.428 ≥ 0.05

6. CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATION

6.1 Conclusion

According to the research results it is concluded here that public secondary school workers did not either receive their salary (returns) accordingly, not given time for social simulation, not promoted at the right time and not supplied with fair

working condition. While private secondary school workers did not recognized as part and parcel of the institution or they are dismissed from job regularly.

Then according to this research results therefore it revealed that secondary school customer workers in all departments face the same/ related leadership managerial challenges which in one way or another resulting to their performance at job place .i.e reduction of utility and productivity for the school industry development which is the key function for social or national development..

6.2 Recommendations

With such conclusion the researcher therefore recommends here that for raising job satisfaction level for secondary school indutry workers in all affected areas, for effectiveness and efficiency in the workplace/industry as to have positive academic performance of the students (increasing production in the industry), the policy should be formulated by the ministry concern under the leadership government of the ruling (CCM) and its sectors beneficial to industry workers to make adjustment on the following;

1. Secondary school industry workers should be paid and given their returns with regard to time value of money and without delay, provided with enough time for social simulation (to meet their family, friends, shopping. e.t.c), promoted equally without delay, exposed to good job condition such as housing and transport. These should be of important as for educational leaders (managers) should use no any kind of threat to their subordinators.
2. Science secondary school workers, art secondary school workers and other secondary school workers in other departments should be recognized, appreciated and given priority equally in the industry.

COMPETING INTERESTS

Author has declared that no competing interests exist.

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Corporate Social Responsibility Reporting at Scottish Premiership Football Clubs, 2012-2015

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ABSTRACT

This article aims to examine and reflect upon the reporting of CSR activities undertaken by the 12 football clubs competing in the Scottish Premiership 2016-17 season. Four sources of information were examined via content analysis: (1) annual reports; (2) official websites; (3) community arms' disclosure; and (4) the SPFL Trust. Aberdeen FC, with the appointment of a specific director in 2013, shows a clear level of stakeholder engagement. Medium-sized club Hearts, as well as smaller clubs Kilmarnock, Ross County, and St Johnstone, have demonstrated an understanding of stakeholders' pressures. Regarding Aberdeen's plans for a new stadium and Celtic's hosting of the 2014 Commonwealth Games opening ceremony, it is clear that CSR activities are being used to create positive relations with local authorities. Most clubs were found to be situated in extremely deprived areas of Scotland. Due to this, it is understandable that these clubs are highly motivated for CSR.

Keywords: CSR; Deprived areas; Football industry; Poverty; Scotland; Scottish football.

1. INTRODUCTION

The primary objective of a professional football club is to achieve success on the field [1], but most clubs also recognize that they have obligations towards their fans and their local communities.

While the focus on CSR has become more intense in the last few decades, the relationships between for-profit institutions and the broader society have been a matter of interest for over 150 years. This is evident particularly in Scotland, with the country's historical, cultural, and social foundations. When Welshman Robert

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Owen bought cotton mills in New Lanark, his philosophy for socialism and experiments in improving his workers' conditions were successful and resulted in increased profits for his business. The Cadbury brothers, and, more locally in Scotland, Andrew Carnegie, are also high-profile examples of organizational activities coalescing with social activities. Many socialist entrepreneurs in Scotland have focused on the distribution of parts of their organization's profit to society and improving the lives of people in their local communities [2].

Speaking of English football, Cloake [3] states that football clubs are unique in that they 'lie in the efforts of church and factory to create community'. Many men living in largely populated areas looked at football as a better outlet for their energies rather than drinking and fighting with one another. He explains that football relied on its surrounding industries for its own development, referring to steel, railways, and manufacturing industries; and the success of early teams in areas such as Derby, Manchester, Sheffield, and Stoke.

A key topic of debate relating to sport, and specifically football, is its connection to the strengthening and maintenance of local communities. This is especially the case in Scotland where every small town has a club in the Football League or, below that, the Highland or Lowland Leagues or lower-tier football. Hamil and Morrow [2] point out that it has been rare for Scottish clubs to relocate to more industry-based areas for commercial reasons but in turn this fact has allowed them to gain legitimacy from their historical ties to their communities.

Although most successes for professional clubs are measured by league table positions, cup trophy wins, and financial standing, their social and community responsibilities are seen as more important today than ever before. In 2010, a report commissioned by Supporters Direct [4] recognized that football clubs could have a significant impact in their local communities. Titled *The Social and Community Value of Football*, the report insisted that the value created by clubs' community arms should be measurable and comparable to similar clubs and it identified innovative projects and practices for the future. A key idea in launching CSR initiatives is to allow for business grant funding which can be explicitly attached to attaining a substantial level of community engagement.

According to Grant et al. [5], sporting clubs and their fan-bases are excellent examples of post-modern community. Professional clubs celebrate historical moments or great performances and also celebrate their fans with social interactions and special rituals and traditions. For this reason, clubs are almost brand communities of which fans feel a part (or in some cases and situations feel alienated from especially at English Premier League level). Football fans in a sense do have this right as they are co-producers of the club's 'brand'.

The aim of this article is to examine the CSR reporting undertaken by 2016-17 Scottish Premiership (top-tier) football clubs over the three-year period 2012-15.

The remainder of this article is structured as follows. Section 2 provides background information about Scottish football; there is a Literature Review in Section 3; Section 4 presents the Theoretical Framework; Research Method is

presented in Section 5; Section 6 presents results; and Section 7 provides discussion and conclusion.

2. BACKGROUND

In Scotland, football has the highest profile of any sport and the SFA (Scottish Football Association) and the SPFL (Scottish Professional Football League) support 42 senior clubs across four divisions (Premiership, Championship, League One, and League Two). In Scotland most clubs are over a hundred years old (e.g., Greenock Morton was formed in 1874 and St Mirren in 1877) and have long been ingrained in and representative of their communities. Most of the clubs are professional and full-time across the top two tiers. However, several Championship clubs are smaller and operate as part-time clubs with part-time players (e.g., Arbroath and Ayr United).

Twelve (12) clubs participate in the top tier, the Premiership, with relegation and promotion at the end of each season to and from the Championship. There is also promotion and relegation to and from each of the top four tiers. Furthermore, the winner of the play-off games between the top Highland League club and top Lowland League club plays against the last-place team in League Two for a League Two spot in the following season. Most of the clubs are structured as limited liability companies [6]. The three biggest clubs, Aberdeen, Celtic, and Rangers, are run as public limited companies (*ibid.*, p. 30).

Scottish football is well known for the diversity in club size with two huge clubs (Celtic and Rangers); three medium-sized clubs (Aberdeen, Heart of Midlothian, and Hibernian); and a host of smaller clubs based in various satellite towns of Glasgow (e.g., Motherwell and St Mirren) or in small regional towns. League One and League Two clubs had an average attendance in the 2015-16 season of 975 and 555 respectively (www.european-football-statistics.co.uk/attn.htm).

Hamil and Morrow [2] explain that, during the years 2006-11, several clubs saw substantial losses and many clubs filed for administration (but few actually went out of business). A look at Scottish clubs' annual reports for financial years 2012-13, 2013-14, and 2014-15 makes clear the financial strength of both Aberdeen and Celtic. They had a combined profit of £22.3m over these three years. Rangers' results provide another picture with the club set on rebuilding quickly to compete again in the top-quarter of the Premiership.

A key question raised in several articles relating to CSR in sport is how the thing that makes football so commercially valuable can be prevented from being destroyed, i.e., the passion generated by sport is threatened by its commodification.

Table 1 shows the clubs' stadiums' geographic locations and the Scottish Index of Multiple Deprivation (SIMD) [7] numbers for those districts. A key to understanding the table is that, with ranking between 1-10, lower numbers represent most deprived areas (1, 2, 3 etc.) and higher numbers represent the least deprived.

Table 1. Premiership Club's Location SIMD Scores (The Scottish Index of Multiple Deprivation (SIMD))

Club	Council	SIMD Overall Rank	Income rank	Employment rank	Health rank	Education rank	Housing rank	Geographical access rank	Crime rank
Aberdeen	Aberdeen City	2	2	3	2	1	1	8	1
Celtic	Glasgow City	1	1	1	1	1	2	6	1
Dundee	Dundee City	1	1	1	1	2	1	10	2
Hamilton Academical	South Lanarkshire	1	2	1	2	1	2	10	1
Hearts	City of Edinburgh	4	4	3	4	4	1	10	2
Inverness CT	Highland	4	4	5	5	3	1	8	1
Kilmarnock	East Ayrshire	2	2	2	2	4	4	10	2
Motherwell	North Lanarkshire	5	5	5	3	5	5	8	1
Rangers	Glasgow City	1	1	1	1	1	1	6	1
Partick Thistle	Glasgow City	2	2	2	1	3	1	8	2
Ross County	Highland	4	4	4	5	4	3	8	1
St. Johnstone	Perth and Kinross	9	10	10	9	8	9	2	6

From the table, it is obvious that most of the clubs are based in some of the most seriously deprived areas of Scotland. Only Motherwell and St Johnstone's locations scored 5 or above for overall SIMD ranking. This is interesting in that such profitable companies are based in such deprived areas, in which they are so closely connected.

3. LITERATURE REVIEW

3.1 Football and Accounting Articles

Cooper and Johnston [8] use Bourdieu and Lacan's theories to analyse the takeover of Manchester United Football Club (EPL) by the American Glazer family in 2005. They also discuss the Vulgatization (vulgarization / bastardization in our loose translation) of the term 'accountability' in modern times (say, post-1989) where it hides more than it reveals because the thought behind it is incomplete (p. 611). In fact a word becomes 'vulgate', for Cooper and Johnston [8, p. 603], when 'it appears to be progressive but in practice has taken on multiple meanings such that it lacks political force'. Accountability can refer to either a psychoanalytic concept or the concept used in business circles today where accountability of a division or government department is expressed in terms of ability to control and then punish those who cannot generate a high enough rate of return (or meet other KPIs). Use of performance measures (neo-liberal KPIs) in this way creates delusions of power and grandeur on the one hand and stress and anxiety on the other (p. 603) as well as undesired outcomes relative to corporate strategy. Despite the accountability rhetoric, citizens in the present era have no actual power to remove (for example) the heads of privatized utilities (p. 605).

The authors demonstrate that, despite endless talk of accountability plus the publication of annual financial statements and adherence by the Glazers to laws and listing rules, the final outcome was only an appearance of accountability since the fans had no power at all to block the takeover (pp. 622-623).

The Lacanian insight is that individuals suffer anxiety because they require and desire the recognition and approval of others as part of the self-understanding and self-evaluation process. This leads to efforts to appease others (and/or to condemn and belittle others so as to retain a self-image of perfection) although the need to appease may not extend to those with lower symbolic reputational capital (pp. 608-609). As the authors write: 'The interesting question here is whether or not all actors … depend on recognition from all others regardless of whether this is the recognition from a person of superior or inferior status' (pp. 608-609). Therefore, as the authors convincingly conclude, the Glazers were not much concerned about the hostile and negative opinions of ordinary fans. Indeed they were much more interested in the approval of bankers and financial community heavyweights since that was the community which they had chosen to inhabit and to identify with.

Cooper and Joyce [6] (later updated as Cooper and Joyce [9]) use the concept of 'private ordering' and aspects of Bourdieu's work to analyse as a case study the administration and insolvency of Gretna FC shortly after its surprise promotion to the Scottish Premiership (as it is now called) in 2007-08. The final liquidation of the club occurred on 8 August 2008 after the conclusion of the Premiership season. 'Private ordering' refers to the situation where a private body fills the gap perhaps once filled by government and sets rules which impact upon individuals who have no input into the rule-making process (p. 14). A contemporary British example would be private car-park operators with the various fees and fines which they charge. Cooper and Joyce [6, p. 16] argue that the Scottish Premier League Limited (hereafter SPL), a private limited company, practiced private ordering and enforced this on Gretna FC (and its supporters) which had no ability, while under administration, to contest the policies and decisions of either the SPL or the insolvency specialist.

The super-creditor rule existing in England means that 'football debt' (payments owed to 'football people' such as other football clubs and the regulatory bodies as well as players and managers) are paid before non-football debt (including payments owed to cleaners, shop staff, and stewards). This English rule, supported by the English court decision in *Inland Revenue Commissioners vs. The Wimbledon Football Club Ltd*, imposes marginalization and discrimination upon the non-football staff that are in many cases amongst the poorest paid people at a football club. In Scotland, 'football debt' is defined as: 'unpaid ticket revenue, unpaid transfer revenue and unpaid elements of player contracts' [9, p. 121]. However, the super-creditor rule is selectively enforced in Scotland, unlike in England, and it is not part of the official rules of any Scottish regulatory body (ibid., p. 121). In the Motherwell and Gretna insolvencies, footballers were lumped in among regular creditors and received no special treatment. By contrast, amounts owed to other football clubs were paid first. This state of affairs rests uneasily with the cited statement by the SPL's (Operations Director/Company Secretary) Iain Blair in the article (p. 124) that clubs break SPL rules if an administrator breaches player contracts such as cutting wages or making players redundant (as happened at Gretna). Cooper and Joyce [9, p. 122] conclude that: 'the SPL allowed Motherwell to breach its [SPL's] own albeit unwritten rules'.

The losers of the Gretna FC saga are all those who bemoan the disappearance of Gretna FC, many of whom did not necessarily want the club playing in the Premiership in the first place. The insolvency firm allegedly charged £253,000 in the first five weeks of administration [6, p. 27] and, aided by the fact that the club went into administration rather than liquidation, unsecured creditors stood to receive less at the end of the process (after fees paid to the insolvency specialist). On 26 March 2008, 28 staff members (including 22 players) were made redundant [9, p. 124]. The club's land at Raydale Park was sold for £300,251.

In April 2008, the administrators published a list of 139 creditors owed £3,734,812. Football debt (owing to clubs) was £81,488. The total fee paid to the

insolvency specialist was £482,851, but only £715.65 was ultimately available to pay unsecured creditors, including players [9, p. 124]. The SPL did not require that the insolvency specialist treat amounts owed to redundant players as priority creditors. Unsecured creditors' total loss was almost £4 million while the state (HMRC) lost £576,055 (ibid., p. 126). The 10-point deduction due to entering insolvency, a SPL policy, made relegation of the club at the end of the season more probable and so contributed to the club's demise. The SPL, as a private limited company, maintained its symbolic reputational capital by funding Gretna FC on a temporary basis so that it could play out its final games until the end of the season. Meanwhile, other low-placed Premiership teams rejoiced at the 10-point deduction because it assisted them to retain their Premiership spots.

Fortunately, time has shown that new club Gretna 2008 has stabilized its position in the Lowland League (ninth place out of 16 in 2016-17) and the new club has secured permission to play at Gretna FC's Raydale Park. There were legal ownership issues arising out of the original transfer of this stadium to Gretna FC, but the supporters' group did not have the £50,000 needed to challenge this in court during the insolvency process. This was a further barrier facing supporters who might have hoped to be able to impact this process which was run and controlled by the insolvency specialist (who had the necessary cultural, economic, social, and symbolic capital).

James et al. [10] studied the cancellation of Australia's National Soccer League (NSL) and its replacement with the corporatist A-League in 2004-05. They point out that the NSL was mostly made up of traditional clubs based around one particular European 'ethnic' community (e.g., Melbourne Croatia, Preston Makedonia, South Melbourne Hellas, Sydney Croatia). No member of the NSL was guaranteed an A-League spot. Businesspersons were invited to set up consortiums in each major city; the clubs were to be funded using private-equity capital; and the league was based around the North American concept of one-team-one-city. The A-League was a classic corporate league as it involved new franchises with no traditions, history, stadiums, social clubs or junior networks. It was clear to everyone that one reason why the A-League was created was to relegate the 'ethnic' clubs from the national stage (to compete in the second-tier in the various state-based premier leagues). The authors argue that the Football Federation of Australia (FFA) used budgeted accounting numbers to exclude the ethnic clubs from the A-League since the ethnic NSL clubs were unable to operate at anywhere near the minimum budgeted numbers being put forth. The 'scorched-earth' and 'ground-zero' ideology in the air around 2003-05 was pushed ideologically by the FFA (and the conservative Howard government had made government funding conditional upon a major restructuring of the national league) and was used to justify the Brave New World, which was marketed as Modern Football to implicitly contrast it with Old Soccer. Old Soccer was of course unspoken code for the 'ethnic' clubs and their identities based on political rivalries from the other side of the world (most notably Croatia versus Serbia and Greek Macedonia versus North Macedonia).

Projected minimum annual budgets for all A-League aspirants were mandated by the FFA in addition to an imposed minimum AUD1 million of start-up capital [11, p. 273]. These budgets were: AUD3.5 million to AUD4.5 million per year for the first year, rising to AUD5.5 million a year for the fifth year. Two of the biggest 'ethnic' clubs, South Melbourne and Melbourne Knights (formerly and still informally known as Croatia) had annual revenues of AUD1.8 million and AUD1.2-1.3 million, respectively, in the NSL years, which were good but not good enough to compete.

The authors include some comments from the president and hardcore supporters (ultras) of Melbourne Knights attained through personal and group interviews.

A follow-up article by James and Walsh [12] updates the situation and praises the new FFA Cup (modelled on England's FA Cup), which provides a chance for ethnic ex-NSL clubs to play against A-League clubs, but the authors continue to push for promotion and relegation to and from the A-League. In this new article, they use Marx's theory of alienation to contextualize and explain how the ethnic clubs and their supporters are alienated from the A-League. The goodwill of the former NSL and of the clubs has been stolen by the A-League and the ethnic clubs' invested capital may have begun to devalue and waste as new opportunities for growth have closed themselves off. Melbourne Knights has suffered a four-fold or five-fold drop in revenues to around AUD250,000 a year since the end of the NSL era. Its freehold land in western Melbourne has a high resale value but, if the land is not sold, it generates far lower revenues than it did in the NSL years.

One weakness of the study is that it obtains primary data from only one ex-NSL club as no other club responded to the authors' request for interviews. A second weakness is that the authors are *unable to prove* that the high budgeting accounting numbers were instituted by the FFA *for the purpose of* instituting exclusion upon ethnic clubs. A third weakness might be that it is very obvious 'which side' the authors take in the Modern Football versus Old Soccer debate.

3.2 CSR in Sports Clubs

According to Bowen [13], CSR refers to the obligation of businessmen to pursue those policies, to make those decisions, or to follow those lines of action that are desirable in terms of the objectives and values of our society. By contrast, Friedman [14] argues that there is only one social responsibility of business: to use its resources and engage in activities designed to increase its profits so long as it stays within the rules of business. Dahlsrud (2006) provides a review of 37 definitions of CSR. Academics highlight through their definitions that businesses do have an impact on society and can increase this impact by adopting ethical standards as well as being socially, economically, and environmentally responsible.

A Scottish example of social and business activities coming together is Andrew Carnegie (1835-1919). His first achievement was growth, becoming extremely

wealthy through his work in the American steel industry. His second achievement was the distribution of that wealth, focusing on community and on enriching the lives of ordinary people [2].

While the research of CSR has become increasingly customary in the management and behaviour of organizations literature, the concept of CSR has only just, in recent times, entered the discussion of sports management. As suggested by Smith and Westerbeek [15], nothing really separates sports clubs from other organizations when it comes to CSR. They explain that both types of organizations are influential members of their communities and are subject to the expectations of the societies and communities in which they operate. The organization and the communities both recognize that a sporting club can generate great social benefits. However, it is important to point out that the characteristics of sport itself make sports organizations distinctively placed to influence local communities and society in general. For example, the popularity effect of some football players and other sports stars makes them far more influential to the community than most other representatives of other commercial organizations. Strictly speaking, the point shows that sports organizations are already indirectly entwined into their society, a characteristic which is often limited in businesses in other fields.

According to Lau et al. [16], several important factors have boosted the idea that there is a need for CSR measures implemented in sports organizations. The sheer popularity of sport around the world has led to the elevation of many major sporting organizations, including football clubs, as influential members of not only their local communities but also globally. A distinct image commonly acknowledged throughout the world is young Africans running around playing football with Western players' names such as Messi and Ronaldo emblazoned on the back of their shirts.

Sports clubs realize now that they are facing an unapologetic public and that the media and the public are becoming gradually more aware of the social aspects of acceptable corporate policy. Walker and Kent [17] attribute this change to the infamy attached to many recent corporate scandals.

Initially, the emphases of CSR were accountability, transparency, and the welfare of the workforce. However, Lau et al. [16] claim that the focus of the concept has now shifted towards sports clubs' roles and work done which contributes to their local communities. Walker and Kent [17] explain that the professional sports industry has been characterized as a vehicle to locate social perspectives on a much larger scale. Due to supporters' tight bonds with sports clubs, a sporting organization can often detect their communities' practices, social values, and identifications. Due to sports organizations being so interlinked with their communities' interests, professional, popular sports organizations provide academics with a great opportunity to study the links between CSR and management practices.

3.3 Scottish Football Clubs and CSR

According to Grant et al. [5], sporting clubs and their fanbases are excellent examples of postmodern community. Professional clubs celebrate historical moments or great performances and also celebrate their fans with social interactions and special rituals and traditions. For this reason, clubs are almost brand communities of which fans feel a part. It is common to hear in Scotland people talking in the first person plural when talking about the club they support. Football fans in a sense do have this right as they are co-producers of the club's brand. They wear the team's colours to games and commonly advertise the brand through their behaviours. Bauer et al. [18] state that the most valuable asset of a professional sports club is its brand. Due to this, it is clear that the management of a football club can support their brand through their fans.

However, over the past two decades, football at the highest level around the world has changed dramatically in terms of finance. The 'big bucks' media deals from BT and Sky has left clubs in smaller countries such as Holland, Portugal, and Scotland behind clubs they previously competed with regularly in European competitions, typically hailing from the 'big five' leagues in Europe (England, Spain, Germany, Italy, and France). Only just recently has the Asian market exploded in football, leaving an increased feeling of alienation even among the top leagues in Europe.

Hamil and Morrow [2] argue that, because of this drastic change, football clubs in countries such as Scotland have had management structure changes to preserve their clubs which has resulted in a change in the relationships between the clubs and their communities. Football clubs face several challenges relating to their community relationships with regards to social change which may complicate the values of a club as the industry progresses and clubs try to keep up with others.

The Scottish Index of Multiple Deprivation (SIMD) shows that 13 professional clubs sit among the most deprived areas of Scotland including Glasgow and Dundee, where football clubs are heavily supported. Clubs like Celtic, a club founded with a charity ethos, to help unemployed and poor immigrants, have been recently charging around £15 for a child's ticket at Celtic Park. On the other hand, that price is not far short of the price of an adult's ticket for a Bayern Munchen match at the Allianz Arena. Many fans are confused and feel they are not getting value for money. This has raised the question in communities on whether football clubs in Scotland should have any social responsibility towards them at all when they are run like other commercial businesses in a capitalist manner. This business transformation of football clubs has also focused the attention on the aims and ideals of different stakeholders.

In Scotland, there is limited empirical evidence of how football clubs and other sporting organizations engage in CSR; how they structure their CSR activities; and the motivation of the directors/management behind implementing each activity. The model of CSR more commonly thought of is one where large

organizations have ample resources and the ability to 'create champions' to take certain initiatives forward. Most Scottish football clubs are small businesses in the grand scheme of things and are generally interested in surviving financially rather than partaking in initiatives designed to benefit the environment.

4. THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

4.1 Legitimacy Theory

Suchman [19] describes Legitimacy Theory as a 'generalised perception or assumption that the actions of an entity are desirable, proper, or appropriate within some socially constructed system of norms, values, beliefs, and definitions'. Suchman implies that companies (in this case, sports clubs) will expand voluntary disclosure of their organizational practices to achieve their 'social commitments' which will enable a distinguished recognition of their aims, objectives, and social successes. The debate around Legitimacy Theory questions whether organizations can *only* be sustainable if they are operating within the standards and values of their society. Legitimacy Theory suggests social and environmental disclosures are a means used by organizations to influence the public's general perception of the company either by directly addressing the public on certain issues or by indirectly projecting the organization's image as being socially conscious [20]. Tilling [21] suggests that Legitimacy Theory offers academics, as well as the public, a way to critically evaluate corporate disclosures. Legitimacy in an institutional environment helps ensure organizational sustainability.

4.2 Stakeholder Theory

A stakeholder is an individual entity that can be expected to be significantly affected by an organization's activities, products or services. A stakeholder's actions can be reasonably expected to affect the capability of the organization to successfully implement strategic actions as well as achieve its objectives [22].

Stakeholder Theory is extensively utilized in the accounting literature as it provides a concrete justification for understanding both social and environmental practices and corporate governance mechanisms disclosed by certain organizations. The theory encompasses the recognition and identification of the relationship between an organization's actions and practices and their impact on their stakeholders [23]. The theory highlights that a corporation's sustainability requires the support of its stakeholders and their endorsement must be pursued in regards to the organizations' corporate activities. The theory also recognises that all stakeholders may not be equal and that the more powerful stakeholders will have a greater influence on the company's practices. However, Gray et al. [24] explain that an organization has many stakeholders and therefore owes accountability to all of them. Gray et al. concede that the more important the stakeholder of a specific organization, the more effort will be made in corporate governance to meet the demands of that stakeholder. Such relationships

between organizations and stakeholders can be accounted for through voluntary disclosure which is covered in the next subsection.

4.3 Institutional Theory

Institutional theory is often thought of as an extensively accepted theoretical posture. The theory focuses on the deeper and more robust aspects of social structure. Scott [25] posits that the theory considers processes by which structures become established as authoritative guidelines for social behaviour.

Theorists suggest that the institutional environment can strongly influence the development of the formal structures within organizations. Innovative structures that improve procedural competence in early-implementing organizations are legitimized in the environment. Eventually these inventions of social work reach a level of legitimization where failure to implement them by non-adopters is often seen as unreasonable or inattentive. At this point, existing organizations as well as new ones will adopt these structural forms even if they probably will not improve the efficiency of the organizations.

Meyer and Rowan [26] argue that 'institutional myths' are accepted across the board so organizations can gain and maintain a sense of legitimacy within their existing environments. Most organizations will adopt 'vocabularies of assembly' dominant in their environment such as specific job titles, procedures, and policies. The adoption and display of these institutionally-acceptable vocabularies support and reserve a sense of good corporate governance within the organization based on 'good faith'.

However, using formal structures of legitimacy can reduce organizational efficiency and obstruct the businesses' competitive positions. To reduce this effect, organizations often decouple their technical cores from these legitimizing structures, i.e., football clubs' operating businesses are often separated from their community arm companies which do the clubs' community work. Organizations will usually do this to minimize evaluation of their specific company as well as to neglect programme implementation. They want to maintain outside confidence in their formal structures while protecting the efficiency and privacy of their organization.

5. RESEARCH METHOD

This article aims to examine the reporting of CSR activities undertaken by 12 football clubs competing in the 2016-17 Scottish Premiership. The research employs content analysis.

5.1 Sample Clubs

The study focuses on the 12 clubs participating in the top-tier (Premiership) of the Scottish Professional Football League (SPFL) [27] in the 2016-17 season. These clubs are an interesting context for this type of research as most clubs are

socially recognized as having their own distinct characteristics despite being geographically close to one another. This is especially the case with the inclusion of Rangers which had been previously absent from the top flight for four years. The number of clubs assessed also allowed us to obtain a better understanding of the social influences of each football club in their own communities across a large geographical area. Table 2 contains background information about the clubs including their names and origins.

5.2 Scope of CSR Disclosures Analysed

Four sources of information were examined: (1) annual reports; (2) official websites; (3) community arms' disclosures; and (4) the SPFL Trust.

The selected clubs' annual accounts were reviewed over the three-year period of 2012-15. The goal of the annual accounts review was to take note of any disclosure of CSR-related activities. The research looked for disclosure of both descriptive and strategic information related to their CSR. Annual reports for the year 2016 were not included as most clubs had not produced their reports at the time our research was conducted.

An analysis of the clubs' official websites was also completed for disclosure of CSR activities using an internet archive tool (http://archive.org/web/) to focus on the years 2013, 2014, and 2015.

A review of information available on the clubs' community arms' websites was also undertaken to extract information relating to their CSR activities and potential motivations. The internet archive tool was used to view and browse the community arms' website from previous time periods to collect information on past and continued CSR activities.

Information from the SPFL Trust was used to gain further knowledge about the clubs' CSR work. Due to the size of some clubs, it is likely that the clubs cannot afford to fund community programmes and disclose them individually. The Trust was set up to help increase clubs' ability to deliver community engagement programmes.

5.3 Content Analysis

The objective of the content analysis was to categorize disclosure of CSR activities within three categories: (1) Social inclusion, (2) Health/sporting, and (3) Educational.

Using GRI standards to analyse the club's activities and disclosure was considered, but they are commonly used for larger organizations, using a wider scope than what is expected of Scottish football clubs. The categories can be viewed as being vague, but they do help to distinguish and include most club programmes.

Table 2. Football clubs participating in the Premiership in the 2016-17 season

Club	Formed	Origin
Aberdeen	1903	Formed following the merger of three clubs based in Aberdeen to enhance the stature of a football team in North East Scotland to compete with other large clubs in Edinburgh and Glasgow as well as other popular sports in Aberdeen such as Cricket and Rugby.
Celtic	1888	Founded for reasons relating to Irish identity and Catholic charity in East Glasgow. Philanthropy was at the club's core, existing in the early days to provide food, raise money, and give employment to young Catholics in Glasgow.
Dundee	1893	Formed by the merger of two local clubs, Our Boys and East End, with the intention of acquiring election to the Professional League in Scotland.
Hamilton Academical	1874	Founded by the Rector of Hamilton Academy, it is the last professional club in Scotland to have originated from a school team. In recent times, the South Lanarkshire based club has achieved a reputation for producing talented young footballers through its academy system.
Hearts	1874	Founded by spectators at a match between Clydesdale FC and Queens Park FC in 1873. Precise date of the club's formation was never officially recorded, but it was during 1874 that the players and members adopted Football Association Rules and in turn became one of the founding members of the SFA.
Inverness CT	1994	Located in the Scottish Highlands at Inverness, ICT was founded in 1994 after a merger of two local clubs, Caledonian FC and Inverness Thistle. In 1994, the club played its first professional season football in Scotland.
Kilmarnock	1869	Founded when a group of local cricketers were seeking to occupy themselves in another sport out with the cricketing season. Club was founded during a GM at the Robertson's Temperance Hotel in Kilmarnock.
Motherwell	1886	People of Motherwell sought new leisure activities which coincided with the growth of football across the country. In 1886 a charity cup was set up to include local football teams and help them financially. After the tournament MFC was founded by the merger of two competing clubs, Glencairn FC and Alpha FC.
Partick Thistle	1876	Formed in the burgh of Partick (independent of Glasgow at the time), the club's first game came against a junior team named Valencia. Joined Scottish Football Alliance in 1891.
Rangers		First formed by four boys in 1872. Being set up initially as a non-profit organization, the club found itself very

Club	Formed	Origin
	1872, reformed 2012	successful in its early life. Club/Company entered administration and eventually liquidation in 2012 after many years of mismanagement. New club formed after purchase of business assets of old club from administrators.
Ross County	1929	With no professional football team hailing from the counties of Ross and Cromarty, officials from amateur side Dingwall Victors sought to create a team the whole town could support. Club first admitted to the professional set up in 1994/95 and first promoted to top tier in 2011/12.
St Johnstone	1884	Takes its name from Saint John's Town which was the previous name for the City of Perth. The club was founded by a group of young men from the St. Johnstone cricket team who were looking for a winter hobby outside the cricket season.

Sources: Club official website and community arm websites

6. RESULTS

6.1 CSR Disclosure

Analysis of clubs' annual reports over the time for the research showed that most of the top-tier teams did not disclose any CSR-related activities. This is probably due to most clubs filing abbreviated accounts in which they are only obligated to submit due to the size of their companies. Another reason may point towards the birth of the SPFL Trust which aims to highlight each SPFL club's community activities separately. Most community trusts related to Scottish clubs are independent organizations/charities, with their board of directors, which may also provide a reason for clubs choosing not to disclose CSR related activities in their annual reports. However, the three biggest clubs in the Premiership, Aberdeen, Celtic, and Rangers, did provide some level of disclosure in their annual reports from 2012 to 2015. These three clubs also disclosed information through their community arms' websites and the SPFL Trust.

6.2 Annual Reports

6.2.1 Aberdeen FC

The only club to submit a direct CSR statement within their annual reports was Aberdeen in 2013. In this statement, Aberdeen disclosed their community trust was in the process of being formed 'to lead and oversee the club's engagement with and delivery of support and opportunity to various local community groups'. The CSR Statement stated that 'AFC is committed to working with others to provide support and opportunity and to inspire local communities … In addition to being a participative and identifiable role model, AFC will work to improve health and wellbeing, education and equality and to enhance social inclusion and cohesion'. Aberdeen focused on changing lifestyle choices in disclosing that their trust's vision is: 'To provide support and opportunity to change lives for the better' including their trust's six key purposes: Sports participation; Provision of recreational facilities; Health; Community Development; Equality and Diversity; and Education. Activities in these areas would be identified under the following pillars: Positive Activity; Health and Wellbeing; Equality and Inclusion; Good Citizenship; and Learning Initiatives. The year 2014 saw Aberdeen's trust achieve charitable status and in 2015 it received the SFA Best Professional Club in the Community award. Aberdeen in 2015 reported on their CSR activities by stating that the trust had been a 'remarkable success story' in just two years of being active and is 'making a real impact in so many diverse areas within Aberdeen and the Shire'. Aberdeen did not disclose details of its CSR programmes directly in its Annual Report but did release this information through the Aberdeen FC Community Trust and the SPFL Trust.

6.2.1.1 Analysis

George Yule, now Vice-Chairman at Aberdeen, was appointed as an executive director and had a main responsibility of preparing the Club for its relocation to a

new football stadium and training complex. Yule is the non-executive Chairman of the Aberdeen Sport Village and away from his business work is involved in local charities in Aberdeenshire [28].

Yule was instrumental in driving the introduction of the Aberdeen FC Community Trust and his remit extends to most parts of the club's activities including the football and commercial sides as well as to build and sustain positive stakeholder relations. In Aberdeen's 2013 report, Yule stated that the trust 'will continually seek to raise the profile of the North East of Scotland and make use of its key relationships with Aberdeen City and Shire and AFC, while never losing sight of its primary purpose which is to improve the lives of those living and working in the North East of Scotland, and elsewhere'.

In 2014, Aberdeen [29] reiterated that it has continued to make progress with engaging with council authorities in pursuit of building a new stadium, professional training facilities and a youth academy base which would form a strong foundation for the long-term good of the club, the supporters, and the local community.

It is hard to put the appointment of George Yule in 2012 down to mere coincidence. The arrival and instant success of the club's community arm (AFCCT) coincides with its development plans for a new stadium and training complex. This suggests that the club could be implementing its CSR-based activities to impress local authorities and access planning permission among other benefits.

6.2.2 Celtic FC

In Celtic's annual reports of 2013 and 2014, a heading titled Social Responsibility is provided within the Director's Statement. The short statement informs that the club is 'proud of its charitable origins and operates policies designed to encourage social inclusion'. The statement also refers to the club's actions on waste paper and recyclable materials being disposed of correctly to reduce paper wastage and energy and water consumption when possible using more efficient printers as well as improving systems and monitoring controls. Celtic's annual report in 2013 stated that two of its community arm's associations, Celtic Charity Fund and the Celtic Foundation, would join forces to create the Celtic FC Foundation.

In the 2014 report, Celtic Chairman Ian Bankier stated that the Celtic FC Foundation's priority is to aid individuals who face daily challenges within the key priority areas of Health; Equality; Learning; and Poverty (HELP) as well as supporting external charities which offer value in the community and whose principles fit within the key areas of HELP. This sentiment is reiterated by Bankier's statement in 2015 that the club is now involved in more educational, community, and charitable work than ever before both in the UK and overseas.

6.2.2.1 Analysis

"Charity lies at the very heart of Celtic; it is part of our DNA" (CEO Peter Lawwell, 2015)

Being the largest club in the country and located in the East End of Glasgow, Celtic does not need to look too far from home to find many motivating factors to undertake CSR activities. Being so large it may feel that it has more social responsibilities than any other club. The 2013 annual report states that Celtic 'was built on charitable foundations' and that it 'continue[s] to recognise the importance of that ethos and the Club's role in society'. The report also, when outlining its social aims, claims that the Celtic Charity Fund, formed in 1995, was founded to support causes based on Roman Catholic Brother Walfrid's founding principles.

Within Celtic's 2014 report on the foundation it stated that the club had 'made great progress in securing longer term funding' for its current projects and that it had several long-term applications due to be submitted. The club said this would ensure sustainability of its work and longer term support for the communities that they are serving. The year 2014 provided Celtic with an opportunity to showcase to the world through hosting the opening ceremony of the Commonwealth Games. In a bid to improve the area of the games, Glasgow City Council and other authorities helped Celtic transform the surrounding areas of Celtic Park in Parkhead, Glasgow. It could be argued that Celtic's good work in the community since 1995 could have helped its claim to host the ceremony as well as won favours with local governmental authorities for other ventures.

In 2014, Celtic acknowledged that its charity work 'without doubt, make a difference to the lives of others' and with enough resources can make a massive impact both on their 'own doorstep and beyond'. In 2015, CEO Peter Lawwell, when talking about the Board's strategy, said that it has 'regard to the environment in which we play' and consider programmes 'that will continue to deliver stability growth and success for Celtic'. Lawwell also iterated that the Celtic Board is 'dedicated to creating a world class football club' and that charity, through its foundation, forms a fundamental part of the club that it is aspiring to create.

Celtic's "Ability Counts" CSR programme represents a shift in its institutional norms. The programme aims at educating, developing, and engaging with people with Down's syndrome. The club now has several individuals, who were first involved with the club through the programme, directly employed and working as tour guides [30].

6.2.3 Rangers FC

In 2013, while Rangers was playing in League One (third-tier of the pyramid when viewed from the top) it still recognized its impact on the surrounding environment by disclosing some of its CSR work within its annual report. The

report admitted that 'there is a social responsibility side' to Rangers even though its primary aim is providing a standard of player able to compete for trophies and medals. The report also states that the 'Club remains at the forefront of community interaction' and has 'a long list of initiatives aimed at helping make communities better and more inclusive'. In 2013, Rangers admitted it had 20 ongoing community projects, most of which require funding. It stated that a club the size of Rangers should not forget that it has a responsibility to 'change lives for the better'.

Rangers' 2014 report provided a more in-depth strategic outline of the club's key foci regarding social responsibility. The club 'reinvigorated' its community programme in 2014 and focused on activities falling under the following key areas of community need: Health and Wellbeing; Education; Equality and Fairness; Employability; and Community Safety and Sustainability. The same information about the key aims of its community work was repeated in 2015's report.

In 2014 and 2015, Rangers quantified some of the social activities it participated in. Both years saw the club's representative visit over 60 schools throughout Glasgow and the West of Scotland educating children on anti-social behaviour. In both years, Rangers said it engaged with more than 450 primary-school children in educational projects surrounding drugs and adolescence and in 2015 disclosed that it benefitted 600 young people through courses organized by the Rangers Study Centre. Some of Rangers' CSR activity, such as support for military veterans and education programmes for school-children about drugs and bullying, is consistent with the traditional self-conscious Britishness and Protestant work-ethic of the club.

6.2.3.1 Analysis

After Rangers' demise to liquidation in 2012, the successor company Sevco realized the impact the club still had on society. In 2013, whilst in lower tiers, in its statement on its Charity Foundation, the club said that, even though Rangers was 'on a journey back to the pinnacle of the game', it understands that it has a world-class stadium and training facility due to its loyal, passionate, and global fanbase (including, as with Celtic, vast communities of Scottish emigrants abroad).

In 2014, Rangers echoed the previous year's statement and acknowledged that the club was still working tirelessly in the community to build a successful future which everybody in the club including fans and other stakeholders could be proud of.

In 2015, after changes in the boardroom, Rangers said that while it 'must always recognise community responsibilities', the focus must be on the football department which the club says 'will be judged most, so everything that can be done to make Rangers successful must be done'. However, it recognizes that it is its intention to be successful 'with style as well as the levels of pride and

dignity which should always be part of Rangers ethos'. This seems to mark a slight de-emphasis on and retreat from CSR perhaps because, being then part of the second-tier Championship and near the Premiership, it had begun to feel the pressures arising from its absence at the higher levels and had wanted to lower and manage expectations. Without strong on-field performance, the energy around the club would become negative and CSR redundant and a case of spreading resources around too many diverse places.

In its 2015 Supporters Charter, Rangers highlights that through its Foundation, it aims to improve the 'wellbeing and lifestyle choices of veterans struggling with mental health issues, addictions or social isolation' as well as donating sums to other army-related charities. The charter also explains and provides detailed information of Rangers' community partnerships with sick children's hospitals and Alzheimer's Scotland, recognizing the vulnerable people in Scottish society.

It is understandable the events that led to Rangers' liquidation have harmed its engagement with not only its fans but with governmental and council authorities. In its 2015 Business Review, Rangers lay out that it intended to re-engage with its supporters, football authorities, and government at both local and national levels.

6.3 External Disclosure

6.3.1 Community arm disclosure

The community arms of some of the clubs can be recognized as important divisions of their CSR programmes. However, Panton [31] suggests that football clubs cannot outsource all their CSR responsibilities and must have regard to their own companies' impacts on the local and wider communities. Stakeholder Theory highlights different stakeholder groups, separated by their interests, rights or ownership, to which business can be deemed responsible. Stakeholder Theory may not be able to fully explain the reasons for implementing CSR projects if the community arms are fully independent of the club's ordinary operational activities.

Most of the separate community schemes are run as charitable organizations and are sustainable even when independent of the actual football clubs. Most of the arms, such as the Celtic FC Foundation and the Aberdeen FC Charitable Trust (AFCCT), have, since becoming independent, increased in size over the years to generate more revenue and increase the number of projects that they provide. A resolution passed at Aberdeen's 2014 AGM saw the AFCCT receive a 9% shareholding in the club 'by way of gift' thus becoming a stakeholder of the football club themselves.

6.3.2 SPFL Trust

In 2009, the SPL (Scottish Premier League Trust) was launched to source funding to co-ordinate community initiatives across the 12 SPL clubs. After

league reconstruction, the SPFL Trust was created in 2013. It is an independent registered charity and works in partnership with all 42 clubs competing across all four divisions. The trust works to 'promote, support, fund and administer activities' which help clubs meet the recognized social needs of their communities. The key words associated with the ethos of the trust are: Achievement, Citizenship, Health, and Participation. The Trust work extends into 22 local authority areas and reach communities making up almost 85% of Scotland's population [32]. This can be directly explained by Institutional Theory where the SPFL has set normative standards and measures for implementing and engaging in CSR activities.

6.3.2.1 SPFL Trust Legacy 2014 Report

In 2016, the SPFL produced a 2014 Legacy Report, following the Commonwealth Games, on their activities since having received funding from the Scottish government. The community programme was the biggest in Scottish football history and revealed that over 30,000 people were engaged at a cost of £500,000 [27]. In all, 40 of the 42 clubs took part in the programme including all subject clubs included in this research. Each club or its community arm was invited to apply for a grant of £11,000 to deliver a programme of activity with engaged people in need or those in hard places to reach. The programme covered activity in 18 different areas of need and met all the key requirements proposed by the Scottish government's strategic objectives. The report was the first of its kind in measuring the success of community projects at all clubs. The report recorded the number of people engaged by each club over 2013 and 2014 as well as how many programmes were delivered and a summary of programme achievements.

The Trust aims to increase the level of activities undertaken by clubs in their communities and produced a five-year plan (2016-2021) about how this can be done and how success can be measured using National Strategic Outcomes.

6.3.2.2 Analysis

The SPFL Trust has said that it is convinced that the programmes will provide an 'exceptional return on investment' not only commercially but also in terms of widening accessibility [27]. Nicky Reid, the General Manager of the Trust, commented that Scottish clubs have shown a capacity 'to engage hard to reach groups' by using the influence of each club's reach within their own community. Reid also stated that the Legacy Report demonstrated the value that the SPFL Trust working with clubs can achieve for Scottish society. Bob Winter OBE, Chairman of the SPFL Trust, echoed this sentiment and commented that delivering the programme demonstrated the ability of the SPFL clubs to use the unique power of football to tackle real social issues; effect positive change; and deliver key government priorities. The Scottish government heaped praise on the report with Jamie Hepburn MSP saying that he was 'reassured that the Scottish Government's funding is being channelled in the right direction … to help improve so many worthwhile projects'. Through the creation of the Trust and its

reporting, the SPFL has shown that it can make a difference by engaging with different clubs around the country. One of the primary aims of the Trust is 'to establish relationships on a national level to ensure that Scotland's football clubs are at the heart of the national vision to tackle social issues'. By receiving funding and using it efficiently and successfully, the SPFL, a young organization, will help build and achieve a real sense of legitimacy as a responsible business amongst the public. This could help it obtain grants and funding for future projects as well as increase its chances of negotiating better sponsorship deals.

6.3.3 Disclosure of CSR Activities

It is important to note that Dundee FC did not provide any disclosure of CSR activities from 2013-2016.

6.3.3.1 Aberdeen FC

Aberdeen provided high levels of disclosure of the club and its community arm's activities. Aberdeen's motivations for its extensive CSR involvement were described previously and are linked closely to its future ambitions of developing the club by construction of a new stadium and training facilities on the city-fringe away from Pittodrie. Aberdeen's disclosure showed that it provided the highest level of Social-Inclusion related programmes where it provided several activities for over 65-year-olds in the local communities. Interestingly, these types of programmes can be linked to the geographical location of the club with the National Records for Scotland (NRS) showing that Aberdeenshire had a much higher level of life expectancy than in other populated areas such as Glasgow and Dundee [33].

6.3.3.2 Hamilton Academical FC

Hamilton, being one of the smallest clubs in the Premiership in terms of revenues and fanbase, did not disclose a vast amount of information about its CSR related activities and policies. Its community department is run 'in-house' and it does not have a separate arm company to implement and undertake such programmes. The department stated that its aim is 'guiding the young, vulnerable, under privileged and less able towards specifically unique healthy activities' as well as to 'support and co-ordinate the charities housed within our grounds, including Blameless and the veteran charity Soldiers Off the Street'. These activities can be linked to Hamilton's location at Glasgow's southeast fringe where nearby areas such as Hamilton West, Fairhill, and Low Waters are within the 10% most deprived areas in Scotland [7].

6.3.3.3 Heart of Midlothian FC

Most of Edinburgh-based Hearts' CSR disclosure comes from its community arm. The Big Hearts Community Trust is part of companies under the umbrella of the Foundation of Hearts. The Foundation, chaired by Ann Budge is on a journey of taking majority ownership of the club and hence illustrates the club's motivations

Table 3. Disclosure of CSR activities by 12 SPFL Premiership clubs

No.	Club	Health/Sporting	Educational	Social-Inclusion
1	Aberdeen	Advanced Skills Centres	Food Standards Agency	Disability Football Centres
		Trust's Soccer School	School Visits	Tesco Bank Challenge
		School Holiday Coaching	Coach Education	TACC
		SFA 2020 Development Centres		Still Game
		McDonald's Programme		Walking Football
		Quality Mark		Football Memories
		FFIT		AFC in the Park
		TechnoGym		
		Pittodrie Health Walks		
		Grampaign Strikers		
2	Celtic	Football Fans in Training	Music and Digital Education Programmes	Ability Counts
		Urban Stars	My Club	Scottish Disability
		Summer Games London	Better Futures	Summer Games Glasgow
		GAA Camps		Summer Games London
		Ferhill Boxing		
2	Dundee	(no disclosure)	(no disclosure)	(no disclosure)
3	Hamilton Academical	Co-ordination and Support of Addiction Programme	Training for Freedom	Soldiers Off the Street Scotland
		Hamilton and District Men's Shed	Life skills Care	Blameless Charity
		Supporting Autism and Additional Support Needs Community	5 Skills Challenge Programme	
		Community Coaching Programme		
3	Heart of Midlothian	Sat and Sun and Bo'ness Skill schools	SFA Education courses	Tesco Bank Challenge
		Player Development Centre	Clubs and School Courses	Football Memories
		Tynie Kickers	School of Rock	Still Game

No.	Club	Health/Sporting	Educational	Social-Inclusion
		Quality Mark	SPFL Music Box	
		FFIT	Adult Literacy	
		Thursday Running Group		
		Boxercise at Tynecastle		
		Kinship Care Programme		
4	Inverness CT	FFIT	ICTFC Music Box	Walking Football
		Healthy Hearts	School Visits	Still Game
		Hotshots	Parents on the Ball	
		Weekly Kids Coaching		
		ICT Football Festivals		
5	Kilmarnock	Holiday fun at Rugby Park	Junior Academy	Tesco Bank
		Football Centres	Music Box	Football Memories
		Mini Kickers	Scottish Water	Advanced Community Teams
		Saturday Club	Food Standards agency	
		FFIT	Nursery Programme	
			Coach Education	
			Match Fit	
6	Motherwell	FFIT	Primary School Programme	Girls' Football
		Goal!	Child Protection	Disability Football
		More Active More Often	Young Leaders award	Holiday Programmes
		Well Hearts	Enterprise Academy	
		Silver Sporties		
		Second Hand Smoke Campaign		
		Match Fit Challenge		
11	Rangers	SPFL Fit Fans	Old Firm Alliance Project	Football Memories
		Get Active (Scottish Association for Mental Health	Tobacco and Young People Project	Get Started with Rangers
		Helping Heroes - Veterans Project	Coach 4 Success	

No.	Club	Health/Sporting	Educational	Social-Inclusion
		Sport and Move	North West Community Alcohol Campaign	
7	Partick Thistle	Soccer Camps	SCORE Programme	Enable Scotland
		Northwest Youth Programme		Kids go Free
		Phoenix Fitness		Disability Access Officer
8	Ross County	Soccer Centres	School Visits	Holiday Programmes
		Summer Camps	SFA Coach Education	Tesco Bank
		Children's Academy	Coach Education (Skye + Fort William)	Street Football
		McDonald's Programme		Midnight League
		Women's Football Festival		
		No Bellies		
		Little Dribblers		
9	St. Johnstone	Saints Kidz	SFA Coach Education	Saints Academy Inclusion Through Sport
		FFIT	Show Racism the Red Card	Street Sports for All
		Women's fitness	Physical Literacy	McDonald's Programme
		Walking Football		Football Memories
		Tesco Bank Programme		

for implementing their activities. The foundation's aim is to 'establish a well-run club which operates with integrity and transparency'. The CSR statement on Hearts' official website describes its development programmes and is echoed in their community arm's activities. Hearts provided a high level of disclosure in the Health/Sporting section with several youth- and school-related projects. The foundation also describes its aim to encourage 'entertaining football from a team … produced by a thriving youth development programme'. The financial realities of football today paint Hearts as a club engaging with the youth in its district to help not only society but also themselves in the long haul. The administration of Hearts, after years of reckless management for Lithuanian businessman Vladimir Romanov, has recently transformed the club and it now realizes how to properly appease supporters and local communities while at the same time planning for success.

6.3.3.4 Ross County FC

Ross County is based in the small market-town of Dingwall in the remote Scottish Highlands (population 5,491). Financed by its businessman Chairman, Roy MacGregor, it has had an astounding rise to the heights of the Premiership after being a Highland League club for most of its existence. It gained admission to League Two in 1994-95 and the Premiership in 2012-13. Its main rival is Inverness Caledonian Thistle, which is based in Inverness (population 46,870), 9.65 kilometres to the south-east

In 2013, Ross County stated that being part of the Highland Community is something the club takes very seriously and that its community department is important in introducing the club's values and principles to children, parents, and other institutions in the Northern region.

The club described its activity programmes' prime objectives as focusing on fun for the participants and well as helping them develop important skills and putting emphasis on other important social aspects such as health, respect, education, and safety.

Ross County commented that its commitment to covering a huge geographical area (the Ross-shire county area covers 3,089 miles^2 or 8,000.47 km^2 which is 10.29% of Scotland's total land area of 77,933 km^2 [34] enables its community team to travel to obscure areas and help those in need. Importantly the club commented that as well as helping the needy, the trust also acts as a key gateway for young talented athletes to join the club's youth development teams.

Ross County's activities and disclosures were discussed above as an example of a small club based in a remote rural region. The CSR activities and disclosures of the other five (smaller-size) clubs are not discussed separately here for space reasons. Also, Dundee FC did not disclose any CSR activities in any years.

7. DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSION

This article examines the reporting of CSR activities undertaken by 12 football clubs competing in the 2016-17 Scottish Premiership.

The data collected relating to each club's CSR activities can be contextualized by their historical and cultural standings as well as economic factors and geographical locations. The biggest club in the country, Celtic, bases its CSR policies and activities in relation to its founding principles and general ethos of charity. The size of the club, both in terms of finance and support, has also allowed extensive work to be carried out by its foundation. Similarly, Rangers' CSR activities were based around the club's isomorphism and overall organizational size.

Some clubs' stakeholder groups embedded within the managements of the clubs were essential in the implementation of some of the policies. Aberdeen FC, with its appointment of a specific director in 2013, shows a clear level of stakeholder engagement and will have no doubt influenced the implementation of CSR-related activities. Aberdeen's focus of appointing a director and awarding free shares to its Community Trust not only highlights stakeholder engagement but also highlights the push to be seen as a legitimate and sustainable business as it tries to expand the club with new facilities away from its traditional inner-city home. Other clubs, such as Hearts, Kilmarnock, St Johnstone, and Ross County, as well as Aberdeen, have demonstrated an understanding of their stakeholders' pressures. The appointment and engagement with these stakeholders can provide a defence mechanism to some of the industry challenges that exist within businesses that have clustered ownership and control structures. The commitment to engage with the interests of these specific stakeholders can be an vital feature of a club's marketing and corporate philosophy. Clubs' disclosure of CSR activities closely related to their communities' requirements allows them to showcase themselves as embedded and responsible institutions within their communities. This is important as it highlights the intrinsic nature of not just sport but also football in Scotland, and ties in with the Legitimacy Theory explained earlier.

However, within this highly institutionalized, ever-shifting political environment, many theoretical and practical aspects remain unresolved. Debates around the role of football clubs as profit-making corporations and as valuable social and cultural institutions are a hot topic not only nationally in Scotland but also abroad. This comes from the common perception that football clubs hold a rather irregular stakeholder- focused nature and scope in their communities.

Lau et al. [16] spoke about the increasing number of factors that are leading football clubs to implement CSR activities and side-arm organizations. It is evident that this has been the case. Within the last five years, clubs such as Aberdeen, Kilmarnock, Motherwell, and St Johnstone have focused on implementing new programmes and expanding their community and charity work in their partner organizations or within their internal community departments.

Another key reason for engagement amongst the clubs can be related back to Institutional Theory, which is based around changing perceptions of stakeholders connected with the club. Celtic's 'Ability Counts' programme demonstrates this with employment of disabled youngsters within the organization. The introduction of the SPFL Trust after league reconstruction in 2013 has most likely encouraged clubs to engage in more CSR-related activities [35-38]. This association of clubs and their governing body highlights that institutional philosophies are being developed across professional clubs in Scotland.

Most clubs' motivations for engaging in such practices are not usually explicitly stated but by analysing information disclosed on their web pages as well as analysing the nature of their actual programmes, it is evident what the clubs' incentives are for implementing their CSR activities [39,40]. Premiership clubs' general motivations for engaging in CSR activities are that they are ideal for projecting the clubs' positive images as well as attracting positive press reports. Regarding Aberdeen's plans for a new stadium, Celtic's 2014 Commonwealth Games legacy, as well as other subjects with benefits, it is understandable that CSR activities and policies may be implemented to create positive relations with local authorities, making future business negotiations smoother as well as increasing the possibility of receiving grants and favours.

Most Premiership clubs were found to be situated in extremely deprived areas of Scotland (see Table 1). These clubs are no doubt aware that they have huge influences in these deprived areas and can make a difference. This notion ties in with Legitimacy Theory. Clubs are using the programmes to influence the general perceptions of their institutions either by addressing the public on social issues or by indirectly projecting the clubs' images as being socially conscious [20].

Professional football clubs in Scotland are distinctive organizations, many of which are run as small businesses focusing on sustainability rather than chasing profits every year and increasing shareholders' wealth. Many clubs have recently fought financial hardship and even one of Scotland's largest clubs, Rangers, was put into liquidation in 2012. All the clubs researched originated from their local communities and still claim today that they play a significant role in society.

Even though CSR disclosure is a voluntary activity, for clubs who render themselves as socially aware institutions, the contest is to demonstrate this materially. Premiership clubs disclosed credibly on their CSR-related activities and, with the engagement through the SPFL Trust, activities are becoming more prevalent than ever. Hamil and Morrow [2] studied CSR practices by Scottish Premiership clubs and only reported a handful of activities amongst all 12 clubs. Over the later period we studied, the research shows that every club other than Dundee disclosed information about specific programmes.

The three biggest clubs in the country, Aberdeen, Celtic, and Rangers, all disclosed information about their activities through their annual reports as well as through a variety of other channels. These clubs also proved to be engaging in a

high number of CSR-related activities compared to the smaller clubs such as Hamilton, Inverness, and Partick Thistle. Due to the nature of the smaller clubs, which only produce abbreviated annual reports, their CSR 'duties' are usually disclosed through a variation of means such as community websites, social media forums and through their partnership with the SPFL Trust.

The subcategories used in the Results section (Health/Sporting, Educational and Social Inclusion) were used to help categorize and understand the clubs' foci and motivations for their engagements. These were used due to most clubs applying their own definitions not connected to any official reporting standards [41-43]. Regarding the organizational theories, each club's location, individual stakeholder pressures, organizational size, and general ethos were found to be relevant when analysing motivations for engaging in CSR activities and the activities themselves. For example, some of Rangers' CSR activities, such as support for military veterans and education programmes for school-children about drugs and bullying, are consistent with the traditional self-conscious Britishness and Protestant work-ethic of the club [44,45].

Table 1 highlights that most of the clubs are situated in the most deprived areas of the country and are situated in areas with a lower than average life expectancy. Unsurprisingly, the results tables of each club's programmes showed that the majority of their activities are based around healthy living and sport.

The study shows that, although premiership clubs can expect to receive a variety of benefits for working and engaging in beneficial social programmes such as government grants, supporter goodwill and a projection of being a legitimate business, other factors come into play when understanding the root of the motivations for each club. Some clubs' founding principles and general size almost obligate them to partake in CSR. For example, Celtic, being by far the wealthiest club in the country, with the most media coverage, take part in a variety of CSR programmes at home as well as abroad. This differs from a small and remote club like Ross County, which, like Celtic, partake in many activities but their motivations for engaging focus on developing the business going forward and not from pressures from outside the organization. Every club had specific reasoning behind their implementation which can be analysed and understood in relation to the organization theories previously stated.

Some limitations of this research are as follows:

(a) Only 2016-17 Premiership clubs were chosen for this research. We did not study some (second-tier) Championship clubs (e.g. Dunfermline Athletic, Dundee United, Falkirk, Hibernian, and St Mirren) which are vitally important to their local communities;

(b) The study does not analyse activities in the context of reporting standards. Although analysing with use of these may be hard due to the limited detailed reports of Scottish clubs, it might highlight the disregard of many clubs for reporting on important activities such as evaluating suppliers'

business practices and the safety of their customers and supporters in their stadiums; and

(c) The study fails to address financial implications of engaging in CSR practices and does not account for the financial benefits directly received in relation to them.

8. SUMMARY

This article began as the Honours dissertation of Mark Murdoch at the University of the West of Scotland, which he completed under the supervision of Dr Xin Guo. Kieran James got involved at the stage of turning the dissertation into a journal article. Mark's hard work is very obvious here as he compiled full details of reported CSR for three years for the 12 Scottish Premiership (Premier League) clubs. Top-tier Scottish football is interesting and has the unusual features of having two huge clubs, Celtic and Rangers, based in Glasgow's East End and Southside, respectively (average home crowd 50-60,000); three medium-sized clubs, Heart of Midlothian and Hibernian, both based in Edinburgh, and Aberdeen FC based in Aberdeen (average home crowds 12-20,000). The other clubs are small and attract average home crowds of 7,000 or below. In the years studied by Mark, Hibernian did not play in the Premiership. Some of these small clubs are in remote rural areas such as Ross County, based in the Highland market town of Dingwall (population 5,000). The CSR activities of the larger clubs are obviously more extensive and costly than those of the small clubs. Ross County is constrained by having to service a small support base spread out over a large countryside area. We see how the clubs have CSR programmes suitable for their size and urban-versus-rural locations. As all but one club is based in a deprived area, poverty alleviation efforts are especially important. Celtic and Rangers, by contrast, have CSR policies suited to their histories and ideological positioning with Celtic being Irish Republican and left-wing and Rangers being Loyalist and Unionist. Support for the UK military, as a CSR policy, is obviously more consistent with Rangers' history than with Celtic's. I would like to recognize Mark Murdoch's efforts in collecting CSR data for the 12 Premiership clubs over a three-year period, and hence beginning to set an important research agenda, which can be replicated for other leagues and other countries. Future research should also focus on fan ownership models such as the one adapted by Heart of Midlothian FC.

9. DEDICATION

This paper is dedicated to the late Pastor Alexander Reid (1936-2016) of New Life Church, Paisley, Renfrewshire, Scotland who was widely respected in the local community for his faith, compassion, and good cheer.

COMPETING INTERESTS

Authors have declared that no competing interests exist.

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Studies of 'Soccer Hooligan' may be an another Chance to Marxist Approach

Kieran James [a*] and Sheikh Al Tanzil [b]

ABSTRACT

We review important scholarly works on soccer hooliganism in this chapter. The study also considered the growing number of popular 'confessions' books written by ex-hooligans. As this body of literature is extensive and constantly expanding, this review does not pretend to be exhaustive. The various scholarly theories includethe early-dominant 'figurational' or 'process-sociological' approach of Dunning et al.; the 'anthropological' approach of Armstrong and Harris; the post-modern approach of Giulianotti; the Marxist approach of Taylor, Clarke, and Hargreaves; the 'ethogenic' approach of Marsh; the 'psychological reversal theory' approach of Kerr; and the historically sensitive/historical approaches of King and Robson. Later in the article, We return to the Marxist theoretical position associated with Ian Taylor. We believe that, while Marxist viewpoints are no longer popular in academia, they still have something to offer.

Keywords: Australian soccer; crowd behaviour; football hooliganism; marxism; melbourne knights; neo-tribes; soccer hooliganism; sports history.

BACKGROUND

This article was written as the Literature review chapter of the book *Goodbye Leederville Oval*, James (2017), about author time as a hardcore Australian Rules football fan. The aim was to write at the borderline between an academic writing style and a more popular style, as you might see in musicology journals, for example. The literature is only up-to-date to around the year of book completion, 2013, but it does cover the main works in the main schools in hooligan studies. It adopts a more popular and entertaining style by beginning with a discussion of East London punk rock, but even here there is a scholarly focus on the identification of both punk and hooliganism with place. Later, we follow cultural studies icon, the late Steve Redhead, by quoting from and treating with respect the popular 'confession' style of hooligan memoir, which were

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popular in the first decade of the 2000s, as ex-hooligans reached their forties and fifties. Cass Pennant, the black West Ham United hooligan/author, is cited extensively. The various academic theories are also explored, especially the landmark *Knowing the Score* by Gary Armstrong, a book based on an ethnographic PhD study of Sheffield United's Blades hooligan firm. The Marxist content, on the one hand, is polemical and entertaining, and by linking Marx to theories of the unconscious, we get the unfalsifiable idea that the working-class may subconsciously fight capitalism and targets of capitalist power, such as boards of directors, sponsors, police, politicians, and the commercial media. Such ideas still have worth in this age of identity politics both in and outside of academia. The literature review will be useful for introducing the main theories, and, as hooliganism of the skinhead and 'casual' types has given way to imported ultras culture, this older literature remains valid and as of its time for analysing the 1980s and 1990s hooligan scenes in particular.

1. INTRODUCTION AND THE PUNK ROCK CONNECTION

In this article, we review key studies in the academic literature on soccer hooliganism from the UK and around the world. This review does not aim to be comprehensive or complete as this literature is growing day by day. we also consider the growing number of popular 'confessions' books written by ex-hooligans. In fact, the legendary 'black Hammer' turned author Cass Pennant seems to be the main culprit [1-4]! A large number of these confessions books have been written since the hooligan scene wound itself up in the late 1980s. Later in this article, we revisited the Marxist theoretical perspective, originally associated with Ian Taylor. We argued that, although Marxist perspectives are now unfashionable throughout academia, this perspective still has something to offer.

Several authors touch on the fascinating intersection between punk rock music and soccer hooliganism. Pennant [1] considers the case of punk rock bands Sham 69 and Cockney Rejects whose East London identifications are well known. These East London identifications made sense within the punk rock scene which has always had a sociologically informed emphasis upon place which can be traced back to the Sex Pistols and the SEX shop run by Westwood and McLaren at 430 The King's Road, Chelsea [5,6]. Local East London historian John G. Bennett (who led a 'Jack the Ripper' guided tour we attended in Whitechapel on 10 June 2010) cites Sham 69's song 'George Davis is Innocent' from the band's debut album 1978's *Tell the Truth*: 'They're never gonna leave you alone / They're never gonna leave you alone / You know where you bloody live / East London is your home!'[1] As Sham 69 was in fact from Hersham in outer south-west London, this song suggests that East London had by 1978 become a romanticized *spiritual locality* uncontainable by its actual geographic boundaries. However, despite song lyrics such as these, the close links between West Ham United's Inter-City Firm (ICF) and band members of The Business, Cock Sparrer, Cockney Rejects, and Sham 69 are less well documented. A famous picture

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[1] *Sham 69 lyrics as cited in Bennett. 2009:34.*

shows the Cock Sparrer band members proudly posing inside the gates at West Ham's Upton Park stadium.[2] As Pennant [1] writes, this known link between certain East London punk bands and West Ham's ICF resulted in Cockney Rejects' concerts in the Midlands becoming sites of *soccer-related* violence.[3] Moving on to today, Cockney Rejects released a very moving new single and video-clip on 11 April 2016 titled 'Goodbye Upton Park' about West Ham's permanent move from the Boleyn Ground to the London Olympic Stadium.[4]

It is important to point out that British soccer hooliganism, like British punk rock, was a unique product of time and place. Peter Marsh [7] explains as follows: 'aggro always reflects, in the particular form it takes on, the social forces of a given era'. Sociologically soccer hooliganism belonged to the 1970s and 1980s, the time when the post-war 'consensus' between the two major political parties had broken down; unemployment was rising appreciably for the first time since the end of World War Two; the Labour Party, under the late James Callaghan, faced the indignity of enforced civil service cuts under an International Monetary Fund (IMF) austerity package; and (later) Mrs Thatcher's economic rationalism and anti-trade union stance rendered life much more difficult for what remained of the industrial working-class [6]. Even in a different era in the UK hooliganism may not have happened or probably would not have happened. Key authors such as ICF leader Cass Pennant and Portsmouth 6.57 Crew's Rob Silvester [3] are happy to talk about hooliganism in the past tense although some firms, especially those from outside London, still operate on a regular basis.

Pennant and Silvester [3] suggest that socioeconomic conditions and cramped housing today in Cardiff mean that alienated young gang members will continue to gravitate towards Cardiff City's Soul Crew. This point is somewhat surprising, within the overall context of their book, given that Pennant and Silvester [3] point to the harshness of life in Portsmouth as a factor behind the size of Portsmouth's firm in the 1970s and 1980s but then argue that hooliganism is a fashion which Portsmouth youth have lost interest in. Why then did Portsmouth youth view hooliganism as a passing fashion but Cardiff youth view it as something more integral to their lives? Pennant and Silvester's statement is not necessarily incorrect but it does suggest areas where more detailed research is needed to shed light on regional characteristics and anomalies.

The article is also informed by the author's group interview with Melbourne Croatia Fans (MCF) Pave Jusup and Kova at Melbourne Knights FC, Sunshine North, Australia conducted on 11 January 2011.

2. POPULAR AND ACADEMIC THEORIES OF SOCCER HOOLIGANISM

Dunning et al. [8] outline the major 'popular' theories of hooliganism put forward by non-academics in the media and politics. After this they outline the main

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[2] *This picture can be found by Google searching 'Cock Sparrer band' and then clicking 'Images'.*
[3] *See also interview with Cockney Rejects' frontman Jeff Geggus aka Jeff Turner aka 'Stinky' Turner at: https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=9nKdqO279kl [accessed 11 January 2017].*
[4] *See: https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=HAsyGA5-a-g [accessed 5 January 2017].*

academic approaches used by the academic researchers. The popular arguments tend to be difficult to shed light on through empirical research and hence difficult to conclusively accept or reject. No doubt most of them contain some degree of correspondence with reality. Another point to note, highlighted in Dunning et al.'s [8] review chapter, is that some of the popular theories contradict each other. For example, the theory that hooliganism is due to unemployment appears to contradict the theory that hooliganism is due to affluence. The popular theories are as follows: soccer hooliganism is caused by: '[1] excessive alcohol consumption; [2] violent incidents on the field of play or biased and incompetent refereeing; [3] unemployment; [4] affluence; and [5] 'permissiveness'' [2].

The academic theories can be divided into: the early-dominant 'figurational' or 'process-sociological' approach of Dunning et al. [9,7]; the 'anthropological' approach of Armstrong and Harris [10,11]; the post-modern approach of Giulianotti; the Marxist approach of Taylor, Clarke, and Hargreaves; the 'ethogenic' approach of Marsh [12]; the 'psychological reversal theory' approach of Kerr; and the historically sensitive/historical approaches of King and Robson [13]. of the important Australian researchers, cultural studies author John Hughson can be grouped with the Anthropological School or its close-relative the Ethogenic School while sports historian Roy Hay, a stalwart of the North Geelong Croatia club, belongs to the historically sensitive approach.

The anthropological studies, whilst not denying the importance of social class to an understanding of hooligan associations and behaviours, move away consciously from the Marxist position that would portray hooliganism as simply another form of working-class resistance. A Marxist position might either view hooliganism in a very positive light as straight-forward working-class protest or shift to the neo-Marxist stance of the philosophers of the 1960s Theodor W Adorno and Herbert Marcuse who emphasized how the working-class had been bribed and co-opted to serve capital and how challenges to the system as a whole were diverted to ends that were either unproductive or blatantly served capitalism. The neo-Marxist position might then point to hooliganism as a basically negative and reactionary phenomenon whereby members of the working-class waste energy and resources fighting among themselves [13]. Hooliganism could then be interpreted as a form of fascist behaviour in a society where the working-class revolution never happened. This analysis could be supported by the unfortunate association of some hooligans with the National Front (NF), British National Party (BNP), and other organized fascist and borderline fascist groups. This alleged fascist connection has been viewed as important by some authors in the case of Sydney United's Bad Blue Boys (BBB) which has in the past revered Croatia's World War Two leader Ante Pavelić. In various places Hughson [14-18] has explored at length the issue of the extent of actual fascism within the BBB.

2.1 Dunning's Theory of 'Fault-Lines'

Dunning [9] theorizes that soccer violence occurs around a given city or region's 'fault-lines' which might be class-based (as in England); religion-based (as in

Glasgow [19]; ethnic-based (as in South African soccer and Australia's former National Soccer League (NSL) (1977-2004)); or regional-based; or city-versus-country-based.[5] The equivalent term to 'fault-line' within Maoist theory might be 'principal contradiction' [20]. In Portsmouth we see fault-lines which are class-based but also centre on the classic city-country divide whereby Portsmouth fans believe that their city and its residents are laughed at by Londoners due to their perceived country backwardness and lack of fashion sense.

Interestingly, Pave Jusup and Kova of Melbourne Croatia Fans (the current hooligan firm of ex-NSL club Melbourne Knights) distinguish Melbourne Knights' 'political' rivalries with Yugoslav communist clubs such as Footscray JUST and Serbian clubs such as Springvale White Eagles with the (non-political) 'football' rivalries with old NSL clubs such as the Italian community's Adelaide City Juventus and the Greek community's South Melbourne Hellas (group interview with the author, Sunshine North, 11 January 2011). Pave argues that the rivalries with Adelaide City and South Melbourne are 'non-political' since they resulted simply from on-field events such as Melbourne Knights' grand final defeats at the hands of those two clubs rather than to Italian-Croatian or Greek-Croatian issues.

Attempting to transplant tension caused by one fault-line to a place where that fault-line is not dominant creates comical or ridiculous outcomes such as when Rangers supporters chant 'we're up to our knees in Fenian blood' in the freezing, half-empty stands at Inverness Caledonian Thistle in the Scottish Highlands (where Irish immigration has been minimal). Rangers and Celtic find it difficult to market their clubs overseas, and especially in Asia, where the religious fault-line of Catholic-versus-Protestant has not been a part of the religious histories of those countries, most of which have non-Christian majorities [21].

Melbourne Victory A-League fans in Australia have attempted to label Sydney FC 'Scum' (while Adelaide United is the 'Pissants') but this has not been altogether successful. It may well have been an attempt by English or Scottish Melbourne Victory fans to replicate the Portsmouth versus Southampton rivalry in Australia since Sydney is also the neighbouring club 'just up the coast' from Melbourne. These same Victory fans might then have felt somewhat silly given that new club Melbourne Heart, cross-town rivals to Victory, began playing in the Southampton jersey of red-and-white vertical stripes (before being bought by Manchester City). Will the real Scummers please stand up?

2.2 Dunning's Theory of fans' Identification with and Pride in the Team

Dunning [9] theorizes that working-class people identify with their football team to the extent that they feel pride and self-respect when the team does well and loss of pride and loss of self-respect when the team does badly. Regarding Australia's ethnic soccer clubs in the former NSL (which was replaced by the A-League in

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[5] *Regarding the Catholic-Protestant religious fault-line in Belfast, readers are referred to the history of the now defunct Belfast Celtic club written by Flynn (2009).*

2004-05 [22], Lynch and Veal [23] write that: 'Nationalistic loyalty also played a part: a club victory could take on the stature of a "victory" for a homeland, just as a defeat was also somewhat about loss of national face.'

The strength of these feelings of pride/loss of pride is based on the degree of the person's identification with the team and with the district and the number of interests that she/he has outside of soccer. For the person with strong identification with the district and few outside interests, the pride or loss of pride felt when the team does well or badly is at the maximum level. This theory can explain the strength of the ICF and Millwall's Bushwackers during the 1980s as these two clubs are based in the poorer and more stigmatized and isolated regions of East London (West Ham) and south-east London (Millwall), rather than in the west or north. In another Cass Pennant book, about the proto-West Ham United firm Mile End Mob from the pre-ICF era, Millwall fans are derisively termed 'gypsies' [4]. Fans' identifications with the club and district merge here with class identifications.

Furthermore, West Ham's performances have generally been disappointing to fans over the past 30 years. However, the team did manage to avoid relegation for the main years of the casual firms, 1981-86. ICF lead man Bill Gardner [24] has said that the West Ham fans of the 1970s and 1980s were dispirited and felt a loss of pride because of the first XI's poor showings and lack of effort; this inspired the ICF to become the strongest football firm in the country. The fans felt a lack of respect from other Premier League team followers, and this was a more severe blow than if the club had actually been relegated and performed highly among a less capable set of teams.

In addition, the 6.57 Crew's activities became more committed and serious in the late-1970s when the Portsmouth club was rapidly falling through the divisions. Having had the unique and rare experience of rapidly falling through the divisions, Portsmouth fans in the 1970s were especially touchy. Frequent violence became necessary in order to restore the universe to its rightful order in the fans' own eyes and to ensure that the firm and the city were accorded proper respect by rivals [25,10]. Portsmouth's on-field experiences also meant that Portsmouth hooligans experienced hooligan firms in all the divisions which increased their profile. Armstrong [10] writes that Sheffield United and Sheffield Wednesday hooligans had the same experience as well as the reverse experience of their team being promoted.

Pennant and Silvester [3], consistent with the 'popular' unemployment theory of hooliganism, point to the layoffs and decline in work prospects on the Portsmouth docks in the 1980s and suggest that it was a factor fuelling the growth and activities of the 6.57 Crew if only in the sense that it gave people more 'free time' to attend away and mid-week matches. Several names are given by Pennant and Silvester [3] of key 6.57 Crew members who suffered unemployment in the city in the 1980s.

2.3 Fluid 'Post-modern' 'Neo-tribes' (Armstrong and Hughson)

Next, we move on to review the ethnographic academic research on hooliganism that began in the 1990s with two landmark PhD theses, one in the UK by Gary Armstrong on Sheffield United's Blades hooligan firm (later published as *Football Hooligans: Knowing the Score*) and one in Australia by John Hughson on Sydney United's Bad Blue Boys NSL firm from the early-1990s. Subsequent articles by Hughson [14-18] synthesize key findings of these two studies and relate some of Armstrong's [10] key findings to the unique context of south-west Sydney's Bad Blue Boys (BBB), a group of Croatian-Australian teenagers who are, or perhaps were, hardcore supporters of the former NSL's Sydney Croatia club (which was renamed Sydney United in the 1990s). It should be pointed out that these 'anthropological' authors have been criticized on a number of grounds by other academic researchers [13]. Armstrong [10] has also criticized the early-dominant Leicester University School approach of Dunning and Williams.

Using the anthropological approach, Armstrong [10] focuses on the disorganized nature of Sheffield United's Blades' firm and the fluidity of group membership. People come to and go from the Blades according to the needs of their lives at particular stages and no-one is ever 'bound' to the Blades in any sense. People connected with the Blades acknowledge that hooliganism is an acquired taste and a profession at the edge of even hardcore fan support [26]. Armstrong [10] talks in terms of fluid 'post-modern' 'neo-tribes' and this terminology and its associated logic is taken up by Hughson in his ethnographic study of Sydney United's BBB. Armstrong disputes the hegemonic theory of the police and the media that hooligan firms are extremely organized armies. The popular hooligan literature, such as Pennant and Silvester [9], largely supports Armstrong's observation.

Armstrong [10] points out that firm allegiance is bounded and held in tight check. It is generally subordinated to ordinary relationships so that a Blades member would put to one side (or suppress) his hostility towards Sheffield Wednesday's 'Owls' hooligans when relating in the normal way to friends, family members, and work colleagues. When Blades and Owls meet outside of match days the context is often ambiguous and people have to determine whether this is a 'football context' where fighting is justified or not. When groups of Blades or Owls invade each other's pubs on London Road or West Street on a Friday night this is a football context whereas if Blades or Owls are socializing with women or with non-hooligan mates this is not a football context and so football-related violence is unacceptable.

Similarly, Blades and Owls rarely meet outside of the football season [10], because such meetings are ambiguous and hard to interpret as being football-related. Armstrong [10] writes as follows: 'the *raison d'être* of the Blades was a football match, and a *collective* identity more or less died outside the football season, to be resurrected at the early August pre-season friendly games.' On the other hand, it was *possible* for the Blades' collective identity to assert itself as dominant at gatherings outside of the football season such as a marriage

celebration and a 30th-birthday celebration [10]. Armstrong [10, emphasis original] states as follows: 'Blade identity *could* therefore be automatically sustained away from the club and the match in other contexts that did not need a game of football [nor even the football season]'.

In one-club cities, such as Aberdeen, Ayr, Cardiff, Leeds, Middlesbrough, Newcastle, Portsmouth, Sunderland, and Swansea, firms have often been stronger than in two-club or multiple-club cities because identity of club and city are conflated and this simplifies matters. It also reduces the chance of having to relate regularly to opposition firm members in ambiguous non-football contexts. Armstrong [10] shows that the *priority* of Blades football-wise was *always* to confront Owls and these confrontations often occurred on Friday nights in and around city-centre pubs when visiting club supporters from outside the city had not yet even arrived in Sheffield for their Saturday fixture(s). Dunning et al. [9] claim that one weakness of Armstrong's work is his failure to take into account sufficiently the special reality of Sheffield as a two-club city.

2.4 The 'Phases of Hooliganism' Theory (Leicester University School)

We now move on to discuss the 'phases of hooliganism' theory as outlined in various places by Dunning and his Leicester University School. In the first phase, Dunning argues that violence mostly involved attacks on players and officials. It emerged from uncontrolled passions inspired directly by events on the field [13]. This type of violence, referred to as 'spectator disorderliness' by Roversi and Balestri [26], was not pre-planned. Duke and Slepička [13] explain that, in the pre-1946 or pre-communist era in the then Czechoslovakia: most of the crowd incidents ... were match related. Attacks on players and officials were characteristic of football spectator behaviour in the first Czechoslovak republic. Battles between groups of rival fans were not common, and there were no reported examples of the police coming under attack from gangs of fans.

After the 1960s, 'core football hooliganism' emerged in England which was rival gangs of super-fighters intent on fighting each other; in this phase the violence was often pre-meditated [13]. Through a process of diffusion, the English hooligan style aka the 'English disease' diffused firstly to Western Europe in the 1970s [27,13] and later to communist or post-communist Eastern Europe. In the then Czechoslovakia, Dunning's second phase did not diffuse into the local setting until the mid-1980s [13]. The reason for the slow diffusion was 'because of the relative isolation, restricted media coverage and rigorous repression under the communist regimes' [13].

Duke and Slepička [13] also allege that communist rule was associated, especially in its early years, with a reduction in all types of soccer violence. Spectator disorderliness decreased from its pre-communist levels and core hooliganism started much later and on a much lesser scale in the then Czechoslovakia compared to Western Europe. Duke and Slepička [13] attribute this to mass communist repression being effective in its early years but declining

in its effectiveness by the 1980s. It was not until the 1990s that the new Czech Republic experienced its first cases of fan attacks upon police. Overall, Duke and Slepička [13] conclude that '[d]evelopments in the Czech Republic occurred later both in terms of the degree of organisation involved and the nature of the violence'. This suggests that hooliganism diffuses at different speeds and to various extents to different regions and that some types of hooliganism are never diffused to some locations.

The Leicester University School's 'phases' theory has been developed beyond that discussed in Duke and Slepička [13] and explained in the previous paragraph. According to Dunning et al. [13], there were three phases of English soccer hooliganism in the post-war era. Firstly, in the 1950s and 1960s, 'the conflicts on the terraces were interpersonal in character, took place mainly in the soccer grounds and on trains, and were for the most part directly related to the outcome of the match' [8]. Secondly, during the 1970s, 'football hooliganism was transformed into mass violence, which took place outside as well as inside the grounds and took the form of violent collective, or crowd, behaviour' [8]. During the last phase, since the 1980s, 'hooligan violence has been displaced from the grounds and diffused into city centres, suburbs and even further away from the ground itself and may take place independently of the outcome of the game, for fighting can begin before or after the game and can continue for a long time [8].

It is better to view these phases tentatively as suggesting a broad trend line and they should not be taken too literally. There was fighting outside of English grounds in the 1970s although, in that era, attempting to take over the opposing fans' end was an important ritual. Roughly, and in terms of fashion, the second phase was the 'skinhead era' and the third phase was the 'casuals' era'. Portsmouth hooligans, interviewed by Pennant and Silvester [3], talk of an away game ritual which involved going first to a pub near the main train station and then heading to the city-centre looking for the rival firm or sub-gangs of that firm. Fans taking the 6.57 train would reach London by mid-morning and the north of England by 1:00 p.m. so violence could occur well before the standard 3:00 p.m. kick-off time. The timing of the violence and the entrance to the away team's city became important parts of strategy which began in the 1970s but which were further refined in the 1980s. Another key element of strategy was exiting at a different train station than the one expected and then walking the rest of the way. Attempts to take ends died down as a fashion by 1980 as security and policing methods improved.

In Pennant and Silvester [3], there are chapters that discuss what the Leicester University School refers to in terms of fighting taking place in 'city-centres' or 'suburbs'. Fights in London would occur frequently, either on a pre-mediated or a spontaneous basis, as supporters of south-of-England teams returning from a day in the north would all arrive back in London at Euston Station. Here they would also meet north-of-England hooligans who had followed their team down to London or to the south coast [10]. Portsmouth fans, before returning to the south coast, often in the early hours, would congregate in the evenings around

Covent Gardens before heading to Waterloo Station. As a result, fights also took place in these locations [25,10].

Portsmouth supporters were also sometimes involved in hooliganism at matches not involving their club. This was not commonly done by other firms (except for the ICF, Millwall, and Hibernian's Capital City Service) and it shows a higher level of both strategic thought and determination to engage in confrontation. The 6.57 Crew would sometimes attend Millwall home games to trouble the home fans or otherwise go to the hated Southampton to join forces with the away team firm. This was more often done in cases of early or late kick-offs for the Portsmouth game or as spontaneous last-minute responses to cancelled Portsmouth matches.

The Leicester University School's 'phases' categorization fails to take into account the alleged general hardening up of attitudes and behaviours in England which took place around 1974. We recall that Pennant and Silvester [3] nominate 1974 as a key dividing year in terms of attitudes. Perhaps the 1950s and 1960s phase should be seen as extending as late as 1974.

If there is a fourth phase to be added, for the 1990s and 2000s, we suggest that it might be called the 'internet era'. In this extremely self-conscious and politically-correct post-modern era, past events are mythologized, rationalized, and justified online and in the pages of the myriad cheap-paperback 'confessions' books penned by now 40-year-old or 50-year-old ex-hooligans. In the present era violence is reserved for a few important strategic self- and others-defining clashes such as West Ham versus Millwall and Arsenal versus Tottenham. Only the uncool northerners or Welshmen continue with hooligan activities on a regular basis. Armstrong [10] ends his book by describing how Blades would sometimes in 1997 watch games at pubs close to the Bramall Lane ground partly as a protest against rising ticket prices. This is the beginning of, in Armstrong's words, 'post-fan' behaviour. Armstrong's data ends in 1997 and so we do not how the Blades are functioning in the new millennium. Generally rising season ticket prices and the rising cost of train travel have meant that the demographic of football support has changed while improved policing methods are a further factor in creating disinterest in hooliganism.

2.5 The Sub-gangs

The various sub-gangs of the 6.57 Crew had their own very informal structures and usually people spent time within their own sub-gangs unless they were split up in unforeseen circumstances in which cases the 'lost' people would hook up with other sub-gangs. Each sub-gang was associated with a particular government housing project in or on the periphery of Portsmouth. Each sub-gang also had one or more key pubs on its territory from which people would depart from and return to on match days and congregate in at other times. The formation of football crews as amalgamations of neighbourhood gangs may have had a side-effect in certain cases of reducing violence between such neighbourhood gangs. Marsh [7] explains as follows: 'By channelling the

competitive hostility outwards towards the tribe on the other side of the [usually metaphorical] hill, social bonds within one's own group are reaffirmed and maintained.'

Armstrong [10] also produces very interesting data in the form of a list compiled in April 1987 of 190 Blades with ages, occupations, and criminal record (if any) listed. He classifies these into sub-gangs and some of the sub-gangs might have had as few as two or three members. Larger sub-gangs which were part of the Blades include Old Lads, Drug Squad, Suicide Squad, Max's Coach Blades, Villagers, and Rotherham Blades. These last two groups were the most obviously separate since their outside-of-Sheffield locations influenced how they viewed themselves, other Blades, and other firms, and also influenced their willingness to fight. They felt that certain City Blades were too close to certain City Owls and hence sometimes not willing to confront them. Clearly, the out-of-Sheffield Blades were more idealistic and less pragmatic than the City Blades. Being from outside-of-Sheffield it was easier for them to cause trouble and then run away to the relative safety of Rotherham or their villages. Armstrong also recounts the interesting and ironic case of Rotherham Blades fighting Rotherham Owls or outside supporters and, in doing so, defending the honour of a city they do not live in.

3. CASUAL NATURE OF GROUP TIES (ARMSTRONG AND HUGHSON)

Armstrong [10] emphasizes the casual nature of group ties and the recognition that a person was not morally bound to the firm in any way if he/she decided to give up football or give up hooliganism as part of a natural evolution within his/her own personal life. Some people might 'come out of retirement' for big matches against the Owls or if a confrontation came to them. They would often continue to go to games and London Road Friday night pub sessions but sit with non-hooligan mates or sit with Blades but not leave the pub to meet a challenge outside [10]. Generally, Hughson's research of BBB supports this. He tells the humorous example of one Croatian-Australian hooligan with his girlfriend being ridiculed by the group for his love interest to the extent that over time he, and others in similar positions, disappeared to the fringes of the group or left it entirely. This hooligan was taunted by the Croatian word for 'slippers' which signifies domestic bliss and a certain married lifestyle. Key members of the BBB at Sydney United and the MCF at Melbourne Knights believe that one's obviously displayed loyalty should be to the gang, to the soccer club, and to the Croatian community. The fault-line here is the ethnic and religious tension between Croatia and Serbia [22,28]. An additional fault-line today is between the Croatian-Australian youth at MCF, and successor firms to the BBB in Western Sydney such as South West Firm and Edensor Park Ultras, and 'mainstream' assimilated and Anglo-Celtic Australians who support 'non-ethnic' A-League clubs, Australian Rules, and/or rugby league clubs.[6]

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[6] *In Sydney this situation has been confused somewhat by the remarkable off-field success enjoyed by new A-League club Western Sydney Wanderers beginning in the 2012-13 season.*

4. GIVING THE MARXIST APPROACH ANOTHER CHANCE

We believe that the Marxist approach can be restored if it is sufficiently nuanced and applied directly to specific localized contexts rather than left to remain in the form of generalizations applied to the whole of a society. The study of Portsmouth FC by non-academic authors Pennant and Silvester [3] opens up with some insightful sociological rumination by the author pair, the ICF's 'black Hammer', Cass Pennant, and Portsmouth 6.57 Crew's Rob Silvester. Their book *Rolling with the 6.57 Crew* includes the usual stream-of-consciousness discussions of key matches by a number of different authors grouped together in chapters according to team played and other headings. These long quotations, all in italics font, tend to run into each other and, since they are anonymous, it is hard to be sure how much credence to give to them. They tend to describe only events and people's feelings about the events in hindsight. Since there are so many events, for non-participants reading the book, they tend to run into each other and the incidents become indistinguishable and forgettable. The, in our opinion, more interesting sociological rumination is left to the two principal authors and especially to the book's opening pages.

The interesting sociological question, in our view, is why a seaside city of 200,000 inhabitants produced one of the best and largest hooligan firms in England whereas neighbouring town Southampton had hardly any firm to speak of? Silvester argues that Portsmouth being a navy town gives it a completely different character to Southampton which is a town of farmers. After World War Two, large numbers of high-rise council tower blocks were built in Portsmouth and in various estates located at the fringes of the city. These were designed to house military officers returning from the war. Portsmouth was a convenient location to house these people. The city now has a very high population density among cities of a similar population in the UK. All of these facts have produced an alienated proletariat or lumpenproletariat (to use the traditional Marxist terms) in the council housing estates. These estates contributed their own sub-gangs to Portsmouth's 6.57 Crew in the 1980s. Each sub-gang was based around one or more pubs located usually within but sometimes just outside each council estate. Pennant and Silvester [3] also talk about navy people marrying Portsmouth girls and remaining in the area permanently thus increasing the percentage of the population with military attitudes and training as compared to other population centres.

The inter-generational hatred in Portsmouth towards Southampton is indicated by the nickname 'Scum' or 'Scummers'. Pennant and Silvester [3] indicate just how widespread this is by telling an anecdote of two elderly men in a Pompey (Portsmouth) pub. One has a newspaper in front of him and says to the other: 'I see the Scummers lost again last night'. Although one might think the origin of the name is lost in time, Pennant and Silvester [3] trace it to a strike on the Portsmouth docks defeated by the importation of non-union 'scum' labour from Southampton. This indicates the original class basis of Portsmouth's residents' dislike of the inhabitants of their neighbouring town.

5. MORE ON THE MARXIST APPROACH

Consistent with the Marxist approach is the fact that firm members enjoy it when the police, as representatives of the state and the ruling-class, waste time and resources policing hooligans. Fans also love the irony when the police at times must protect one group of fans from another. It is nice to feel loved and protected even or especially when the attitude is grudging. Hooligans seem to appreciate that the behaviour of hooligans has created an outcome where police resources are now being used to protect fans who are also hooligans. One perhaps subconscious reason for hooligans to fight might have been to mock police and waste police resources, which is much harder to do as an individual or as a small group. People then revel in the power that the crowd gives them. This theorization is not inconsistent with the Marxist approach broadly defined. The established order is also inverted when hooligans feature on TV and in the newspapers when, in the fans' regular week-day capacity as employees or as unemployed, such events would be unimaginable. In Peru, where the 'barras bravas' are most closely integrated with regular neighbourhood gangs, which exist in dynamic two-way interaction with the soccer firms, Panfichi and Thieroldt [29] state that: 'almost all the complaints filed with the police [about hooligans] refer to damage to property that *symbolises social division* [and exclusion]: cars, windows of houses and smarter shops, and jewellery and the stealing of wallets.' Likewise, one of the main reasons behind 6.57 Crew's pitch invasion at a friendly match in France was to protest against the inept club leadership, clearly a *ruling-class target* within capitalism. Therefore, the generalized argument that 'football fans fight each other and not the ruling-class' is not enough to render a Marxist approach completely invalid.

To further amplify on the relevance of Marxism for hooliganism it is important to recall that Marxist theorists, influenced by Freudianism, have argued in the past that the working-class *instinctively* rebels against the rule of capital [30-33]. This means it is possible to be fighting capitalism and its effects without even being (consciously) aware of what you are doing! In his 1859 Preface to his *A Contribution to the Critique of Political Economy*, Marx [34] writes that: 'mankind [*sic*] always sets itself only such tasks as it can solve.' Civil disobedience by soccer firm members was a task that could be accomplished whereas more direct and violent acts against the British state were only likely to result in defeat. The meagre long-term concrete results of the Provisional Irish Republican Army's (IRA) systematic terror campaign, not to mention a century of Communist Party struggle in Western Europe, are testimony to this assertion. French philosopher Alain Badiou [35] writes that: 'Lenin already knew that any modern State, including the socialist one, is intrinsically bourgeois' [35]. Furthermore, Marx [34] writes that: 'social reforms are never achieved because of the weakness of the strong but are always the result of the power of the weak.' Now that policing technology and resources have dramatically increased hooliganism has become less feasible and worthwhile and this is a key reason for its decline and near disappearance.

When 1980s hooligans attacked the police and public property, were they expressing an awareness, if only subconscious, of Friedrich Engels' [36] assertion that: 'The modern State, in whatever form it takes, is essentially a capitalist machinery, it is the State of capitalists, the ideal collective capitalist' [34]? For the Slovenian post-communist philosopher Slavoj Žižek [37], the 'underground spectral life of the ghosts of failed utopias' continues to haunt the present generation, 'patiently awaiting their next resurrection'. Failed utopias include the Paris Commune of 1871; the Russian Revolution of October 1917; the Chinese Cultural Revolution of 1965-68; and the French student movement and factory strikes of May 1968. Antonio Negri [38] writes, in his *Goodbye Mr Socialism*, that: 'One has to bring capital to recognize the weight and importance of the common good, and if capital is not ready to do it, one has to compel it to do so.'

Of course, Marxism is only ever a partial explanation for hooliganism and, of course, we do not claim that the majority of hooligans the majority of the time is or was (consciously) fighting capitalism. The study suggests that there may have been a partly or wholly subconscious (and completely reasonable) desire to resist a power base that has alienated working-class hardcore soccer supporters from their true humanity and has utilized the doctrine of private property to exclude them from a just share of the UK's (and the football industry's) wealth and prosperity. Hooliganism was one way that a protest could be registered and police resources wasted which stood a reasonable chance of success or only marginal losses on any given match-day (or at least that used to be the case in the era we are discussing).

In more recent years the rising ticket prices and the move to all-seater stadiums and new corporatist leagues such as Australia's A-League have further alienated working-class supporters because the corporatized administrators of the game offer soccer matches and 'the brand' to 'consumers' as simply another capitalist entertainment product [11,39]. Perhaps one reason why people in their late-20s and early-30s drift away from hooliganism is that they become integrated within the capitalist system as (higher) wage-earners or entrepreneurs with mortgages and other financial commitments. They can then afford the better season seats in the stadium and they settle down into 'consumer' mode. As the former Singapore Prime Minister Lee Kuan Yew once remarked, give a young man a motorcycle loan (which is a function of economic development) and he will be more interested in paying off the loan rather than rioting against social ills.

6. SOCIAL CLASS

In terms of the socio-economic background of English hooligans, Armstrong's [10] view differs somewhat to that of the Leicester University School. Armstrong et al. [11,40], proponents of the anthropological approach, support the 'working class in general thesis' whereas Dunning et al. [7,41] state that 'the core football hooligans come predominantly from the *rougher sections* of the working-class' [42]. The Leicester University School's term 'core football hooligans' is relevant when discussing that School's 'phases of hooliganism' theory which I referred to

earlier in this paper. That theory can be used to analyse the extent and speed of the diffusion of hooligan behaviours and styles to other parts of Europe and around the world. Like violence at American professional sports matches [43], Australian Rules Football crowd violence has not passed beyond the first stage of (occasional) 'spectator disorderliness' [26] and is unlikely to do so in the future. However, this does not mean that Marsh's 'illusion of violence' is not present.

7. MARXIST CRITIQUE OF ARMSTRONG [10]

Armstrong [10] only discusses leaving hooliganism in terms of changing life-stages without also referring to people's changed position in relation to capital. Armstrong [10] uses the word 'capitalism' in mocking inverted quotation marks as if to question either the concept or its relevance or both. At the same time, when he talks about rising ticket prices and the social control of supporters this is within the context, which he does not acknowledge, of professional football moving to a higher stage of capitalism where supporters are re-classified as 'consumers'. Armstrong [10] also rejects the Althusserian concept of *Ideological State Apparatuses* and the related idea that schools, police, courts, politicians, and media all operate, in the last instance, to further and safeguard the interests of capital. However, the physical rebuilding of Sheffield United's Bramall Lane ground indeed shows the ideological re-interpellation of supporters as consumers whereby the consumers' average spend becomes more important than their degree of passionate commitment [44-46]. In fact, the traditional supporters' passionate commitment is turned against them by the ruling-class of football so that that passion is now viewed as a liability which must be monitored and controlled.

8. CONCLUSION

In this article, we reviewed key studies in the academic literature on soccer hooliganism from the UK and around the world. This review did not aim to be comprehensive or complete as this literature is growing day by day. The study also considered the growing number of popular 'confessions' books written by ex-hooligans. A large number of these confessions books have been written since the hooligan scene wound itself up in the late 1980s. Later in this article, we revisited the Marxist theoretical perspective, originally associated with Ian Taylor. we argued that, although Marxist perspectives are now unfashionable throughout academia, this perspective still has something to offer. The generalized argument that 'football fans fight each other and not the ruling-class' is not enough to render a Marxist approach completely invalid. In fact Marxist approaches work best when analysing the transition of the football industry and policing technologies and resources to a higher stage of capitalism and the resultant increases in alienation associated with the ideological re-positioning of supporter as 'consumer'. Even when applied to the 1980s casuals era, the Marxist approach allows us to explain the excitement of creating mayhem and mischief on days when the power of the mob gave most strategies a reasonable chance of victory and the police would either suffer harm and damage or ironically be forced to defend one set of supporters from another.

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