

Racist chants in contemporary English Premier League

A study of English football supporters' racist language

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Abstract

This thesis explores the English supporter culture in contemporary English Premier League, focusing on racist football chants. It discusses why selected football supporters or groups choose to express racist content when they chant. Relevant theories concerning culture and language have been used to lay a foundation for analysing selected chants and discussing supporters' behavioural acts during matchdays. This thesis focuses on different chants where one can find racist content. The following four football clubs have been chosen, based on their supporters' involvement in racist chanting: Aston Villa, Chelsea, Manchester United and Tottenham Hotspur.

I have completed a content analysis on selected chants from the mentioned clubs to understand how supporters express racism. The results from the content analysis showed that negative stereotypes were used to express racism in the following categories: sexual, historical and contextual. I used the answers from the analysis to further discuss the relevance of culture, language and socialisation concerning the English society and English Premier League. The discussion led to interesting views as to why selected supporter express racism when they chant. It is possible to say that supporters who chant racist lyrics are caught between personal and social factors that can make them express words they might not do in other settings.

This thesis aims to provide new information about racism in the research field of English football. Racism is a societal problem with a strong position in contemporary English Premier League, even with all the focus on anti-racism. Even though this thesis focuses on racism in chants, other arenas where football is present, like social media, also struggle with racist comments. Hopefully, this thesis will contribute to further research within the field of racism in English football and other sports.

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1. Introduction

English football is one of the most popular sports venues in the world, with its domestic and international supporter base reaching millions of people every day. The sport has established itself a long history in English society, with the year 2013 marking the 150th anniversary of the foundation of the English Football Association (Kitching, 2015, p. 127). English football is divided into divisions by the English Pyramid System to organise clubs and the level of football (myfootballfacts.com, n.d.). The most popular and top division is called the English Premier League, henceforth called the EPL, and it is home to some of the most famous football clubs in the world like Liverpool and Manchester United.

One of the fascinating characteristics of EPL and English football is its English supporter culture. Supporters are often referred to as the ‘12th man on the pitch’, cheering the remaining 11 football players on the road to victory. For example, the 2018/2019 EPL season had a total attendance of 29.007.908 supporters attending 760 matches, both home and away, with an average of 38.168 supporters per match (worldfootball.net, n.d.). By presenting attendance numbers, one can understand the enormous human impacts surrounding matchdays at a football stadium. Given that each stadium has a maximum capacity for spectators, thousands of English supporters use social gatherings, like the pub, to watch their favourite team play. English football supporters are arguably the main reason for the fantastic atmosphere one can experience at a match in the EPL.

Football chanting is considered an essential factor for atmosphere and supporter culture in the EPL, either at the stadium or other public places as the pub or public transport. The creativity of lyrics and music has created many famous football chants, like Manchester United’s ‘Eric The King’, a tribute to Eric Cantona. There is often a clear or underlying ‘target’ in these chants, referring to a specific football player and / or a football team in the EPL. However, there are incidents where racist language is part of the lyrics in chants. This language culture is strongly opposed to the focus that contemporary society has on anti-racism. How do EPL supporters get away with this, and why is there not more attention on racist chanting by those involved in the EPL? Racist language in football chants and supporter culture in the EPL are the main topics of this thesis, where I will discuss the following research question:

Why do racist football chants occur in contemporary English Premier League?

In order to discuss the research question, different chapters will present relevant information and theories to create a foundation for further research. There will also be definitions of the terms *football chants* and *racism*, with pertinent information in the context of EPL and English society as such. This background is necessary because it gives a greater understanding of football chanting's cultural and social importance in the EPL and its place in football quarters. It will present chants' role in English football and how supporters unite to create a marvellous atmosphere before, during and after matches. Racism will be defined in the light of historical events and its connection to English football. Sociological theories by Hans Gullestrup concerning cultural identity and social diversity will be used as part of the analysis. Using Gullestrup's theory, the goal is to understand supporter unity and why thousands gather every week to chant about their team and opponents, and why some chose to chant racist contents. Also, to better understand why racist language exists in football chants, Basil Bernstein's theory concerning language coding will be presented to explain the connection between language and social class in English society.

A content analysis of selected racist football chants will also be presented in chapter four of this thesis. The chants have been selected because they are created and chanted by supporters of different football clubs from the EPL. Firstly, there will be a short introduction of the club itself followed up by a content analysis of selected racist chants.

2. Definitions and theory

The selected theory is included to support research concerning the research question. Moreover, the chosen theory is suitable and necessary for the analysis and discussion concerning football chants, supporter culture, language and racism. Terms and theories will be defined and explained to inform the reader about knowledge within the topic. The theory presented in this chapter will be used as the foundation for discussing the research question: *Why do racist football chants occur in contemporary English Premier League?*

2.1 Football Chants – definitions and history

Football chants and supporter culture go hand in hand in English football. The unique method of expressing emotions and support towards one's favourite team has become an icon for English football culture. It is impossible to attend a match in the EPL without hearing a football chant by either home- or away supporters. Football chants are, according to folk singer Martin Carthy: "the one surviving embodiment of an organic living folk tradition" (Lawn, 2014, p. 3). In terms of classifying football chants as a music genre, one can arguably categorise it within the folk tradition *blason populaire*.

In world of music genres, folkloric blason populaire is not amongst the most popular, but it can be connected to football chanting. As quoted in Joanna Luhrs' doctoral dissertation, the definition of blason populaire is: "An expression of one's group outlook and self-image, often involving the implied simultaneous detraction and / or detriment of another (rival) group." (Luhrs, 2007, p. 7). Key elements from Luhrs' citation focus on identity, unity and rivalry. Using these strong emotions concerning football chanting, the concept of 'us versus them' is arguably very relevant for football supporters. 'Us versus them' is a reliable concept because of the many football rivalries occurring in the EPL, for example, the geographical rivalry between the two London clubs Chelsea and Tottenham Hotspur. To better understand the term, one can also define the word 'blazon'. According to the Oxford English Dictionary, it is both a noun and a verb. As a noun, it is "a shield in heraldry; armorial bearings, coat of arms; a banner bearing the arms". As a verb, it is "to publish vauntingly or boastfully, boast of" and "to proclaim, make public, 'trumpet'". (Luhrs, 2007, p. 7-8). By taking the Oxford English Dictionary definitions into account, together with Luhrs citation, one can better understand the connection between blason populaire and football chants. The central concept of creating and singing a football chant is to support or provoke supporters, teams and players. By

considering the English Oxford Dictionary's usage of words like *arms*, *shield* and *banner* when defining 'blazon', one can argue that the concepts of *war* and *army* can be associated with football chants.

War chants were used by football supporters from the 1880s and onwards, with records of Southampton supporters singing a "Yi! Yi! Yi!" chant during matches. There was also a modification of the First World War song: "Keep the Home Fires Burning" into "Keep the Forwards Scoring" (Cox, Russell & Vamplew, 2002, p. 212; Russel, 1997, p. 59). The first football chants were aimed at specific clubs with a friendly and humorous tone. However, this joyful tone began to change during the 1920s when sectarianism played a crucial role in establishing oppositional football chants. The roots of sectarian football chants occurred in Glasgow, Scotland, between Celtic Football Club and Rangers Football Club. Their rivalry is commonly known as *the Old Firm*, and its origin comes from Celtic having a majority of Catholic supporters and Rangers having a majority of Protestant supporters. The rivalry of the Old Firm, which is still controversial, together with the Beatles' increase in popularity, had a substantial impact on football chants during the 1960s in England (Cox et al., 2002, p. 212; Lawn, 2014, p. 3).

Youth culture, popular music and the mixture of cultures through international football competitions affected chants, especially Liverpool because it was the home city of the Beatles (Morris, 1981/1981, p. 304). Football chants became more wide-ranging in the 1960s, with supporters adapting and creating songs after relevant football scenarios, for example, rivalries or player transfers. Many chants were harmful and without aspects of controversial aspects, like Liverpool's adaptation of "When the Saints Go Marching In". However, together with football chants' increase of popularity during the 1960s, a supporter culture called *hooliganism* began to settle its mark in the word of English football (Luhrs, 2007, p. 51-52).

Hooliganism is defined as a supporter culture where violence, abuse and riots are brought to life in sports, especially football (Holm, 2020). During the 1970s and 80s, violence and abusive chants occurred more often. Threats, homophobia and insults aimed at opposing players and supporters became widespread throughout English football (Morris, 1981/1981, p. 306-312). The increase of black people in English football during the 1970s and 80s led to the rise of racist chants aimed at black people and football players (Kennedy & Kennedy, 2014, p. 150). Viv Anderson, a professional football player during the 1970s and 80 who also became the first black player to represent England's national team, told the Nottingham Post that: "The abuse I got, just walking out on the pitch before the game [between Nottingham Forest and Newcastle United], was so severe I had to go back into the dressing room." (Fricker &

Hennessy, 2021). Racist chants were often extremely brutal. For example, following the Deptford fire in 1981, where 13 black youths died, Millwall supporters were heard chanting: “We all agree, niggers burn better than petrol” (Frosdick & Marsh, 2005, p. 139). The 1980s were so affected by racial hatred and violence amongst supporters, that the decade received the nickname: “The Dark Days” (Wood, 2018). However, as a new decade began, the darkest time in English football saw lights at the end of the tunnel.

English football went through an enormous change from the 1990s and towards today. As quoted by Gary Parkinson: “Old Football gave way to Modern Football in the summer of 1992, with the [...] inauguration of the Premier League” (Parkinson, 2018). The EPL was established in 1992 as the new first division for the most successful and commercially valued clubs in England. The main idea behind the establishment of the EPL was to make English football a profitable industry for investors. Broadcast rights were auctioned, and the television company BskyB won a five-year deal worth £304 million (Rodrigues, 2012). Money meant attraction for the EPL, and foreign football players began to turn their interest toward England. The French player Eric Cantona to Manchester United and the Italian player Gianfranco Zola to Chelsea are two examples of foreigners becoming football stars in the EPL after the broadcasting takeover (Parkinson, 2018). Concerning the enormous commercial development in the EPL, how did supporter culture adapt to the changes?

The EPL marked itself in the world of football by having several successful teams in Europe’s most famous competition: The UEFA Champions League. At the same time, England’s National Team reached 4th place in the 1990 FIFA World Cup, giving a nostalgic feeling to the days when England won the 1966 FIFA World Cup. The dark 80s began to fade away as English football now had a new look (Parkinson, 2018). Stadiums were upgraded, commercial interest was internationalised, foreign players and supporters arrived in large numbers. The culture of hooliganism was still present but not like in the 1980s. As previously mentioned, English football was established as a working-class sport with mainly working-class people playing and attending matches. The term ‘local lads’ emerged within the sport as local people attended matches both on the pitch and in the stands. Football was part of many working-class people’s identity, but with the new economic interest in the EPL, ticket prices increased, and the fear of losing ones’ identity in football became a significant concern. It was believed that EPL authorities used expensive tickets to attract middle- and upper-class people and prevent the participation of working-class people at matches, and as a result, try to remove hooliganism and racist chanting in the EPL (Luhrs, 2007, p. 61). However, these social changes to the EPL have not gone according to plan.

Problems concerning racism, discrimination, abuse and violence still occur in the EPL. Even with an increased focus by the media and authorities to remove racism from football, for example, with the Black Lives Matter movement, there have been incidents of racist chants in the 2010s. Black football players who have experienced racist chanting by supporters are, for example, Romelu Lukaku during his time at Manchester United, Antonio Rüdiger at Chelsea and Raheem Sterling at Manchester City (Flanagan & Robson, 2017; Steinberg, 2020; The Guardian, 2020). Modern technology has made it easier to record incidents, use a wider variety of songs as inspiration and spread lyrics and / or chants around on the Internet. Racist chants are now easy to come by on, for example, video-sharing web pages like YouTube.com and online forums like Reddit.com, where content restrictions are not very limited. Incidents of racism have become such a troubling culture that the FA made new sanctions following the 2019/2020 EPL season. Individuals found guilty of discrimination can be given a six to 12 matches ban, and clubs can face a penalty of up to £300,000 (van Wijk, 2020). By defining and presenting the history of football chants, one will arguably understand its role and importance in English football and supporter culture. Football chanting is an aspect of supporter culture which has set both negative and positive marks in the EPL. One can, therefore, ask the questions: how has racism been allowed to establish itself in England's most influential sport?

2.2 Racism – definition and history in the English society

To understand *racism* as a term, the negative impact on the EPL and how supporters use it in chants, one can search into its history and role in English society. According to Oxford Reference, racism is defined as:

The inability or refusal to recognize the rights, needs, dignity, or value of people of particular races or geographical origins. More widely, the devaluation of various traits of character or intelligence as 'typical' of particular peoples. (Oxford Reference, n.d.).

In the definition by Oxford Reference, racism is humans' ability to feel superior towards other humans in the light of race or geographical origin. Those who feel superior do not recognise equality amongst other humans. At the same time, humans are also placed in categories and given specific and mostly negative characteristics and / or features that are only set on them and not on other 'groups' of humans. Racism is a form of ethnic discrimination amongst humans. Historically, racism has existed for centuries, but it became

strengthened when European colonialism and slave trade were at their peak during the 18th century and onwards. European countries like Britain, France, Spain and Portugal colonised parts of the world on continents like Africa, Asia and America. Discrimination of natives from the colonisers was common, with the example of African slaves being called ‘niggers’ by white people. As the centuries passed, any forms concerning expressions and / or performances of racism and / or discrimination became gradually illegalised by authorities in countries where racism had been widespread, such as in Britain and USA (Tjora, 2020).

Historically, the British Empire emerged as a slave-trading nation in the mid-1500s and did not abolish slavery until 1833. It is possible to argue that the British Empire’s long history of the slave trade is one of the main reasons racism has survived in contemporary British society despite authorities’ work to remove it from the population’s mindset. The nation’s 270 years history with slave trading has arguably set its mark and affected contemporary British identity and society (Mustad, Rahbek, Sevaldsen & Vadmand, 2012, p. 124).

Inhabitants of former British colonies immigrated in large numbers to Britain after the British Nationality Act was passed in 1948, creating a multicultural nation (Mustad et al., 2012, p. 123). The term *multicultural nation* is used when a nation consists of two or more cultures. That explanation leads to the concept of multiculturalism, where the aim is: “to create fair-minded, non-discriminatory routes to cultural and socio-economic integration” (Mustad et al., 2012, p. 120). However, the idea of creating a ‘non-discriminatory’ integration has not been idealised in British society. Political theories concerning multiculturalism focuses on problems connected to group- rights and identities and how these can be resolved with individual rights, and by social scientists who centre on the nature of ethnic groups and group interaction in social settings. (Mustad et al., 2012, p. 131).

British society has been through a change, especially since the 1960s, in attitudes and responses to individuals and groups of people of different colour and culture that are not white, Protestant British. Before the 1960s, Britain was constructed as a mono-cultural society where assimilation of people with different cultures was socially accepted, and it was regarded as culturally and religiously homogeneous, Anglican and white. Multiculturalism was during the 1960s re-defined, politicised and increasingly noticeable because of the American Civil Rights Movement, and large numbers of immigrants moved to Britain from previous British colonies in the Caribbean and Asia (Mustad et al., 2012, p. 131). Integration and equality became central elements in the new multicultural Britain. Previously a dominant white population, there was now a significant increase of non-white people establishing their role in British society. Demands for attitudinal changes concerning the acceptance of

difference and respect can lead to an end or decrease of racism (Mustad et al., 2012, p. 132-133). However, racism still affects contemporary British society, for example, with race riots.

Racism has led to many riots during the 20th century which can be linked to Britain becoming increasingly multicultural. Cities like Liverpool, Cardiff, London, Birmingham and London's Brixton had race riots which led to debates concerning racism (Mustad et al., 2012, p. 128). As a response to the reason why the race riots have occurred, journalist and writer Yasmin Alibhai-Brown has suggested that:

Behind such uprisings, a fear of pollution of alleged racial purity circulates, an age-old discourse that always sees *the other* as a threat to the bloodlines of the national stock, and racial mixtures and hybridity, one result of the meeting of different peoples, as an inevitable degradation of the nation. (Mustad et al., 2012, p. 128).

Alibhai-Brown's suggestion arguably focuses on an emotion of sociocultural alienation between groups of people within the British society. It gives a nationalistic feeling of white supremacy with "the bloodlines of the national stock" because of Britain's long history of being a nation dominated by a white population pre the colonisation era. The suggestion also gives a very negative focus on the process of Britain becoming a multicultural nation with "degradation of the nation". Instead of expressing the many possibilities of multiculturalism, there is a sense of downgrade when a country has a population consisting of multiple nationalities. It is possible to draw a connection between the suggestions by Alibhai-Brown and the football slogan 'us versus them' concerning the troubles of racism. The ideas of 'enemy/opponent' towards other groups of people, as with supporters of the opposing team, can be linked to "the other as a threat to the bloodlines of national stock". Supporter groups feel competition and rivalry towards other supporter groups, especially when two EPL teams are located in the same geographical area, like in the city of Liverpool where a public park separates the stadiums of Everton F.C. and Liverpool F.C. Rivalries occurring in the same city will arguably give supporters the ideas that their team is the 'true' team of the city they live in. One can arguably connect the national stock to supporter groups and the importance of uniting people supporting the same team, especially against city rivals.

2.2.1 Antisemitism and its role in contemporary English society

The reason why antisemitism is included with a headline in this thesis is because it is a central part of racism in EPL chants. This paragraph will define antisemitism and its connection to racism, with a presentation and analysis of antisemitic football chants later in

this thesis. The term antisemitism can be defined as discrimination, hatred and prejudice against Jewish people. Antisemitic ideas and attitudes can be located back to the Middle Ages in Europe, with a profound impact on European societies during the 19th century. However, the most brutal antisemitic circumstances occurred during the Second World War with persecution, mass murder and torture of Jewish people (Simonsen, 2019). The concept of antisemitism can arguably be defined as a form of racism. Nazis described Jews as a race who were weak, dangerous and inferior. The belief that there only existed one race, the human race, was not accepted by Nazi Germany. By blaming Jewish people as a significant threat in society, hatred of Jews established itself in the mindset of thousands of people (Anne Frank House, n.d.). One would perhaps believe that the Nazis' antisemitic ideas would end after the Second World War, but the beliefs can still be found today, for example, in EPL chants.

The number of antisemitic hate incidents in England reached a record high in 2019 with 1,805 recorded incidents. Abuse on social media and violent assaults have dominated the antisemitic hate attacks, with most incidents occurring in Greater London and Greater Manchester, where one can find the two largest Jewish communities in England (BBC, 2020). Antisemitism has also found its way into EPL chants. The London club Tottenham Hotspur is the main target for antisemitic chants because of the clubs' large Jewish supporter base, also known as 'Yid Army'. Even though the supporter base has embraced themselves as 'Yids', many controversial chants have targeted Tottenham Hotspur's relation to Jews (Trenaman, 2020). Further explanation of Tottenham Hotspur's Jewish supporter base and examples of chants will be presented and analysed later in this thesis.

2.3 Cultural theory – Hans Gullestrup

English football culture in the EPL is a fascinating and unique aspect within English society, both historically and contemporary. When analysing EPL culture, one must take social classes in English society into consideration because of its role in establishing English football. England has a long history of being a nation divided into social classes. The Industrial Revolution made way for the dominant working-class, which created and established football. Other classes, like the middle- and upper-class, also influenced English society with their role of providing a wealthier life for those associated with the given social classes. The Industrial Revolution enabled socio-economic features as wealth, organised labour and urbanisation to form the structure of British society, both historically and contemporary (Editors of Encyclopedia Britannica, 2021). Social classes divided the

population and formed society at the same time. One would think that there has been a significant development regarding the role of social classes in British society from the 18th century to the 21st century, but as written by Mustad et al.:

Although the term 'class' in its strictest sense is probably less used today than a few decades ago, it still exists even at an everyday level of conversation in the UK when issues like education, employment, housing, leisure, accent and several others are considered. Obviously, the term class is also central in discussions and analyses of inequalities and differences of opportunity. (Mustad et al., 2012, p. 39-40).

According to Mustad et al., social classes are still relevant in the UK even though it is less used now than a few decades ago. There is an emphasis on different aspects within society like education and employment, where the debate concerning social class is still relevant. Social class is also brought up whenever there are debates concerning inequalities in society, for example, income. Concerning this thesis, it is possible to focus on ticket prices. As mentioned, the increase in ticket prices has angered many supporters because they struggle to afford today's tickets and, therefore, many feel that English football is distanced from them. With the role of contemporary social classes in mind, is it possible to draw a connection between supporter culture and racist chants?

In order to discuss the research question, sociological theory concerning culture will be included and analysed concerning racism in EPL football chants. The relevant sociological theories and ideas which will be presented and used are created by Hans Gullestrup. As presented in his work *Culture, culture analysis and culture ethics – or what separate and unite us?* (1995), Gullestrup is a Danish Emeritus Professor in Social and Economic Planning at Aalborg University Denmark. Gullestrup's work is originally written in Danish and will therefore be translated into English in this thesis. Gullestrup's work contains many sociological ideas and theories, but because of this thesis' scale and limitations, only the most relevant will be presented and used when discussing the research question.

2.3.1. Definition of culture and sub-culture

A definition of culture is necessary for understanding the function of EPL culture in English society, and how racism still exists in football chants. Many researchers have tried to define the concept of 'culture'. By using, for example, Gullestrup's work, one can discuss why supporter culture makes people unite in pubs on matchdays to discuss opposing team's weaknesses and strengths. Gullestrup defines culture as:

(Culture is) the worldview and the values, moral norms and actual behaviour – as well as material and non-material creations of these – which people succeed from a previous generation; which they – possibly in a different form – seek to bring further to the next generation; and in one way or another separate them from people belonging to other cultures. (Gullestrup, 1995, p. 54).

According to Gullestrup, culture can arguably be seen as a phenomenon where individuals unite under the same rules, morality, values and expectations. Those who belong to the same culture have most likely been affected by previous generations, like parents or grandparents, together with social inheritance from birthplace and childhood. Gullestrup also focuses on the importance of differentiating people on behalf of their social culture, even though they are geographically close, for example, with people living in the same city but different cultural areas. It is here Gullestrup focuses on the existence of subcultures within a superior culture.

Gullestrup uses a definition by Marvin Harris (1979) to define what a subculture is: “[...] a culture which can be found in a minority- or a majority group, in a class, a caste, or in another group within a larger sociocultural system” (Gullestrup, 1995, p. 53). Gullestrup further refers, in his own words, to Finn Collin’s (1987) three different types of subcultures: *reinforced subculture*, *orthogonal subculture* and *counterculture*. A reinforced subculture complies with a superior culture’s core element but strengthens this foundation’s intensity on more manifestly cultural levels. Within this subculture, one can think of orthodox, religious and political groups etc. An orthogonal subculture is different but not conflicting with the superior culture with examples of youth and senior culture. A counterculture is, however, in direct contradiction with the superior culture. An example can be criminal subcultures as countercultures towards a superior English culture (Gullestrup, 1995, p. 53). Gullestrup works will be discussed to understand how EPL supporter culture functions under a superior English culture and why the culture of expressing racist football chants is allowed to exist as a subculture within EPL teams’ supporter groups.

2.3.2 Heterogeneous- and homogeneous culture

Culture’s ability to adapt and develop is a crucial element within Gullestrup’s theoretical approach to cultural understanding. Integration and homogeneity are essential factors that affect how cultures react to change and development. Will cultures find it manageable or difficult to engage with alienated aspects? Gullestrup has presented two hypotheses concerning integration and homogeneity, which are the following:

The more logical integration (mutual consistency) there is between the values of a society, measured by the consistency of the different elements (norms, roles, behaviour, etc.) of the social and cultural system, the more pronounced will be the response of that society to a development project, whether positive or negative. (Gullestrup, 1995, p. 84).

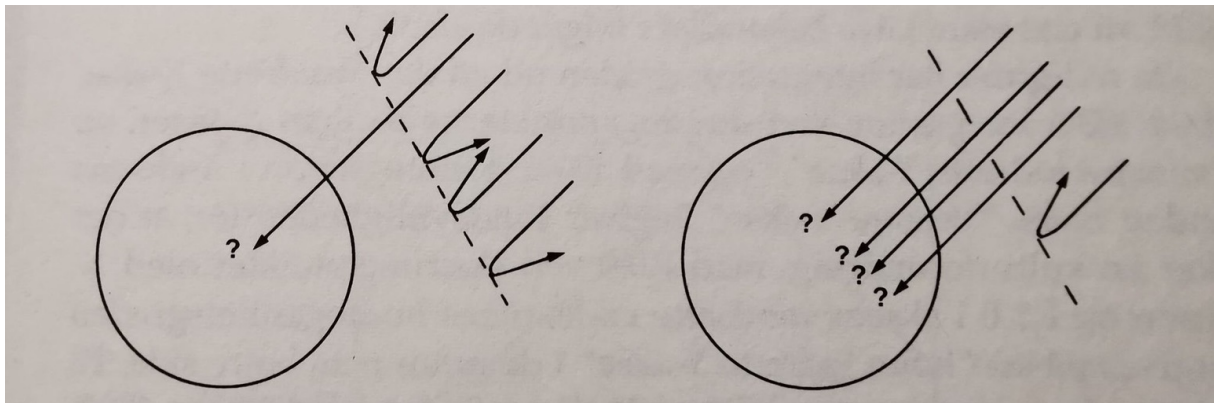
The more heterogeneous a society is, measured by the education, occupation, race religion, etc. of the members of that society, the greater will be the likelihood of that society accepting a development project. (Gullestrup, 1995, p. 84).

The two hypotheses are crucial for assessing if changeable factors, as cultures often are exposed to, will cause changes or not. Integration focuses on a culture's capability to react to changeable factors, while the degree of homogeneity focuses on which direction a change will be carried out (Gullestrup, 1995, p. 85). Values are one of the most central features within the degree of integration and how it makes changes to culture. If changeable factors are in accordance with the values of a strongly integrated culture, there is a foundation where one can expect acceptance and change. However, one must expect a rejection if the changeable factors conflict with the already integrated values of the given culture (Gullestrup, 1995, p. 87). To understand the direction of the cultural reaction, one must understand the degree of homogeneity

The degree of homogeneity is essential because the greater insight and knowledge a culture consists of, the greater probability there is for changeable factors to be registered and understood. Those factors have consequences for whether the initiative is rejected or accepted by the given culture. In a traditional culture, often rural, where members hold on to tradition and routine, there is a large amount of homogeneity. An example can be local EPL football supporters' tradition to meet up at a specific pub every matchday. They will most likely not accept a change to their weekly chores because stability is often the key to personal comfort. An example of a culture with a little degree of homogeneity is arguably technology companies that are dependent on keeping up with the technological evolution to survive on the global market. The collective eagerness to improve and adapt makes heterogeneous cultures more suitable to understand new opportunities or challenges. A 'filter of understanding' is standard for every homo- and heterogeneous culture, but as presented above, their ability to pass this filter and become a new culture is varied (Gullestrup, 1995, p. 88-89). To understand how homo- and heterogeneous cultures, a figure is added:

Figure 1: Homogeneous culture

Heterogeneous culture



*Figure 1: Homogeneous- and heterogeneous cultures. From *Kultur, kulturanalyse, og kulturetikk – eller hvad adskiller og hvad forener os?*, by Gullestrup. H, 1995, p. 89.*

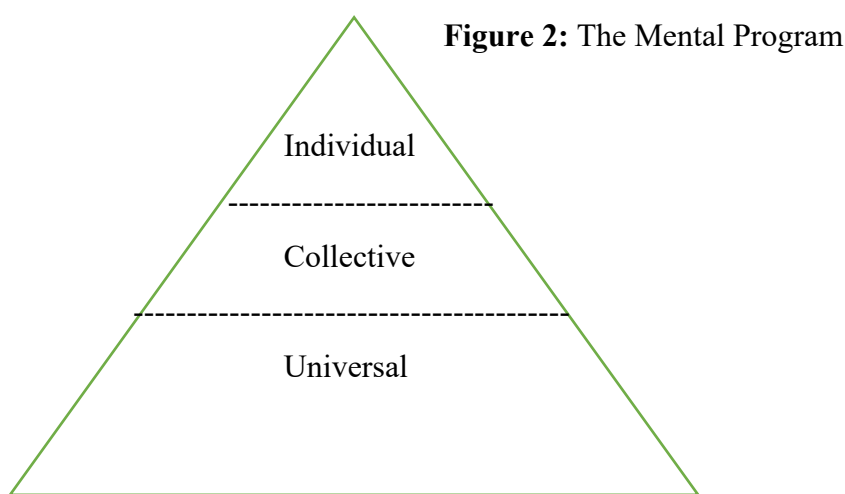
As figure 1 presents, a homogenous culture (left) struggles to breach the 'filter of understanding' and will not easily change its foundation. The figure also presents how a heterogenous culture (right) breach the 'filter of understanding' to a greater extent than a homogenous culture. This theory will be used later in this thesis when EPL supporter culture is analysed in the light of being a homogenous- or heterogeneous culture.

2.3.3 Cultural layers

The last theoretical part of Gullestrup's work in this thesis focuses on the cultural layers in a social system. Individuals who belong to a social system will to a certain degree, have a predictable behaviour because of their affiliation to a given social system. Their behaviour will follow a specific pattern or program. Gullestrup refers to Geert Hofstede's explanation that individuals' actions are based on a *mental program*. A mental program cannot be seen, measured or weighed, but it makes individuals act with stability in specific situations (Gullestrup, 1995, p. 35). The mental program is a methodical abstraction that can help to understand why people act differently in similar situations. An individuals' mental program is partly based on other individuals' mental programs and partly distinctive for the individual.

It is possible to divide the mental program into three sub-parts: *the individual program*, *the collective program* and *the universal program*. The universal program is more or less common for everyone. It ensures that people biologically exist because of the need to eat, sleep, keep warm etc. Emotions and actions like laughing, crying, and sadness are also included in this program. However, the collective program is not standard for everyone but

rather for those who belong to a specific group or category, for example, large groups like Muslims and smaller groups like football supporters. The collective program influence members to act a certain way during different scenarios, as when to celebrate something and what to drink or eat at given settings. The individual program is unique for every individual because no one is ‘programmed’ or ‘created’ equally, even though people are from the same family or area (Gullestrup, 1995, p. 36-37).



*Figure 2. The Mental Program. From *Kultur, kulturanalyse, og kulturetikk – eller hvad adskiller og hvad forener os?*, by Gullestrup. H, 1995, p. 36.*

Figure 2 is the same as Gullestrup’s figure on page 36 in his work *Kultur, kulturanalyse, og kulturetikk – eller hvad adskiller og hvad forener os?* (1995). However, as his figure was written in Danish, I created a similar one in English for the purpose of this thesis. Figure 2 presents the mental program with its three sub-parts and to which degree each sub-program impact people. It is often difficult to distinguish between the collective and individual program because they often go hand in hand. A central feature of the collective program’s affection for the individual program is how the connection builds on how much the individual program inherits and learns from the collective program. It is necessary to further present relevant attributes within collective and individual programs to discuss why racism is used in EPL football chants.

In the first instance, it is only possible to observe the consequences of the collective program in actual behaviour, clothing and elements associated with that given culture, such as football supporters wearing football merchandise. Eventually, underlying and difficult observable moral norms and social structure will come forward and become visible. After this comprehensive insight has become available, even deeper, hidden assumptions and precautions will begin to affect the cultural image. Fundamental doctrines, which are forms of expressions, will also be presented concerning the given culture. After all these features have been available, it is entirely possible to understand the given culture's image and attributes (Gullestrup, 1995, p. 37-38).

The individual program builds on the differences and preferences between individuals and connects them in collective programs. Individuals can affect the culture they belong to in many ways, both negative and positive. This thesis focuses on the negative aspect of racism in EPL football chants. One must therefore understand how and why individuals change elements of their given culture. Human behaviour and the consequences thereof rarely occur and happen as a coincidence but instead as a set pattern. People change behavioural patterns in set circumstances. Individuals act differently based on age, role in society and personality. They follow rules that exist within their culture, either for personal terms or to avoid sanctions from other members of that same culture. Being accepted and avoid sanctions by other members are arguably crucial factors for members to do things they might not have done in other settings. Follow the rules and do not become an obstacle to the expected cultural appearance. Rules within a culture create a structure and are central in understanding the given culture (Gullestrup, 1995, p. 39-40). A football supporter group will, for example, often have lead singers who are responsible for starting chants and other members who are responsible for writing and creating new chants.

2.4 Language Coding – Basil Bernstein

Language use is central for understanding why people choose to utter certain words in different circumstances. Why do some people speak more formally or informally than others? And why are certain words not used by everyone but rather by larger or smaller groups of people? There are many different forms of communication, and chanting is one of them. The concept of creating lyrics, spreading them around and expressing them in relation to football is arguably an efficient method for supporters to spread their emotion and passion for the game and expressing their identity. Concerning the number of supporters who attend EPL

matches, there are many brilliant and humorous chanting incidents. However, football chants also lead to expressions of hatred towards opponents, with racism being one of many provocative methods. One can, therefore, focus on the reasons why some individuals choose to express racist lyrics when chanting while others do not? Is it also possible to connect the ones responsible to a specific social class or group?

To discuss the research question, a relevant sociological theory concerning language and social class will be presented in this chapter and further discussed in relation to football supporters and chants in chapter five. The selected theory is called Language Coding, and it is developed by the English sociologist Basil Bernstein. As presented in his work *Class, Codes and Control: Theoretical Studies towards a Sociology of Language* (1971), Bernstein is a former Professor in the Sociology of Education, Head of the Sociological Research Unit at the University of London, Institute of Education. Originally a researcher within education, Bernstein also researched language usage concerning social class and socialization. This thesis will mainly focus on the last part because football supporters do not directly connect to a formal educational institution but rather a social setting, like an EPL match. It will also focus on the reasons why this setting allows for such hateful language.

Bernstein focuses on sociolinguistic relationships as he writes the following about the creation of his Language Code theory:

This task would become an attempt to reduce the interrelationships between social structure, language use and individual behaviour to a theory of social learning. Such a theory should indicate *what* in the environment is available to be learned, the *conditions* of learning and the *constraints* on subsequent learning. From this point of view the social structure transforms language possibility into a specific code which elicits, generalizes and reinforces those relationships necessary for its continuance. (Bernstein, 1971, p. 76).

On a linguistic level, the theory of Language Coding presents two codes that can be defined in terms of predicting the type of utterances a speaker uses when he or she is communicating. The first one is elaborated code, where the speaker will use many alternatives when uttering, together with a broader vocabulary. Organised language patterns are unpredictable for an audience/listener as elaborated speakers often use an extensive language dimension that enables for a significant language variety. A restricted code is more the opposite, where alternatives of utterance are often limited. Therefore, the chances of predicting the type of utterances are increased (Bernstein, 1971, p. 76-77). To discuss the research question, one must link the theory of language coding to further theory about socialisation.

As previously mentioned, football was established and developed by people belonging to the working class. This information is essential concerning language coding as Bernstein presents members of the working class as users of the restricted code (Bernstein, 1971, p. 160). This point will be further discussed in chapter 5.4, as this chapter mainly focuses on presenting the relevant theory. In the theory of Language Codes, Bernstein points out the following about the relationship between working-class families and the local community:

It [...] should be possible to locate, within the working-class, families who were moving towards personal forms of control within the general rubric of a restricted code. These families, we would expect, would be less tightly embedded within their local community, perhaps through rehousing or where the parents were actively confronting the complex relationships between their local sub-culture and the cultures of the wider society. (Bernstein, 1971, p. 160).

Bernstein emphasises that the relationship between working-class families and local communities is not always flawless. Concerning the thesis, one can look at the relationship between sub-cultures as supporter groups and cultures of the wider English society. Supporter groups function as a sub-culture within English society, and they must obey the given rules and structures of the main culture. That can be challenging, as seen with the incident of racist chants. Bernstein also focuses on families being less embedded within their local community, but that is not necessarily true in this setting. Supporter groups often have a strong relationship with their local community, as it represents their identity. Instead, it is the wider culture of English society that can prevent them from maintaining traditions, norms and cultural structures. This point will be further discussed in chapter 5.4.

The traditional working-class is of the positional type in English society, which arguably struggles with population density in small geographical areas, low degree of social mobility through factors like educational failure, unemployment and low income. The weakening of the positional working-class, together with a restricted language code, would differentiate a working-class family from the wider English culture and weaken the transmissions of collective beliefs, values and subsequent detailed regulations of behaviour (Bernstein, 1971, p. 161). Chapter 5.4 will further discuss the connection between weakened collective ideas and racist chants.

Speech codes follow rules for the given language, and act through social relationships in specific contexts to a given culture, for example, supporter cultures. These rules control speech encounters, for example, at the pub before a match. These encounters create different rules of relevance for those uttering. For example, supporters often use provocative words during matches to get a reaction from opponents, but they would most likely not refer to a

family member with the exact words. The speaker's experience of social gatherings is then transformed, which is a quality of the social structure. To further understand speech and social structure, one must look at the relationship between language and socialization (Bernstein, 1971, p. 173-174). As written by Bernstein:

Socialization refers to the process whereby the biological is transformed into a specific cultural being. It follows from this that the process of socialization is a complex process of control, whereby a particular moral, cognitive and affective awareness is evoked in the child and given a specific form and content. (Bernstein, 1971, p. 174).

As Bernstein points out, socializations form individuals in a unique way that is strongly affected by culture. One must therefore focus on British society and its social class system. The most formative influence of socialization procedures is social class because it affects professions, education and unites families into a unique relationship as many families have had the same social position through generations. The social class structure unites people with the same background and social mobility, but it separates people into different communities where one is ranked by social status (Bernstein, 1971, p. 175). Even though Bernstein was originally a researcher on education and children, his research can arguably be connected to how childhood and environments form individuals and their use of language.

In his work, Bernstein writes the following about how children's process of socialization orients them towards obtaining either an elaborated- or a restricted speech code:

[...] forms of socialization orient the child towards speech codes which control access to relatively context-tied or relatively context-independent meanings. [...] elaborated codes orient their users towards universalistic meanings, whereas restricted codes orient, sensitize, their users to particularistic meanings: that the linguistic realization of the two orders are different, and so are the social relationships which realize them. (Bernstein, 1971, p. 176).

Bernstein emphasises how the different speech codes control a speaker's meaning. The environment a child is brought up in affects language learning and which speech code the individual will use in life. A central difference between elaborated- and restricted codes are their structure. The former is less tied to a given or local structure while the latter is the opposite. Structure makes it possible for the elaborated speech code to change its principles, be less tied to social structure, and be more independent. Restricted codes, however, have reduced the potential for change in principles and are more tied to social structures. An individual with an elaborated code has more access to the grounds of his or her socialization, and can, therefore, enter a reflexive relationship to the social order that he or she takes part in, for example, at a university where much is organised around communication. However, an

individual with a restricted language code has less access to the grounds of his or her socialization, which can result in a limited range of reflexiveness (Bernstein, 1971, p. 176).

Bernstein's theory concerning language coding has now been presented concerning structure, social class and socialization. It is arguably possible to use his theory when analysing racism in chants because it can provide necessary knowledge and understanding as to why the original working-class sport still struggles with racism and / or racist language today. Britain's long history as a class society has arguably contributed to the offensive language usage one can experience today at EPL matches.

3. Methodology

3.1 Introducing the methodology

This chapter will present the chosen methodology for discussing the research question, focusing on why and how it guides the analysis in the next chapter. It will also explain why other relevant methods were excluded, as different factors were considered before I finally settled on this specific methodology. When preparing for this thesis, one of my main questions was how to use modern racist EPL chants to discuss the research question. As I wanted to analyse different chants, the relevant methodology for my research was to do a content analysis of selected chants.

I found out that content analysis is a suitable research method for discussing the research question. It enables identifying specific patterns in recorded communication, as in this case will be EPL chants. Content analysis is often used to: “find out about purposes, messages, and effects of communication content. They can also make inferences about the producers and audience of the texts they analyze.” (Luo, 2021). A content analysis will provide for either quantitative or qualitative research. The former can be used to: “quantify the occurrence of certain words, phrases, subjects or concepts in a set of historical or contemporary text” (Luo, 2021). The latter can be used to: “analyzing the meaning and semantic relationship of words and concepts” (Luo, 2021). I have chosen to use a qualitative content analysis where the main goal is to present how racial hatred is used by supporters when they chant. In the selected chants, which will be presented in the next chapter, the analysis will focus on how supporters convey and use racism in EPL chants. The relationship between words and meaning will be considered, together with necessary information about the chant content as history and stereotyping. The limitations of this thesis create a more logical and in-depth content analysis if it is qualitative instead of quantitative, as the latter would not result in enough information concerning how racism is used in chants. It would only touch the surface of more significant meaning. With 20 teams in the EPL, a quantitative content analysis of chants by every team would not be impossible, but it is not suitable for this thesis.

3.2 How to locate racist EPL chants

Every team in the EPL has its official web page to find information about tickets, matches, history, online shops and chants. As previously mentioned, the EPL is an industry

where investors and clubs seek to increase income and popularity. Every web page is run by a professional IT-group hired by the given EPL team. As professional football clubs, it is not acceptable for them to present or support any controversy regarding sportsmanship or media coverage. It is, therefore, impossible to locate and obtain any chants with racist content for the given team on any club official arenas. As part of the EPL, every club is fighting against racism and are active within the anti-racism organisation: Kick It Out. News agencies like *BBC* and *the Guardian* are also amongst those that withstand publishing articles where one can read lyrics of racist chants. They do publish articles about racist incidents but never include the actual lyrics. Refusing to publish racist chants is arguably one of the methods used by the EPL committee, British politicians and anti-racism organisations in order to reduce racist language in an EPL context. Therefore, to locate and obtain racist chants, I had to research official sharing pages where restrictions are almost unlimited, like online forums, video databases and social media.

Online forums like Reddit.com, video databases like YouTube.com and social media pages like Twitter.com are ideal locations for those who want to research racism in the EPL. Almost anyone can post whatever they want on these web pages. With multiple recordings, quotations and debates concerning racist chants, these arenas have been extremely valuable for collecting primary sources of this thesis. The process of finding the selected chants was challenging, as I often needed to look up information on many reliable Internet pages to conclude that my data was correct. Recordings of every chant are done by people in the moment, like the stadium or pub. The videos are often recorded with mobile phone quality, making it difficult to hear the lyrics properly. Therefore, I verified every video of chants with online forum debates and written articles about the selected chant, making sure they were reliable. As these chants are published on web sharing pages, there is no certainty that they will continue to be published or removed.

3.3 Alternative methods that became difficult to implement in this thesis

As this thesis was written during the time course of autumn 2020 to spring 2021, the approach to discussing the research question has been affected by COVID-19. When ideas for this thesis were brought forward and discussed, I had planned to complete interviews with supporters from the selected EPL clubs. The idea was to travel to England and get a closer look into supporter cultures and, hopefully, get a better understanding as to why some supporters choose to utter racist language when chanting. Unfortunately, the COVID-19

situation made travel very difficult, and this idea had to be abandoned. The number of interviewees would have been crucial concerning the amount of subjectivity in the answers. Because of this thesis' limitations, it could have been too narrow with only 4-5 interviewees. I am, therefore, confident that the methodology I have chosen is very relevant for discussing the research question. That being said, interviews with supporters of given EPL clubs is arguably an interesting method for further research on EPL supporter culture.

4. Analysis of selected EPL chants

This analysis will present selected EPL football chants in a content analysis. This chapter will use the information presented in chapter two, definitions and history concerning football chants and racism, as an information base for the content analysis. The theories by Gullestrup and Bernstein will not be included in this analysis, as this chapter focuses on how supporters of selected EPL teams use chants as a method to express racism. Gullestrup and Bernstein's theories will be used in chapter five as part of discussing the research question.

There are 20 teams in the EPL, and because of the word limit of this thesis, it would not be possible to analyse chants by supporters from all 20 teams. This thesis will, therefore, present chants from four different EPL teams. The following teams have been selected: Aston Villa, Chelsea, Manchester United and Tottenham Hotspur. These clubs are chosen because there have been multiple incidents with their supporters using racist language when chanting during EPL matches. One could also select other EPL clubs as there are 16 left. However, I had to choose wisely because of how difficult it is to locate and retrieve racist football chants suitable for qualitative content analysis.

Before the analysis begins, there is one important factor that must be considered concerning football chants. As previously mentioned, chants are often used to 'target' particular players, teams or supporters. While retrieving racist chants, I noticed that one could divide racist chants into two categories, depending on whom they target. Chants had either targeted opponents or players of the team they support. The abuse and disrespect concerning opponents were not a surprise, but I found it unique that supporters also use inappropriate language about the players and team they support. It almost seems like there are no filters when it comes to distracting and provoking football players and others involved. It almost seems that the importance of 'Us vs. Them' is fading away when supporters choose to abuse the players they cheer on verbally. Therefore, the analysis of racist chants will be divided into two parts: Chants about opponents and about your own players.

4.1 Chants about opponents

4.1.1 Chelsea Football Club

The first club of the analysis is Chelsea Football Club, located in the fashionable district of Fulham in South West London. Chelsea is successful football club that is often

considered a football club for the rich upper-class of London. The district of Fulham has a reputation of being one of the wealthiest locations in London, with the highest capital values per square foot. Estate agents consider Fulham a prime London area for housing (Chatwin & Greene, 2015; York, 2016). The club itself is owned by the Russian billionaire Roman Abramovich, making it possible to spend enormous sums on new players, for example, in 2020 when Chelsea spent 247,20 million euros on new players (transfermarkt.com, n.d.). As previously mentioned, geographical rivalries are very common in English football, often centred around cities or larger regions. Chelsea's rivalries are mainly focused on other EPL teams in London, but there is also a general rivalry with the other successful teams of England. Tottenham, also from London, is one of the teams that Chelsea supporters have verbally abused for a long time. Tottenham's Jewish supporters base is one reason why the club has been in the spotlight of abusive chants by Chelsea supporters. Ironically, Chelsea's owner Roman Abramovich, who is very popular because of his investment in the club, is Jewish.

The first chant analysis by the Chelsea supporters is about two chants that have the same main target: Jewish Tottenham icon Martin Chivers. These chants will be analysed at the same time because of their connection to antisemitism. The chants are the following:

Chivers was a Jew!
The thing between his eyes,
Was twice the normal size!
Yiddo! Yiddo! Yiddo!
(Phillips, 2020).

They asked me how I knew,
Chivers was a Jew,
I of course replies,
With that nose and them eyes,
He must be circumcised.
(theshedend.com, 2013).

The first line in the first chant begins with an immediate reference to Chivers having a Jewish background. This sentence is arguably not racist because it is a statement about Chivers being a Jew. The only negative feature concerning that sentence is why Chelsea

supporters find it necessary to mention that Chivers is Jewish. It arguably gives a suspicious vibe to the rest of the chant. What follows is the controversial part because of its clear racist language. ‘The thing between his eyes, Was twice the normal size!’ refers to the stereotypes people often have concerning Jewish people and their nose. Stereotypes are often misleading because of their narrow reach compared to how many people it categorises. However, one will often find historic and modern caricatures of Jews as people with large, hooked noses even though that is not the issue for every Jewish person in the world (Patai & Wing, 1989, p. 207-208). The word ‘Yiddo’ in the last sentence is a reference to Jewish people. The word is categorised as an anti-Semitic term about Jewish people in Britain. It has even become so commonly used that the Oxford English Dictionary has labelled the word ‘Yiddo’ as “a supporter of or player for Tottenham Hotspur Football Club”. The definition has caused outburst by the club and its supporter base Yid Army because it is misleading given it fails to distinguish context. The OED has replied that their definition takes a historical approach concerning the usage and development of the word rather than explaining its use (talkSPORT, 2020). Both points of view have their explanations, but one can see how rival fans, like Chelsea supporters, use this word for their advantage regarding racist abuse of Tottenham and its supporters. Even though many Tottenham supporters use ‘Yid Army’ as their name, the degrading context of this chant is racist.

The second chant is quite similar to the first chant, but there are some differences. It begins with a reply to a question: ‘How do you know that Chivers is Jewish?’. The question itself is not included in the chant, but one can see its existence based on the following reply: ‘They asked me how I knew, Chivers was a Jew, I of course replies’. Again, the chant is not directly racist but merely informatic. However, one can arguably tell that there is more to come because of the focus on Chivers’ religious belief. The two last lines confirm that the language of this chant is racist. Again, Jewish stereotypes are used to taunt and provoke supporters of Tottenham, with the lyrics being: ‘With that nose and them eyes, He must be circumcised.’. As one can see, the nose is again brought forward as a symbol of Chivers being Jewish. There is an apparent provocation to the idea that Chivers has a large nose because he is Jewish. There is also a focus on his eyes, and again, it leads back to stereotypes. Caricatures of Jews often present them as having dark beady eyes with dropping eyelids (Kenez, 2013, p. 98; Rowe, 2011, p. 7). The last sentence is the final answer to why Chivers is Jewish, and that is an assumption about him being circumcised. One can definitively argue that the Chelsea supporters do not know if Chivers is circumcised or not, but that it is merely provocation to the fact that many Jewish men are circumcised. The concept of circumstancing is legal and

practised in many countries worldwide, but there is an idea by Chelsea supporters that to be circumcised is degrading. By using end rhymes and the specific tune, Chelsea supporters have created two chants that can be categorised as antisemitic, and therefore, racist.

As presented in chapter 2.2.1, antisemitism is a problem in contemporary Britain, and it has found its way to chants of especially one club in the EPL. Chelsea supporters use negative stereotype to categorise Jewish people as a race with specific looks like large noses and beady eyes. Jewish people, like every other human on earth, have different looks. It is wrong to label people as being Jewish based on their looks. It is also wrong of Chelsea supporters to say that Chivers is circumcised because he is Jewish, as it stereotypes that every male Jew is circumcised. By chanting about a connection between Jewish people and these negative stereotypes, Chelsea supporters categorise Jews as a race. It seems as Chelsea supporters do not consider the idea that people who are not Jewish can also have a large nose or be circumcised.

The last chant by Chelsea supporters in this analysis is different compared to the previous two. It focuses on an active player who was a Chelsea player a few years ago. This chant is a clear example that there are no boundaries to how far supporters are willing to go when their main goal is to provoke opponents, no matter their history. The player in focus is Mohamed Salah of Liverpool, and the chant is only one line that is repeated until it gradually fades out. The only line is:

Salah is a bomber! Oooooaaaaooooiii! (FOOTBALL HD, 2019, 0:1 – 0:19)

This chant is divided into two parts. The first part is the message and directly cited from the source, while the last part is my interpretation and transcription of the chant's hymn after listening to it on YouTube.com. Since the last part is only a hymn and not directly connected to the lyrics and racism, it will not be included in the analysis. The lyrics of the chant, 'Salah is a bomber!', is arguably an extreme way of expressing racism. Again, it is possible to draw the connection to stereotypes, and arguably more to 'Western' stereotypes concerning people from Arabic countries with a Muslim background. The target of this chant, Salah, is from Egypt and also a Muslim. From a historical and contemporary point of view, one can arguably connect 'Salah is a bomber!' to incidents of terrorist- / suicide bombers from Arabic countries that have occurred since the early 2000s. The chant's message is that Salah is a person who is willing to commit suicide by bombing himself or others, and it is arguably because he is a Muslim of Egyptian nationality. These lyrics would not have been

chanted if Salah was a Christian man from a Western-European country. The hatred and misunderstanding of Arabs can be heavily linked to terrorist attacks, for example, the 11th of September 2001 in New York, Washington and Pennsylvania. Arab Muslims hijacked commercial aeroplanes and crashed into different targets in the USA. The suicide attacks resulted in a 1,700% increase in hate crime against American Muslims between 2000 and 2001 (Najm, 2019, p. 96). Even though this is an American statistic, it has arguably affected Britain and other Western countries because of the relationship between the USA and Europe. Another example is the terrorist attacks in London on the 7th of July 2005, where British Muslims targeted London transport with suicide bombs (Mustad et al., 2012, p. 129-131). These co-ordinated terror attacks have arguably affected the relationship between Western countries and Islam, for example, in Chelsea supporters' chant about Salah.

Negative stereotypes about Arabs have a long history. The Crusades (1095-1291) can be seen as the beginning of a long confrontation between Islam and Christianity, connected to the conflicts that one can experience today between Arabic- and Western countries. One can arguably say that the Crusades created and established a 'religious competition' and therefore connect the taunting of Islam by Chelsea supporters to the fact that Christianity is the dominant religion in Britain (Najm, 2019, p. 96). One can also use Chelsea's location as a reason for why racial abuse is connected to Islam. The Christian Church House of England, with Queen Elizabeth II as supreme governor, is located in Central London (The British Monarchy, n.d.). The close geographical location between the Christian Church of England and Chelsea can arguably influence supporters to use racial language towards Islam. As previously suggested by Alibhai-Brown, one 'sees *the other* as a threat to the bloodlines of the national stock' can arguably describe the existing 'competition' between Islam and Christianity, leading to racist incidents as one can see with the Salah chant. By using stereotypes as method and chant that Salah is a bomber, which he is not, one also claims that every Arab is a bomber, which is not true.

4.1.2 Tottenham Hotspur Football Club

The next club of this analysis is Tottenham Hotspur Football Club, a club from the district of Tottenham in North London. Tottenham Hotspur, henceforth referred to as Tottenham, has not won any major tournaments since the Carabao Cup trophy in the 2007-08 season (tottenhamhotspur.com, n.d.). Their recent domestic success and international involvement in the Champions League and the Europa League has made Tottenham invest in

a new stadium with a 62.000 seat capacity to maintain a strong position. After playing at Wembley Stadium for two years, it was an emotional return to the area of Haringey in North London and to their new home ground Tottenham Hotspur Stadium in 2019. Not only is this new stadium an enormous uplift for the club but also for the local community. It is prognosed that Haringey will receive a significant increase in jobs, housing and economic encouragement because of the establishment of this new stadium. Besides football interests, the social aim is to improve the area for people living in Haringey (Haringey London, 2019).

As previously mentioned, Tottenham has a large Jewish supporter base called ‘Yid Army’. The supporter base is an icon amongst EPL supporter groups because of its name and members, but as Chelsea supporters have proven, an easy target for racial abuse. One would almost think that a club that regularly experiences football chant racism will have no incidents with its supporters. However, that is not the case with Tottenham supporters. Incidents with racial football chants by Tottenham supporters have occurred, with their target being players of Tottenham’s main rival in North London, Arsenal Football Club.

This analysis will consist of a chant by Tottenham supporters where they target the Togolese football player Emmanuel Adebayor. He played for Arsenal from 2006 to 2009, and ironically, also for Tottenham from 2011 to 2015 (Crafton, 2019). However, the origin of this chant dates back to 2008 when Adebayor played for Arsenal in a match against Tottenham at White Hart Lane, Tottenham’s former stadium. As Adebayor was substituted and carried off the pitch because of a severe injury, recordings show that Tottenham supporters chanted:

Adebayor Adebayo-oo-or!
Your dad washes elephants
and your mum’s a whore! (FootyFansChants, 2018, 0:01 – 0:27).

The function of the first line is only to address the chant’s target, Adebayor. The controversy occurs in the second line with clear racial abuse concerning his parents and African heritage. One can argue that ‘Your dad washes elephants’ refers to Adebayor’s Togolese background and clear usage of negative stereotypes. Tottenham supporters’ main goal is to provoke Adebayor as much as possible when they connect his father to a ‘profession’ that is low paid. If Adebayor had been from a Western country, rather than an African country south of the Sahara, elephants would not have been mentioned as the chant includes an animal that only lives in specific geographical areas. Also, if Tottenham supporters wanted to tell Adebayor that his father had a low-paid profession, they could easily

have chosen other examples that does not focus on washing a specific animal that only lives in parts of Africa and Asia.

Further in this chant, Tottenham supporters tell Adebayor that his mother is a prostitute, or what they refer to as a 'whore'. Again, Tottenham supporters target Adebayor's parents and categorise his mother as having one of the most controversial professions in history. It is possible to argue that the racial content of this chant lay more on the Adebayor's father than his mother. The inclusion of an African animal directly connects to racial abuse, while prostitution is a worldwide profession. The chant is an example of contextual racism as it uses the context of Adebayor's African heritage to suppress him. The chant aims to provoke Adebayor and his African heritage by including elephants, which has nothing to do with English football. If Adebayor had been a white British person, the use of elephants as racist provocation would not work because the chant is context based. Chanting about a British individual that washes elephants is not reliable enough because the context does not match. For the chant to function as a provocation towards a white British person, supporters could chant about a given target washing a British Bulldog, but that is a narrow mockery that would struggle to provoke.

Without knowing his parents, Tottenham supporters label them as poor people with degrading professions as elephant washer and prostitute. In an interview with the *Daily Mail*, Adebayor has said the following about the chant:

My father worked in currency exchange and my mother is a businesswoman. But this went on and on. So how can I reply? I didn't have a voice to go against thousands of supporters. (Crafton, 2019).

Adebayor defends his parents and asks for a solution to the problem concerning racist chants. He admits to being suppressed and on his own regarding his position against thousands of angry supporters. One can argue that Tottenham supporters want to provoke Adebayor as much as possible by telling him that his parents, based on their professions, have economic and educational difficulties. However, most of them know that Adebayor's income as a professional football player in the EPL has made his family extremely wealthy. It can seem as supporters deviate from the truth in order to provoke as much as possible.

4.2 Chants about their own players

4.2.1 Manchester United Football Club

The first club in the analysis concerning supporters who chant racist lyrics about their players is Manchester United. Often considered England's most successful team, alongside Liverpool, Manchester United has established itself in the core English football. Located in the metropolitan borough of Trafford in Greater Manchester, this club draws 76,000 supporters to every home match in the EPL. The stadium, Old Trafford, lies in the middle of an area with a long history of industry and working-class people. However, Manchester United's enormous success in the last decades has given the area new life as economic interests have grown (Editorial Team, 2020 & Marshall, 2020).

Even though Manchester United is among the most influential and popular EPL clubs in history, it has not avoided incidents of racist football chants. An interesting feature concerning these incidents is that Manchester United supporters have not been in the spotlight of targeting opponents. Instead, they have chanted about their players. It is common to chant about players from one's favourite team to boost their confidence and hopefully give them the energy they need to win matches. Manchester United supporters have been heavily criticised for their chants, as there is no excuse for using racist language, even though it concerns 'one of your own'. The first chant of this analysis is about a former player of Manchester United, Romelu Lukaku. The Belgian striker played for the club from 2017 to 2019 before being sold to Inter Milan in Italy (BBC, 2019). During Lukaku's spell at Manchester United, a chant concerning him emerged in September of 2017 during a home match at Old Trafford. The chant goes like this:

Romelu Lukaku,
He's our Belgium scoring genius,
He's got a 24-inch penis,
Scoring all the goals,
Bastard to his toes. (MUFC Songs & Chants, 2017, 0:01 – 0:37)

The first two lines of the chant are very harmless as they only refer to Lukaku as a goal-scoring player for Manchester United. The racist content comes in the third line with: 'He's got a 24-inch penis,'. At first, it may seem like a harmful and funny chant about the size

of Lukaku's penis, but the usage of stereotypes is again wrongfully presented. Even though Lukaku is Belgian, he has Congolese parents. Therefore, the chant categorises as racist because it uses the racial stereotype that black men have large penises. It is a racial stereotype that one can connect to sexuality in both a historical and contemporary society. The stereotypes present that black men have larger penises than non-black men, with beliefs of black men's sexuality as 'irresponsible', aggressive and animalistic in nature. Black men are often described as having hypermasculinity, making them 'superior' from a sexual perspective. Historically, this racial stereotype is influenced by cultural ideas about race and sexuality. At the same time, it also affects sexual behaviour and beliefs in contemporary society (Groves, Lassiter, Parsons & Saleh, 2015, p. 225).

There are different historical- and contemporary views as to why the chant about Lukaku's penis size is racism. One can arguably connect the historical view to the slave trade in Africa. For centuries, the African population had adapted to Africa's challenging climate and living conditions, making them stronger and more suitable than the white man when it came to working long and hard hours. When British slave traders met Africans, they were quickly seen upon as the best workers, but also barbaric and animalistic. By not having an established society like Britain (and other slave nations), Africans were immediately degraded and both violently and racially abused by white people. They were, however, a fascination for the white because of their raw masculinity, which further leads to sexual ideas based on their 'animalistic' features. In the *Journal of the History of Sexuality*, Thomas Foster writes:

The sexual exploitation of enslaved black men took place within a cultural context that fixated on black male bodies with both desire and horror. Sexual assault took a wide variety of forms, but the common factor in all was the legal ownership that enabled control of the enslaved body. (Foster, 2011, p. 448-449).

As Foster writes, the fascination of black men was built on desire and horror. Making them into an 'object' for sexual desires and lust. People are often intrigued by things that are unique or 'forbidden' for them, and in this setting, it was the raw masculinity of black men. Foster further described the conflicting messages embraced by the Western culture as white people framed African slaves as beastly, ugly and unappealing. However, they also viewed them as hypersexual. Slave owners saw erotic possibilities and beauty in black bodies (Foster, 2011, p. 449). From the historical perspective, Manchester United supporters' chant about Lukaku's penis size is arguably racism. It refers to a gruesome period of history where the white population extremely oppressed black men. The slave trade created a new dimension of

sexual culture and desires which had not existed within the white population. The raw masculinity and sexuality of black men created a culture that is very much alive in contemporary society. Pornography is arguably the clearest example of black men and their ‘advantage’ of having an overall, larger penis than non-black men from other continents.

In a contemporary view, the chant by Manchester United supporters is racist because it enables the idea of black men still being defined as a race based on their penis size. As written in chapter 2.2.1, racism exists because some people believe in racial differences and that the human race is not the only race on earth. The chant about Lukaku’s penis enables this idea to survive because it labels black men as a race. A contemporary influence on this chant is arguably the pornography industry’s presentation of black men with large penises. According to Huffington Post, many black men struggle with size issues because of how pornography websites present them. The industry’s exaggerated ideas about black men’s genitalia have made it possible for the racial idea to survive (Wong, 2019). As seen with the presented arguments, there are many reasons why the chant about Lukaku’s penis is racist. Historical- and contemporary ideas have created a negative culture concerning stereotypes of black men. Therefore, Manchester United supporters’ controversial chant about Lukaku is a collision between humour and racism, which the latter overshadows.

The rest of the chant: ‘Scoring all the goals, Bastard to his toes.’ is firstly a tribute to Lukaku’s ability to score goals, and as a striker, Lukaku’s main task is to score goals. The last sentence is controversial because it is a personal offence towards Lukaku, but it is not racist. Born outside of marriage classifies the child as a ‘bastard’, a word that has lost its powerful position in contemporary society. It is arguably a negatively loaded word because of its meaning, but it has no connection to a specific ‘race’. Children born outside of marriage is common today, with no relation to any particular continent or population. As a universal phenomenon, the word ‘bastard’ makes for a negative and controversial description of Lukaku, but it is not racist.

The second chant by Manchester United supporters in this analysis was first recorded on the 1st of February 2017, on matchday against Hull City in the EPL. The chant was uploaded on Twitter by the account: ‘MUFC Songs & Chants’, which again prove that supporters chant racist lyrics about their players. In the pre or post match video, one can see large numbers of Manchester United supporters chanting. The target is the Ivorian defender Eric Bailly. Keep in mind that this chant is another example of racism towards one of their players and not towards any opponents. The chant goes on like this:

He's big,
He's black,
He plays at the back,
Try and beat him and you'll look like a twat,
He's our number 3,
His name is Eric Bailly! (MUFC Songs & Chants, 2017, 0:01 – 0:32)

The first line is harmless on its own, as it refers to Bailly as a big player. However, the second line is where the racist content is presented with: 'He's black,'. Even though line two is arguably meant as an end rhyme to line three by referring to his position as a defender, it is racist. There are no arguments that explain why this chant needed to include Bailly's skin colour when the message only focuses on him being a good defender for Manchester United. As an Ivorian, Bailly's skin colour is black, a factual part of him that has no function concerning his performances as a professional football player in the EPL. It is not the colour of one's skin that creates an excellent athlete, it is determination, training and natural talent. Therefore, by using words as 'He's black', Manchester United supporters' express racism that has no function, other than end-rhyme, about their player. Again, one can see a clear example of contextual racism. The chant message base itself on context, as seen with the focus on Bailly's skin colour. It is also possible to connect the usage of 'big' to the word 'black' to the 'animalistic' and 'masculine' views regarding black men's sexuality. There is no sexual tension in this chant, like in Lukaku's chant, but one can further understand how and why some white people choose to describe black men the way they do. The appreciation of a great African football player is unfortunately overshadowed by racist language.

The chant continues with the lines: 'Try and beat him and you'll look like a twat, He's our number 3, His name is Eric Bailly!'. These last lines are a tribute to Bailly, his abilities as a defender and that his opponents will be the ones losing honour. The negative loaded word 'twat' is used to provoke the opponents who try to outmanoeuvre Bailly. According to the Cambridge Dictionary, the word 'twat' is an offensive noun for 'vagina' and 'a stupid or unpleasant person' (Cambridge Dictionary, n.d.). 'Twat' is a controversial and degrading word towards the person it refers to, but it is not racist. Since the word can refer to the female genitalia or an unintelligent individual, it does not convey any racial meaning or content. It is a word to use when you want to provoke someone, but it does not fall into the category of racism. The last two lines have only positive intentions as they only refer to Bailly's shirt number and name.

4.2.2 Aston Villa Football Club

The last club of this analysis is Aston Villa Football Club. Located in Birmingham, the historic heart of English industry, the club is one of only five English clubs to win the UEFA Champions League, back in 1982 (avfc.com, n.d.a.). The club has not many domestic titles on its record, with the League Cup from the 1995/1996 season being their latest trophy (Dicken, 2020). Their home stadium, Villa Park, is located in the industrial area of Witton in Northern Birmingham. Villa Park has functioned as Aston Villa's stadium since 1897, establishing a comprehensive football culture in Witton that has affected thousands of working-class people. From a historical point of view, Witton was one of many large areas for industry in Birmingham, with a peak of 18,000 workers in different factories by 1914 (avfc.com, n.d.b. & Rowlands, 1987, p. 317).

Aston Villa supporters became the centre of attention in the EPL when recordings of a new racist chant emerged. In October 2019, a video was posted on Twitter where one can hear Aston Villa supporters chanting about their midfield player Marvelous Nakamba. As a Zimbabwean, Nakamba has African origins and has a black skin colour. The chant goes on like this:

Marvelous Nakamba,
Marvelous Nakamba,
His dad's a rasta,
McGinn's his master,
and his cock's fucking massive! (adamAVFC, 2019, 0:01 – 0:17).

The first two lines of this chant are very harmless, twice referring to the player himself with: 'Marvelous Nakamba'. It is possible to draw a connection between Nakamba's first name, Marvelous, and the word 'marvellous'. Arguably, Aston Villa supporters use a double meaning of the positive word marvellous when describing Nakamba as a player. Further, in the third line, the chant continues with: 'His dad's a rasta,'. Here, Aston Villa supporters target Nakamba's father by calling him a 'rasta'. According to Lexico, a dictionary powered by Oxford University, the word 'rasta' is both an adjective short for the Rastafarian religious movement and a noun short for a Rastafarian (Lexico, n.d.a). A Rastafarian is a person who beliefs in the Rastafari movement, which developed in Jamaica. As a religious movement,

Rastafarianism believes that Emperor Haile Selassie of Ethiopia was the Messiah. It also believes that black people are the chosen people, eventually returning to their African homeland. Rastafarians also have distinctive codes for behaviour and dress, like dreadlocks and smoking cannabis (Lexico, n.d.b). The chant's reference to 'rasta' is arguably not racist because it only presents Nakamba's father as a Rastafarian. One can draw a connection between Rastafarianism beliefs about Emperor Haile Selassie of Ethiopia and Nakamba's home country Zimbabwe. However, it is unlikely that there is an important connection other than the factual part that both countries are in Africa.

The fourth and fifth line is where the racist content is presented, with: 'McGinn's his master, and his cock's fucking massive!'. There is an immediate reference to slavery and stereotypes of black men. 'McGinn's his master' is arguably a historical reference to Britain's time as a slave-trading nation. As previously mentioned in chapter 2.2, the British Empire was a slave-trading nation from the mid-1500s to 1833, with Africa being one of the main continents for obtaining slaves. The chant itself has a direct meaning about Nakamba as a slave, under the control of a slave master who is one of Nakamba's teammates. 'McGinn' is a reference to the Scottish Aston Villa midfielder John McGinn. It is a clear expression of racism to identify Nakamba as a slave and McGinn as his master. The amount of degradation concerning Nakamba is brutal and inhumane in the fourth line. Not only do Aston Villa supporters identify him as a slave, but they also identify his Scottish teammate McGinn as his slave master.

As one has previously seen in Lukaku's chant, the last line refers to Nakamba's penis size with: 'and his cock's fucking massive!'. Again, the stereotype concerning black men and their masculine sexuality is used to praise a football player, even though it functions as a method to maintain racism in contemporary English society. The racist content of this last line is similar to Lukaku's '24-inch penis'. Based on the fact that Nakamba comes from Zimbabwe in Africa, he is involuntarily drawn into a racist stereotype that is traceable back to the time of Western slavery in Africa and to contemporary views on black men in pornography. It seems that Aston Villa supporters see Nakamba's penis as a 'weapon' that will scare off opponents. Perhaps a rather strange idea, but the aggressive uttering of the last lines can arguably be connected to the unique football phenomenon of 'us vs. them'. Look what our player possesses that yours will never obtain.

5. Discussion

This chapter will discuss the analysis results with the selected sociological and linguistic theories by Gullestrup and Bernstein. It will present reflections as to why racist chants occur in contemporary EPL. The discussion will use the main question from chapter four: *how supporters of given EPL teams express racial hatred when they chant*, and relevant theories concerning social- culture and language. The analysis of chapter four presented a clear pattern, gaining a better understanding of ways racial hatred is conveyed by supporters in their chants, analysing different categories of racist contents. Together with the sociological and linguistic theories, the racist elements function as a foundation for discussing the research question. The discussion will follow the headline order of chapters 2.3 and 2.4, as it will give a coherent structure concerning the different features of Gullestrup's and Bernstein's theories.

The analysis specifically focused on four different teams in the EPL: Aston Villa, Chelsea, Manchester United and Tottenham. As previously mentioned, these four teams were selected because racist incidents have occurred by some of their supporters in England. Supporter clubs have a main group / name representing the entire unity of supporters for the given club. As an example, 'Red Army' represents every Manchester United supporter club as a unit. Within 'Red Army', one will find local clubs belonging to specific geographical areas domestically and internationally. Manchester United has, for example, 262 official supporter clubs in 89 countries (manutd.com, n.d.). They all belong to the unit 'Red Army' but with their local distinctiveness. An example from another mentioned club is 'Yid Army', the large Jewish supporter group of Tottenham. The local distinctiveness of having a large Jewish population in the same area as Tottenham enables the establishment of a Jewish supporter club. This existence of grand and smaller cultures leads the discussion into Gullestrup's first theoretical theme: culture and sub-culture.

5.1 Culture and sub-culture

As mentioned in chapter 2.3.1, culture and sub-culture are relevant for understanding EPL supporter culture. Using Gullestrup's definitions of culture and sub-culture, one can discuss why racism exists in supporter groups. In this discussion, the EPL functions as the main culture, even though it is only one of many cultures within the larger existence of the English culture. It is essential to mention that the EPL itself is not a racist organisation, but it is an arena where racist incidents occur. It is possible to look at EPL culture as a large

independent unit established and conserved under the concept of 20 different professional football teams playing matches against each other. The tier system of the English Football Pyramid has indirectly created a hierarchy within English football, making the EPL the most prestigious division of them all. The dominant position of the EPL makes it possible for teams and supporters to establish an affluent culture that other teams and supporters want to take part in. For every English football club, the dream is promotion from the Championship to the EPL, while the nightmare is relegation from the EPL to the Championship. The battle for survival and winning trophies as a EPL team has arguably created a unique and challenging culture for English football.

The concept and affiliation of belonging to a specific culture and not multiple cultures, as in this context, the EPL culture, can be linked to Gullestrup's definition of culture, where he writes: "[...] and in one way or another separate them from people belonging to other cultures." (Gullestrup, 1995, p. 54). English football is an enormous part of English culture, with millions of supporters from all over England. However, the EPL has its unique affluence concerning investment, economy, popularity and broadcasting rights that other English divisions will most likely never obtain. This dissimilarity separates the EPL culture from the other English football cultures. Concerning the concept of EPL culture and racism, Gullestrup's definition once again presents valuable information to why racist chants occur in the EPL:

[...] moral norms and actual behaviour – as well as material and non-material creations of these – which people succeed from a previous generation; which they – possibly in a different form – seek to bring further to the next generation [...]. (Gullestrup, 1995, p. 54).

In Gullestrup definition, there is an emphasis on different factors like 'moral norms and actual behaviour', 'succeed from a previous generation' and 'seek to bring further to the next generation'. The focus lies on the given culture's norms and people's behaviour, which would in this context be racism in chants. In a historical context, football chants originated from war cries, with the evolution of chants in development as generations pass. Even though new generations create and establish new cultures within chanting, for example by sharing them on the Internet, they also hold on to foundations from previous generations by reusing the same songs for inspiration. One can, therefore, argue that many social attitudes have remained within the EPL, making it difficult for new generations to remove racist chants as it is firmly embedded within the mindset of many supporters from every team.

It is possible to be critical of Gullestrup's definition, as he focuses on a previous generation. One can, of course, argue that previous generations' attitudes and behaviour play an important role in why current generations behave as they do. However, it is important to focus on current generations and their opportunities concerning establishing their moral norms and behavioural acts. One example is multimedia and how easy the current generation gets hold of different information worldwide. Racist incidents are promoted and available for those who seek them, making the multimedia an inspirational source when making new racist chants. The chant about Salah being a bomber was inspired by the stereotype about Arabic Muslims being terrorists. A stereotype that has been heavily highlighted, especially after the suicide bombings in New York, Washington and Pennsylvania on the 11th of September 2001 and London on the 7th of July 2005. It is, therefore, essential to focus on the previous- and current generations when discussing the occurrence of racist chants. As both generations are capable of behavioural acts concerning racism incidents, the current generation is also inspired by contemporary situations and not only by what the previous generations experienced.

The concept of 'culture as a unit' plays an important role in why racist chants occur in the EPL, but one must not forget the influence and role of sub-cultures. Every club has its own supporter base, for example, Manchester United has 'Red Army' as their base name. One can find smaller supporter groups within Red Army that can be categorised as sub-cultures. Even though these sub-cultures belong to one primary culture, they can distinguish themselves in many ways. It can be gathering at a specific pub before kick-off on matchdays, or it can be a particular dressing code at the stadium. For example, the American Glazer family own Manchester United, but many supporters want the Glazer family to sell the club because they do not like the way they control it. As a result of their disbelief, thousands of supporters wear green and gold supporter effects on matchday, even though the club colour is red. However, green and gold symbolise hate and distrust towards the Glazer family, and it is therefore very common during Manchester United matches (Luckhurst, 2020). The sub-culture concerning the disapproval of the Glazer family is an example of one of the most visible sub-cultures within the more extensive fan base of Manchester United. On the contrary to the example with green and gold colours, the sub-cultures involved in the racist incidents are not easy to identify.

On EPL matchdays, thousands of supporters gather all over England. As previously mentioned, chanting occurs before, during and after matches, either in the stadium, at the pub or on public transports. The number of supporters is enormous, and it is therefore challenging

to overview those responsible for the occurrence of racist chants. The chants included in this thesis are gathered from Twitter and YouTube, and it is possible to see a few individuals, but it is almost impossible to identify them. Therefore, it is almost impossible for police or other authorities to apprehend anyone for being involved in racist incidents. The video owner can be held responsible, but he/she might only be someone who happens to be at the exact location by coincidence or together with other supporter groups. As it is difficult to identify the ones responsible, racism is often pulverised in crowds and cultures. Racism's abilities to pulverise and reappear are key elements to why it is challenging for authorities to remove it from the EPL.

Individuals from supporter groups who express racist chants are responsible for establishing countercultures within the main culture of the EPL. As defined by Gullestrup, a counterculture function as a direct contradiction with the superior culture. One can define given supporter groups as countercultures because the members who express racist chants contradict the current regulations about racism. It is not allowed, in any method, to express or include racism in any settings that can be connected to the EPL. As the problem surrounding racism has received much attention, there have been public statements from clubs, players and authorities that strongly dissociate themselves from the racist supporter culture. It is important to remember that even though supporters are responsible for these incidents, one cannot characterise every supporter as a racist individual and every supporter group as a racist group, even though racist chants occur in the EPL. Chapter 5.3 will further discuss the last-mentioned point. However, those involved with racist incidents are responsible for establishing a counterculture as it contradicts the regulations given about racism within the EPL culture and their club culture. On the other side, is it enough to deem supporters as racist individuals when they only participate in racist chanting? To further discuss why supporters choose to express racism in chants, one can examine how supporter cultures react to change and development.

5.2 Heterogeneous- and homogeneous culture

The fundamental standpoint of every EPL supporter culture is the support of their club and making jokes about opponents. However, on a detailed level, many factors separate and unite EPL supporter groups. They can have similar traditions as to where they watch matches, and different traditions as to how they behave during matches. Traditions, norms, rules and behaviours in supporter groups have often been preserved by supporters for several decades,

establishing a unique supporter culture. As many EPL supporter groups are very persistent in their established culture, one can discuss how well they engage and adapt to alienated aspects of the ever-changing English society.

As presented by Gullestrup, a culture's ability to adapt and develop concerning internal and external factors will categorise the given culture as either being homogenous or heterogenous. This chapter will discuss to what degree supporter culture can be classified as being a homogeneous or heterogeneous culture in relation to the research question. As previously written in chapter 2.3.2, Gullestrup's two hypotheses focus on logical integration and degree of homogeneity. The former focuses on values within societies, where one can use supporters' value of local players as a great example. It would arguably be impossible for anyone to remove the importance of having local players as they represent the local community. Racism is, however, a belief that authorities, clubs and players have tried to remove from the EPL without success. As presented by the chants in chapter four, one can see that supporter groups are not showing a promising response to the process of removing racism from the EPL.

Hooliganism, especially during the 1980s, has shown that racism was widespread in English football. Attempts to complete necessary changes for removing this culture were made when the EPL was established in 1992. However, as seen with the current racist incidents, the fundamental elements of EPL supporter culture have not been affected to the wanted degree. Removing racist attitudes and actions by supporters have proven challenging to complete. In December 2020, The UEFA Original Documentary *Outraged* (2020) presented shocking statistics on discrimination and racism in Europe and England:

Globally 54% of fans have witnessed racist abuse whilst watching a professional football match (UEFA.tv, 2020, 00:22).

39% of UK football fans surveyed have witnessed or heard an act of discrimination (UEFA.tv, 2020, 00:53).

In England and Wales, reported racist incidents have more than doubled in the last three seasons (UEFA.tv, 2020, 02:10).

These statistics show that acts of racism and other types of discrimination as homophobia have not withdrawn from European football, and especially not in the UK. One can argue that the reason lies with the strongly implemented values of the EPL supporter culture. Elements like norms, roles and behaviour within the EPL supporter culture are essential factors that make EPL supporter groups unique, and for many supporters, it is a

lifelong affiliation. Supporters who have the strongest emotional connections concerning values within their culture, will arguably struggle to adapt to changeable factors like anti-racism. It is also possible to argue that supporters do not feel that the racist language they use apply to the wider world outside. The degree of homogeneity can be so dominant that supporters believe that their embedded culture of racist language and abusive behaviour only applies to them and nobody else. Therefore, they might not feel the same need for change as wanted by external factors like anti-racist organisations.

As Gullestrup focused on in his definition, a culture's response to social changes will either be positive or negative. Of course, supporters and supporter groups have responded well to authorities' request to remove racist incidents from the EPL as many do not want to be associated with racist behaviour. One can, therefore, discuss the degree of homogeneity and heterogeneity concerning the EPL supporter culture. As presented by Gullestrup, the more heterogeneous a community is, the greater is the possibility of accepting a development project. The degree of heterogeneity is measured by elements like education, occupation, race and religion, by members of the given community. It would be almost impossible to look at every individual of a given supporter club as there often are thousands of members, but one can look at the members as a cultural unit. The elements mentioned above will vary in how they influence supporters. One can argue that the reason why some supporters choose to express racism, while others do not, can be connected to the level of heterogeneity within their culture. Supporter communities with various members concerning ethnicity and education will to a further degree, accept changes. In contrast, supporter communities with members with very similar backgrounds will struggle more to accept changes.

Gullestrup uses a 'filter of understanding' to explain how well cultures adapt to changes and how they become new cultures. As thousands of supporter groups make up the EPL supporter culture with millions of members, homogeneity and heterogeneity vary a lot. The culture of supporter groups who express racism has a solid 'filter of understanding' because alienated aspects will have difficulties breaching the filter to influence the given culture. Supporter groups that fall into that category can be classified as being a homogenous culture. Supporter groups that do not express racism on any level will have an accessible 'filter of understanding' because alienated aspects will find the filter possible to breach to influence the given culture. Supporter groups that fall into that category can be classified as having a heterogeneous culture.

Diversity and inclusion are crucial elements within the filter of understanding. Racism is a belief where diversity and inclusion struggle to impact as the two factors oppose racism's principles. As written by Adam Brown in *Fanatics: Power, Identity and Fandom in Football*:

We are in 'modern times' (Hall and Jacques 1989): in the context of Britain, this is very much within the supra-nationality of the 'New Europe', where there is an ever growing need for diversity to be accepted. National isolationism and xenophobia, although common, does not match up to this brave new world and sport has a huge potential, perhaps one that does not always materialise, to celebrate diversity. (Brown, 1998, p. 250).

Brown emphasises that there is a need for diversity in British society in the new world. However, influential factors like national isolationism and xenophobia affect British society, making it challenging to celebrate diversity. Sport has a huge potential to help establish diversity as a common value in society, as it unites people in enormous numbers. The EPL is arguably one of the most influential factors in England working for diversity, as many club owners and players are foreigners from different cultures. However, as seen with racist chants and right-wing movements, diversity struggles to establish itself in supporter cultures. By presenting Brown's text, one can argue that the filter of understanding is strongly affected by how supporter cultures value diversity and that the assertions concerning homogeneous and heterogeneous EPL cultures are true.

5.3 Cultural layers

EPL supporters have, through decades, created a unique sporting culture that is, to a large degree, based on tremendous supporter behaviour. The unity and affiliation of supporter clubs are concepts that many supporters thrive in. Matchdays are, for many supporters, a long list of important routines, for example, the first beverage at the pub, the social gathering with other supporters, the chanting of old and new chants, the discussions after defeat and victory. The list is long and filled with cultural elements that enable an EPL supporter culture to exist. In a translated interview, English supporter Andy Thompson said the following about the importance of supporter identity and affiliation:

It is about continuing a tradition with my grandfather, father, mother, uncle, brother, nephew and niece. For me it is about identifying with the city I grew up in, the city I am proud of, and the city I call home. It is about family and a sense of belonging to a community. (Holth, 2020, p. 71).

As Thompson describes, being a supporter is more than only football. It is part of him as an individual, part of his family tradition, the city he is from and the community. Thompson's

words are powerful, and one can better understand why football is vital for many people as it is not only about sports. In this chapter, the discussion will focus on why individuals choose to become EPL supporters and why it is difficult for them to change this culture.

The mental program can explain an individual's behaviour in specific situations and why actions are either similar or different to other individuals who are part of the same cultural setting. As figure 1 on page 19 shows, the mental program is divided into sub-parts. The first one, universal program, is not very central for explaining racist chants. It focuses on the biological existence of humanity and what we need to do to survive. The elements that are relevant from this sub-part are emotions and actions. Football brings out both the best and worst behaviour from supporters. Emotions like anger, frustration, happiness, and actions like hugging, laughing, screaming, singing and fighting are often present by supporters during every match.

The collective program is more important as it unifies EPL supporters and their behaviour. It also excludes people who are not part of the same culture. Firstly, one will only notice physical objects like kits, scarves and other supporter merchandise, together with their behaviour. Tottenham supporters will, for example, often wear white clothes on matchdays as an indication for representing their club. Observable norms and social structure of a supporter unity will eventually become visible as supporters express themselves publicly. One can now better understand why some choose to become supporters of a given EPL team. The emotion and importance of affiliation to unity are, for many, the most important parts of their life. Most people need structure in their life and a sense of belonging within a social unity. Supporter groups can offer this to people who need those environments. However, it is not always that supporter groups are the best option for social desire. After the comprehensive insight has become available, deeper and hidden assumptions will affect the cultural image. These elements are not as straightforward because they are profound foundations that are not easy to detect. It is possible to argue that racism has its roots in these areas of the EPL supporter culture. Attitudes and beliefs that are not accepted by authorities or the public, like racism, are arguably part of the fundamental doctrines that affect and create a negative cultural image of the EPL supporter culture. When the mentioned parts of the collective program are available, one will better understand ideas and attributes of the EPL supporter culture as a unit.

The individuals who are part of the EPL supporter culture must also be considered when discussing racism's position in the EPL. Every individual who belongs to the EPL supporter culture act and behave differently. No one is identical as many different factors like

age, education and profession enable variation amongst individuals. Supporter behaviour during matchdays is rarely a coincidence but rather a set pattern of reactions or emotions. As an example, one can look at chants and supporter behaviour. There is always one individual who must start a chant for it to be chanted by other supporters nearby. After the chant has begun, a chain reaction will occur as thousands of other supporters join in on the given chant. One can only imagine the tremendous atmosphere as 60,000 supporters chant the same lyrics at Tottenham Hotspur Stadium in London on matchdays. The emotional bonds of being part of such a force are, for many supporters, the main reason they choose to support an EPL team. Harry Robinson, author in *United We Stand* issue number 302, has written the following in a translated interview about the reason why people choose to become football supporters, with a specific focus on Manchester United:

Football gives many a family they do not have. For others it gives them an opportunity to connect with a father, grandfather, brother, sister or mother. No matter how many litres of water leak through the roof of Old Trafford, it will forever be a place where generations have come together. (Holth, 2020, p. 80).

Even though Robinson focuses on Old Trafford and Manchester United, his quote is relevant for every football team. A sense of belonging is for many people the key element to why they choose to become football supporters, regardless of whether they are from Manchester, Birmingham, London, or another English city. Being part of a larger unit is a key element to having a more successful life situation for many people. Football can also, for many supporters, be escapism from daily struggles and fill voids in life. Many individuals are willing to do much to keep their position in a supporter group, for example, helping in the local community. Despite the importance of having individual possibilities as a supporter, one can argue that the individual program is one of the main reasons why racist chants exist in contemporary EPL.

Every culture has its own set of rules that creates a structure for the members of the given culture. An EPL supporter club that belongs to Aston Villa has, for example, rules and norms that force each member to express hatred towards other clubs from the region West Midlands like Birmingham City and West Bromwich Albion. If supporters are caught cheering or expressing passion for a rival club, they will lose their status and respect by fellow supporters. A worst-case scenario for those caught is to be forced out of the supporter club where they are members. Even though supporter clubs have rules for their members, not everyone will be pleased to follow the given rules. However, the consequences of standing out from the other members can, as mentioned above, lead to exclusion from the culture they

want to belong to. This fear is arguably connected to why racist chants may occur in contemporary EPL. Suppose a local supporter club has for decades been active in creating and maintaining chants about their club and its rivals. In that case, the traditions are so rooted in their cultural core that it is difficult to remove that feature. Therefore, supporters who want to be a part of this social community might not risk establishing new elements or going against common perceived cultural traditions. Working against the creation and usage of racist chants is not prioritised because the fear of being kicked out is greater than the social responsibility of removing racism. The local supporter club is, for many supporters, the only socialization possibilities they have in life. Losing that affiliation can, for many supporters, result in them falling outside of a particular community to which they want to belong. Therefore, many supporters can feel forced to do things they usually would not do, for example, expressing racism in chants. For that reason, one must be careful when deeming supporters of being racists individuals. There are of course supporters who would declare themselves to be racists, but they are in minority compared to those who are not. Being accepted and avoiding sanctions by fellow supporters are for many more important than standing up for one's values and opinions. If a new racist chant occurs, one can guarantee that many of those who join in on the chant are not racists but rather individuals who fear being socially left out.

A critical point of view to the paragraph above is that there are supporters who would declare themselves as racists. The chants from chapter four have arguably been made or inspired by someone connected to racist communities within the EPL supporter culture or in the outside world. The concerns presented by Brown in chapter 5.2 confirms that there are people with nationalistic and xenophobic beliefs, and one can arguably connect them to being part of the racist chants. Racism is a common problem in the EPL because there are people who honestly believe in those ideas, even though the greater society works for anti-racism. As seen before with Hooliganism, some supporters do not associate themselves with common ideas and beliefs. The existence of controversial actions like violence and racial abuse are practised by supporters who believe in their actions. Either if it is brutal Hooliganism as seen during the 1980s or contemporary racist chants.

5.4 Language coding

The English class system has arguably created a diverse population concerning socialization and affiliation. The structural system of sorting people into different classes based on their education, profession and location has arguably made it difficult for many

individuals to feel an attachment to the overall view of being part of English society. Even though the English class system is not as apparent in contemporary society as it has been historically, it has affected people's mindset and ways of living. For example, English football is still heavily connected to the working-class as many clubs are located in 'working-class areas', even though many of today's supporters belong to other classes, both lower and higher. With the English class system in mind, is it possible to draw a connection between social classes and the usage of racist language?

In his research, Bernstein points out that people of the working-class have a more significant chance of having a restricted language code where alternatives of utterance are often limited. Moreover, there is an increased chance to predict the language pattern that occurs. Traditional working-class people are often located in large areas that can be defined as working-class areas. An example can be the surrounding areas of an EPL club stadium, as many clubs were originally founded in working-class areas. That enables the working-class to establish a community where the inhabitants are similar to each other. It is arguably in these communities that working-class people find it difficult to adapt to changes because the social structure enables for a very dominant culture that is, to a large degree, built upon low rate of social mobility through lack of education, unemployment and low income. Therefore, these elements will make it difficult for collective beliefs, values and subsequent detailed regulations of behaviour to make an impact on the working-class. Anti-racist ideas and beliefs can struggle to impact people from the working-class if racist ideas are already embedded in their mindset.

As pointed out by Bernstein in chapter 2.4, identity is the key element for understanding the process of socialization and speech. The identity of EPL supporters is often formed by the club they support, the area they live in and their social circle. These given factors then again affect the language style. As presented in chapter four, many EPL supporters have a rough and provocative way of expressing their opinions and emotions about football topics. Many EPL supporters use very foul language to provoke opponents as much as possible. Racist words as 'slave master' and 'bomber' are references that will get a reaction from those who are targeted, even though it is about their players or opponents. It is also noticeable that many of the provocative words are negative stereotypes, a fixed idea that is often oversimplified and misjudged. Stereotypes can often cause misunderstandings about the people or things they represent, and therefore, wrong to use as it lacks truth.

The existence of racist language in chants can be connected to supporters having restricted speech codes, but also a wish to provoke players. One can argue that many

supporters have a restricted speech code because they, for example, socialise with like-minded people of the same background. However, many supporters also express racist language to provoke opponents deliberately. It is possible to connect racist language to socialization. Many EPL supporters belong to a social structure that, to a large degree, forms them as individuals within the restrictions of their social class. As many working-class people surround themselves with like-minded, there are limitations to how much input they get from external factors, which again affects the language style. The social structure of the English society and the regulations that follow are arguably obstacles for people who want to advance to a different social class. Therefore, the racist language culture is maintained.

The restricted language code, combined with socialization, makes it difficult for supporters to break out from a community and language culture where racism is common. It is also difficult for them to develop and change their social- and language culture because the years of growing up in a homogenous community have affected them to a large degree, perhaps even more than they are aware of. Many working-class families have belonged to the same social class throughout generations, having an embedded social mindset that is difficult to change. Born into a social class, the process of distancing oneself from the culture and affiliation of one's class can arguably be very challenging as the possibilities are sometimes limited. Without luck and determination to improve, many people will stay in the same class their entire lives. The ideas concerning racism will, therefore, not vanish.

This sub-chapter has so far focused on how selected groups within the working-class, to a large degree, fits the presented evidence of why racist chants exist. However, the EPL attracts more than just working-class people. It is wrong not to consider that individuals of other social classes are also responsible for maintaining a racist culture. As previously mentioned, Chelsea football club lies in the wealthy district of Fulham and is often considered an upper-class club. There are, however, many recordings of antisemitic incidents with Chelsea supporters. How can that happen if Chelsea is considered to be an upper-class club? It is essential to mention that EPL clubs have an enormous supporter base, reaching out to arguably every social class in England. At the same time, clubs in the EPL have an enormous economic interest and will, therefore, get the attention of wealthy investors. For many people, money is the key to social status, and as a result of that, the EPL draws the interest of more than only working-class people. It is also wrong to not include people of the non-working-classes as responsible for racist chants as they have the same linguistic ability to chant racist content as anyone else and can, therefore, be held responsible for the existence of racist chants.

6. Conclusion

This chapter concludes the discussion of the research question. It will conclude the lines between theoretical aspects by Gullestrup and Bernstein, analysis of selected racist EPL chants and discussions about why racist chants occur in the EPL. There are many different aspects to consider when concluding the research question:

Why do racist football chants occur in contemporary English Premier League?

Firstly, one has to understand the unique culture of the EPL and the supporters. Racist chants occur in contemporary EPL because there is cultural facilitation for racism to exist and thrive among supporters. Culture enables people to exercise different moral norms and behaviour based on the foundations of the culture to which they belong. As seen in the EPL, emotions concerning affiliation and identity can make selected supporter groups resort to controversial actions as racist chanting. As seen with the attendance numbers, not to forget everyone not attending a match, the EPL has an enormous social attraction. Millions of Englishmen from every social class follow the EPL and support a team. For many, it has been a tradition to support a specific team based on factors like geography- and family affiliation. By following in the footsteps of tradition or independently supporting an EPL club, one will automatically be part of the EPL- and chant culture.

Another reason why the EPL culture enables people to express racist chants is the historical context of chanting. Inspired by war cries from the battlefield, chants have been part of English football since the 1880s, making it part of the core culture of English football. Racism has for centuries been part of British society, and it has also followed English football since its establishment, being one of many provocative and discriminative methods regarding supporter behaviour. The act of chanting has been kept alive for so many decades that it is today described as an organic living folk tradition, making it a cultural phenomenon within English society. Together with the immense popularity of the EPL, one can argue that chanting is a preserved cultural aspect. The expectations surrounding the creation and maintenance of chants are so embedded within EPL supporter culture that chanting will never leave the EPL unless it becomes illegal. As long as the cultural aspect for chants is available and possible to use, which at the moment it is, old chants will continue to be heard, and new chants will emerge.

Racist chants occur in the EPL because English football culture enables supporters to establish sub-cultures. The EPL is built up by 20 different teams and millions of supporters from different areas. It is, therefore, impossible for the EPL to be the only main culture that prevents the emergence of sub-cultures. The English society must also co-operate in other influential areas like politics and media to prevent racist attitudes within supporter sub-cultures. However, it is a challenging process in today's world. Modern technology enables supporters to unite with other like-minded supporters. Similar mindset and opinions concerning club, players and rivals unite supporters in a powerful bond. Those who have racist beliefs are likely to unite and express controversial and illegal utterances. As long as controversial supporters and groups exist, there will be sub-cultures within the main culture of a given club. As seen in chapter four, many supporters do this through chanting. Sub-cultures enable countercultures to exist, and the majority of racist chants are brought to life here. Supporters from the same supporter club gather, perhaps at their traditional place, to create both joyful and provocative chants.

Another reason why racist chanting occurs in the EPL is that the supporter culture is, to a large degree, a homogeneous culture. Many supporter groups are locally based in the same area or city as the club they support. As local supporters with the same background often unite in supporter groups, there are reduced chances of diversity amongst members. There is, of course, a great deal of heterogeneity within the EPL supporter culture, as there are millions of different members from all over England. However, the individuals responsible for racist chants are arguably belonging to a more homogenous part of the culture. The argument is that homogeneous cultures have a filter of understanding that is difficult to breach. The traditional elements within a supporter group are valuable for its members. Many have been supporters of a given club through decades, either by their own choice or by their family being supporters through generations. The affiliation many have towards their club creates a powerful bond. Even though the general English society supports anti-racism and focuses on being a heterogeneous culture, it still struggles to impact homogenous supporter cultures. Although Britain is declared a multicultural nation, the long history of only being a mono-cultural nation is still deeply embedded in large parts of the population, making it challenging for contributors of anti-racism to achieve their goals.

As chanting is a communicative action, it relies on supporters actively doing it. By analysing the cultural layers within a supporter group, one will understand the structure that enables racist chants to be kept alive. The collectiveness of a supporter clubs influences its members to act in a specific way when things happen. When your team score goals, you

celebrate. When your team concede goals, you complain. The list is long and racist chanting is a behavioural act that, unfortunately, many supporters take part in. Within a supporter group, one would find many different individuals. There are those who would declare themselves racist, and there are those who would not. However, as long as one is part of a supporter club that expresses racism through chanting, one cannot deny having a relation to discriminating beliefs. Unless members actively work against racism, their involvement in a supporter group will help racism stay alive and not dissolve. It is, however, challenging to take part in anti-racism work, especially if one stands alone. Individual's acts are very often affected by the given rules and structure within a culture. Many supporters are willing to follow the given cultural rules and act against their own free will, not to be excluded from the social community. Many racist incidents in the EPL occur because individuals join in on the chant, even though there is a significant chance of them not being racist. The risk of being left out is simply too superior.

Chants are one of many ways to express opinions and emotions in the English football world. As discussed in chapter 5.4, there is a relationship between language and social class, affecting chant lyrics. One would think that the economic- and global interest in contemporary EPL has removed the working-class supporters, but that is not true. Many clubs are located in historical working-class areas where they also fund local communities, creating a powerful connection between the working-class and contemporary EPL. Clubs keep the working-class supporters close to them, which leads to a simultaneous perpetuation of racist chants by selected supporters. Racist chants will be kept alive because there are supporters who have racist beliefs, and there are supporters who only want to provoke. It is possible to connect racist language to the restricted speech code, but a limited language is not enough to stop individuals from expressing racism. Elaborated speech code has the same abilities to express racist language. Therefore, one cannot hold one social class responsible for racist chants because every communicative individual in society can express racism.

As concluded in this chapter, there are many relevant reasons why racist chants occur in contemporary English Premier League. Through chanting, the EPL struggle with racist language because many supporters are caught in an interconnection between history, rivalry, club affiliation, cultural structure and social language. One would think that the English supporter culture had changed since Viv Anderson's racist incidents during the 1970s and 80s. However, as seen with the existence of racist chants in contemporary EPL, there is still a considerable amount of work to be done regarding anti-racism. It is difficult to predict the future of chants and racism in the EPL as freedom of speech, supporter emotions, and unity

influence supporter behaviour. However, authorities, clubs and players are determined to work with the responsible supporters and groups to stop racist chanting from maintaining its position in the EPL.

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Figure references:

Figure 1:

Gullestrup, H. (1995). *Kultur, kulturanalyse, og kulturetik – eller hvad adskiller og hvad forener os?* (2nd ed.). Denmark: Akademisk Forlag, p. 89.

Figure 2:

Gullestrup, H. (1995). *Kultur, kulturanalyse, og kulturetik – eller hvad adskiller og hvad forener os?* (2nd ed.). Denmark: Akademisk Forlag, p. 36.

Appendices:

Aston Villa chant about Marvelous Nakamba:

Marvelous Nakamba,
Marvelous Nakamba,
His dad's a rasta,
McGinn's his master,
and his cock's fucking massive!

adamAVFC. (2019, 5. October). "*Marvelous Nakamba...his dads a rasta, McGinn's his master and his c*ocks f'in massive.*". [Video]. Twitter.
<https://twitter.com/adamAVFC/status/1180576941025288192?s=20>

Chelsea chants about Martin Chivers and Mohamed Salah:

Chivers was a Jew!
The thing between his eyes,
Was twice the normal size!
Yiddo! Yiddo! Yiddo!

Phillips, A. (2020, 10. February). Chelsea FC vows 'full investigation' after documentary shows fans making Nazi salutes. *The Jewish Chronicle*. Retrieved from
<https://www.thejc.com/news/uk/chelsea-fc-vows-full-investigation-after-documentary-showing-fans-making-nazi-salutes-1.496580>

They asked me how I knew,
Chivers was a Jew,
I of course replies,
With that nose and them eyes,
He must be circumcised.

The Shed End. (2013, 27. February). The Shed End – Chelsea Online Forum. Retrieved from
<https://www.theshedend.com/topic/14291-terrace-taunts/page/4/>

Salah is a bomber! Oooooaaaaooooiii

FOOTBALL HD. (2019, 11. April). *Chelsea fans singing "Salah is a bomber" | Racist chants towards Salah*. [Video]. YouTube. https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Zpc34x_PhTA

Manchester United chants about Romelu Lukaku and Eric Bailly:

Romelu Lukaku,
He's our Belgium scoring genius,
He's got a 24-inch penis,
Scoring all the goals,
Bastard to his toes.

MUFC Songs & Chants. (2017, 14. September). *Romelu Lukaku Song – Belgian Scoring Genius*. [Video]. YouTube. <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=CcPK5Nrymjc>

He's big,
He's black,
He plays at the back,
Try and beat him and you'll look like a twat,
He's our number 3,
His name is Eric Bailly! (MUFC Songs & Chants, 2017, 0:01 – 0:32)

MUFC Songs & Chants. (2017, 1. February). *New: Eric Bailly Chant*. [Video]. Twitter. <https://twitter.com/mufcsongs/status/826867510968455168>

Tottenham Hotspur chant about Emmanuel Adebayor:

Adebayor Adebayo-oo-or!
Your dad washes elephants
and your mum's a whore!

FootyFansChants. (2018, 4. August). *This chant was controversial about Adebayor*. [Video]. Twitter. <https://twitter.com/footyfanschants/status/1025822238694670337?lang=en>