Background

The project partly develops prior ESRC-funded work undertaken by Giulianotti during the early 1990s on the Scottish fan subcultures, and his subsequent focus on international sport.\(^1\) Robertson is a founding figure in the world social scientific analysis of globalization; the research significantly elaborates his work, notably his theories of ‘glocalization’ and ‘relativization’.\(^2\)

The research was undertaken as Scottish football confronted a structural crisis containing several strands:

i. Chronic indebtedness: the twelve Scottish Premier League (SPL) clubs had total debts of £143.88 million in 2001-2; five clubs were either insolvent or nearly bankrupt.

ii. Stagnating or falling revenues: marked by low television revenues, falling sponsorship and merchandise income at most clubs, and stagnant crowd levels, outside Celtic and Rangers (the ‘Old Firm’).

iii. Little uncertainty of outcome: the Old Firm generate at least seven times the annual turnover of their nearest competitors, and so dominate domestic competitions to an unprecedented degree.

iv. Thwarted international ambitions: the Old Firm are regularly ranked among the world’s ‘top twenty’ clubs in annual revenues, but generate very low television income and consistently struggle in big European competitions. They have regularly expressed desires to quit Scottish football for the English Premiership, but this would contravene international football regulations.

v. Declining playing standards: most SPL clubs have smaller and inferior playing squads compared to the early 1990s, and are increasingly reliant on young and inexperienced players.

vi. Declining international status: the Scotland national side stood at an all-time low of 88\(^{th}\) in FIFA’s world rankings (March 2005), while Scottish journalists, fans and officials are increasingly cognizant of the superior football played in other nations.

Subsequently, SPL clubs adopted some strong cost-cutting measures during our research, mainly by reducing player wages and net transfer expenditure. Motherwell entered administration in April 2002, terminating 19 player contracts. Celtic made thirty office staff redundant and posted losses despite reaching the 2003 UEFA Cup final. Rangers recorded debts of £72 million, later cut by £57 million through a rights issue underwritten by their Chairman. Aberdeen sacked their management team, reshuffled their board, lost their chief executive, and posted further losses.

\(^1\) For example, see his monographs *Football: A Sociology of the Global Game* (Polity, 1999) and *Sport: A Critical Sociology* (Polity, 2005).

\(^2\) For example, see his monograph *Globalization: Social Theory and Global Culture* (Sage, 1992); and (with K.E. White) (eds) *Globalization: Critical Concepts in Sociology* (six volumes) (Routledge, 2003).
Objectives

In our research proposal, we set out five broad aims and objectives:

i. To provide a pioneering sociological understanding of Scottish professional football’s contemporary condition in the context of globalization processes, with particular reference to supporters, football officials and media workers, and to the specific endeavours of Celtic and Rangers to develop new markets.

ii. To assess the relationship of Scottish football to the wider Scottish society, with particular reference to popular culture, cultural and national identities, and Scottish political devolution.

iii. To assess changes and continuities in patterns of personal, social and cultural identification within Scottish football, with particular reference to football-related consumption and the relative status of club and national football.

iv. To examine the impact of globalization processes upon the Scottish game, with particular reference to Robertson’s sociological theories.

v. To disseminate the research findings widely through articles, conference presentations and a monograph.

We have met, or are in the process of meeting, each objective.

i. See ‘Methods’ for detail regarding our interviews and broader research. See ‘Results’, notably parts A and D, and to a lesser extent B and C. See ‘Outputs’, notably 2, 4, 10, 12, 14.

ii. See ‘Results’, notably parts A and B. See ‘Outputs’, notably 1, 5, 6, 8-12.

iii. See ‘Results’, notably part C and, to a lesser extent, A, B and D. See ‘Outputs’, notably 1, 3, 7, 8, 9, 13.

iv. See ‘Results’, notably parts A and D. See ‘Outputs’, notably 1, 2, 4, 7, 12, 14.

v. See ‘Outputs’.

Aims i-iv will be met further through publication of subsequent articles and a planned book.

Activities

Professor Robertson oversees the Centre for the Study of Globalization at the University of Aberdeen; Dr Giulianotti is also a member. We are seeking to organize a ‘Globalization Study Group’ within the British Sociological Association.

We have applied to ESRC for funding to convene five conferences on globalization at different venues across the UK. We are in advanced negotiations with one leading international social science journal to produce a special edition on globalization and sport that will feature some of the world’s leading analysts of global processes. In addition, see ‘Outputs’.

Methods
Principally, the project involved over one hundred interviews with supporters, football officials and journalists. We interviewed supporters and officials at five Scottish clubs, namely Aberdeen, Brechin City, Celtic, Motherwell and Rangers; and supporters of the Scotland national team. We interviewed officials at the SFA, UEFA, FIFA, ‘G14’, ‘Supporters Direct’, sportScotland, and Scottish Executive; and journalists overseas, notably in England, Canada, Norway, Spain and the United States. Most interviews were structured and conducted face-to-face.

We had planned to interview a small number of supporter focus groups several times over the course of two years. Although follow-up interviews were held with some focus groups at each club, our initial research suggested that it would be more satisfactory to meet with a wider range of respondents. We interviewed supporters with different demographic (or habitus) profiles, for example along gender, regional, class and age lines. We have also interviewed supporters with different organizational connections, for example members of supporters’ clubs, officials in ‘Supporters’ Trusts’, fanzine writers, and fans who avoid these formal associations.

Following initial research, we expanded our focus on Scottish football’s international aspects. Face-to-face interviews were conducted with supporter groups in New York, New Jersey, Philadelphia, Boston, South Florida, and different parts of Ontario (Toronto, Bramalea, Scarborough, Hamilton and Niagara). Further interviews were conducted with supporters in Australia, New Zealand, Singapore and South Africa.

Other research involved analysis of secondary documentation such as media reports, economic studies and social scientific appraisals in regard to Scottish football.

Outputs

Articles in Refereed Journals

1. ‘Celtic, the UEFA Cup Final and the Condition of Scottish Club Football: notes and recommendations from Seville’, *Journal of Sport and Social Issues*, 27(3), 2003.

Six further articles are currently being refereed by international journals.
Conference and Symposia Presentations

7. ‘Sport, Globalization and Commodification’, invited (financially assisted) paper to the Department of Communication Studies, Glasgow Caledonian University, 10 April 2003.


12. ‘Sport and Globalization: Policy and Cultural Dilemmas Facing Scottish Soccer’, invited (financially assisted) paper to the Centre for Policy Studies, University of Toronto, 4 May 2004.


We are currently finalizing a book proposal. Further articles for refereed journals will follow.

Results

For reasons of brevity, this section is restricted to four parts. We detail findings to date in relation to Scottish football and globalization, the Scottish national team, Scottish football supporter identity in relation to consumerism, and the Old Firm (with reference to marketing and spectator cultures in the UK and North America). Our discussion is heavily empirical with some reference to sociological theories that have been deployed in research papers. See ‘Outputs’ for further results.

A) Scottish Football and Globalization

We locate Scottish football within a wider set of globalization processes with reference to their historical, cultural, social, economic and political dimensions. Football has been a key domain of cultural globalization since the late 19th century. Scotland has made a crucial historical contribution through migration of players and coaches overseas, and the work of Scottish officials in the game’s global governance. Many club directors, players, coaches, stadium architects, journalists, and football officials have moved south and
contributed hugely to the game’s UK. Given this background, Old Firm aspirations to enter English competitions may be seen less as a radical historical break, and more as the latest chapter in Scottish football’s (and society’s) lengthy genealogy of migration to England.

Culturally, Robertson’s concepts of ‘glocalization’ and ‘relativization’ enable us to understand globalization in regard to the intensification of social and cultural identities, often with reference to nostalgic discourses. In general, Scottish football has witnessed intensified forms of differentiation between supporter groups, such that some fans engage in a ‘search for fundamentals’ to concretize their club identity as a ‘way of life’. Old Firm fans, particularly those based overseas, have a strong sense of belonging to global ‘imagined communities’, and advance some relatively nostalgic discourses regarding their old ‘home’, notably through songs (e.g. regarding pre-diasporic Ireland for Celtic fans, the British Empire for Rangers fans).

Socially, Scottish football is marked by more intense and diverse kinds of mundane cosmopolitanism. First, as a social experience, overseas travel has become routine. Thousands of Scottish fans embark overseas each year to watch the Scotland national team or the Old Firm in European competition; several hundred fans travel to North America in summertime to attend the annual conventions organized by Old Firm supporters. Some report that this financial and cultural prioritization of club football for Old Firm fans can weaken interest in the national team. Such international travel provides particularly strong senses of fan communitas, while heightening forms of club identity differentiation vis-à-vis European competitors.

Second, mundane cosmopolitanism is marked by intensified transnational flows of football-related images and commodities, most notably in the shape of live television coverage and rows of sport shop products relating to the world’s leading teams. Scottish supporters display some ambivalence towards the mediation of international football. Many fans insisted that televised European games had little impact upon their interest in Scottish football. On the other hand, some supporters remained frustrated by the poor European league coverage in the Scottish press compared to that of specialist sports channels. There are strong trends towards the institutionalization of these information flows in the Scottish media. Scottish sports journalists are increasingly required to assemble networks of international contacts to aid newsgathering about European players or clubs that become associated with the Old Firm. Some tabloid sports-desks have recruited multilingual journalists to assist in international newsgathering.

Third, mundane cosmopolitanism provides journalists, officials and fans with plenty of evidence by which to compare critically the Scottish football system and the continental game. For example, several football club officials drew highly negative contrasts between their experiences of Scottish football’s highly complex system of governance (involving the SFA, the SPL and the Scottish Football League) and their knowledge of the more stream-lined administrations in Scandinavia. Supporters routinely return from trips to northern and western Europe with critical views regarding Scotland’s lack of sporting facilities and lower status of grassroots sport.

Economically, we consider the Old Firm, alongside some of the world’s other leading clubs, as ‘transnational corporations’ (TNCs) that maintain a distinctive home location and identity while nurturing international marketing aspirations. Unlike ‘true’ TNCs, the Old Firm lack the freedom to switch into entirely new, more lucrative markets, such as
by playing most games outside Scotland. Yet, failing such a move, the Old Firm have few prospects of extending seriously beyond their natural international markets among first-generation expatriates.

Politically, some football-related social policies have been founded upon international networking - for example, the EU Leonardo da Vinci programme has enabled young Scottish players to train with European clubs. Additionally, Scottish sports officials look to comparable nations (notably Denmark, Norway and Ireland) for insights into improving the football system, notably in youth development. Within the international politics of football, Scotland has been relatively advantaged. Most remarkably, the governing ‘committee’ at Brechin City, one of Scotland’s smallest sides, features one longstanding Vice-President at FIFA and a leading office-holder in the SFA (with strong subsequent ties to UEFA). Other Scottish football officials are strategically located within UEFA and the European Club Forum.

However, globalization processes mean that Scottish football faces three particular pressures. First, despite the SPL’s chronic competitive inequalities, there have been no recent signs that football’s major institutional actors (such as the international governing bodies, major television corporations, other national leagues, or the G14) will champion the Old Firm’s exit from Scottish competition. Plans resurface regularly to establish a ‘Euro League’ or ‘Atlantic League’, featuring the top teams from small European nations, but Scottish club officials, supporter groups and journalists treat these proposals with extreme scepticism. Second, other SPL clubs have less hope than ever of future international success, given the restructuring of European football’s competitions and the coterminous decline in Scottish playing standards. Third, Scotland’s role within international football governance looks set to weaken, as ‘developing nations’ and other ‘stakeholders’ (e.g. media corporations, player agents, the G14 of leading European clubs) acquire more influence. Scottish officials have less strategic influence among the latter. Some Scottish football officials believe that Scotland’s status as an autonomous member of FIFA is in long-term jeopardy, and will be threatened further by any signs of UK football assimilation, such as through the establishing of a GB Olympic football team or any integration of the English and Scottish leagues.

Finally, in broad terms, we consider that Scottish football displays many ‘under-globalized’ features, in the phrase of Hirst and Thompson. Economic and cultural pressures have turned most Scottish clubs and the national team away from recruitment of continental players and coaches, towards recapturing more ‘traditional’ British styles of play. Financially, international markets account for less than 10% of income at the SPL or SFA. Some Scottish supporters and club officials have argued for partnership relations with North American sports clubs (e.g. connecting Celtic with the ‘Boston Celtics’ basketball team). However, various legal, marketing, cultural and economic impediments serve to minimize these transatlantic ties. Old Firm marketing officials reported that Scottish-based fans offer the most secure markets with quickest returns, despite Celtic calculating a supporter base of nine million, two-thirds of which is overseas, and despite Rangers signing long-term partnership deals with clubs in Asia. Exploitation of North American and Asian markets would require hitherto prohibitive levels of investment, and would necessitate participation in a more globally attractive league system than the SPL.

B) Scotland, Football and the Tartan Army
The research period witnessed a marked decline in the international standing of Scotland’s national football, which suffered some disastrous results, including a 6-0 thrashing by Holland, and failure once more to qualify for a major tournament. The embattled Scotland coach, the German Berti Vogts, was pressed into resignation in November 2004. Scotland failed badly in its bid to co-host the 2008 European Championships finals. Scotland’s likely failure to qualify for the 2006 World Cup finals could cost the SFA a reported £12 million (its annual revenues are only around £18 million).

Nevertheless, most Scottish supporters, journalists and football officials insist that the national team, and football in general, remain highly important to Scottish cultural and national identity. Interviewees remarked that the national stadium still fills for major Scotland fixtures, despite the team’s poor standing, very low attendances for friendlies, and greater media emphasis on the Old Firm. Scottish devolution is considered to have had no direct impact upon the cultural status of the national team. The vast majority of Scottish journalists, officials and Tartan Army fans viewed support for the national team as independent of political nationalism.

Certainly, the Tartan Army that supports the national team has never been stronger, with over 15,000 fans registered in the SFA’s Scotland Travel Club. The support has maintained its outstanding international reputation for boisterous, violence-free behaviour. According to the SFA’s security advisor, fans take on responsibility for their actions, including their reactions to poor policing procedures at fixtures overseas.

Notably, however, there is a strong perception that the Tartan Army is drawn increasingly from non-Old Firm fans, and from the east and north of Scotland. Some interviewees reported that strong senses of cultural differentiation, and some social tensions, were evident between Glasgow-based Old Firm fans and Tartan Army supporters who hailed from outwith the West of Scotland. Many of the latter argued that overseas excursions with the Tartan Army provided welcome social escapes from a wider national football culture dominated by the Old Firm. Fans also reported a general rise in the proportion of women travelling regularly to games, though with no discernable impact upon the fan culture.

Expressions of anti-Englishness appear to have declined markedly, notably at fixtures overseas. Some respondents drew international comparisons with other small nations to observe that anti-English expressions represented a largely ironic or joking form of sectarianism towards more powerful neighbours. No instance of religious sectarianism or racism towards Irish-Catholics or non-whites was encountered within the support. Additionally, the Tartan Army has acquired a wider international profile, establishing supporter organizations in North America, attracting some non-Scottish individuals from the continent to join up for fixtures, and creating the ‘Sunshine Appeal’ which gives monies to charities in nations visited by Scotland fans.

Research on the Tartan Army prioritized two competing sociological dimensions. First, the supporters strongly illustrate Simmel’s analyses of social forms and sociability. The Tartan Army possess a potent ‘form’ of unity; as a ‘world form’, they present their raucous and gregarious fan culture as setting a universal standard against which other international supporter groups should be judged. The supporters prioritize informal sociability (downplaying or ignoring class divisions), favour playful social interaction, and
talk incessantly about football (a perfect subject for Simmelian sociability, in being both serious and recreational).

Second, some strong rationalization processes are impacting upon the Tartan Army. Formal Tartan Army supporters’ clubs have been established across Scotland and other parts of the UK; these are overseen by a national association that meets regularly. Many fans argue that these organizations assist in planning overseas excursions and maximizing the numbers travelling to games. Other fans believe such rationalization is often excessive, disenchanting, and contrary to the carnival-like ‘disorganization’ of the Tartan Army. Older fans report that, in the post-Cold War Europe of low-cost airlines, overseas excursions with Scotland have become more uniform experiences featuring less adventure, risk-taking or supporter innovation. Mobile phones and the internationalization of English ensure that there is little prospect of ‘getting lost’ in foreign environs. Hence, the social side of international football highlights some important interconnections between globalization, rationalization, and the homogenization of cultural experiences.

C) Supporters, Consumerism and Identity

Research into spectator identity broadly confirmed some earlier theories advanced by Giulianotti. Many supporters expressed relatively traditional views of themselves in terms of backing their team unconditionally while differentiating themselves from excessively critical fans. Supporters also adopted several market ‘realist’ positions regarding football’s commodification. Many interviewees highlighted their ‘crucial’ financial contributions to ensure the club’s survival or competitiveness; indeed, some respondents differentiated categorically between themselves as ‘supporters’ (who match their emotional commitment with money) and free-riding ‘fans’ (armchair viewers who watch fixtures on television without contributing to the club). Many supporters viewed new merchandise and marketing devices as brazenly commercial yet essential to their team’s success in modern football. Supporter representatives and journalists in particular noted that football fandom made greater claims upon the individual’s disposable income and social identity relative to other leisure domains. Motherwell and Brechin fans commended their respective clubs’ community roles, in attracting children to matches and building rapport between officials and supporters.

However, supporters did advance some potent political and ethical criticisms regarding Scottish football’s commodification. Some respondents (notably supporter representatives) reported that many fans, particularly irregular attendees, were being ‘priced out’ of football. Many fans criticized the excessive and inconsistent admission costs incurred by visiting supporters. Old Firm fans were especially critical of their club systems for distributing scarce tickets to prestige fixtures; particular wrath was directed at the expensive corporate or specialist ‘packages’ that guaranteed prestige match tickets for the wealthy ‘suits’. Many fans rejected their description by club marketing people as ‘consumers’, since they would never consider switching to a different ‘product’/club. Fans criticized the inconsistent transformation of football into a branch of the entertainment industry: the ‘value for money’ at fixtures (in terms of service, comfort and standard of performance) often compared badly with cheaper alternatives like cinema.

Fans of Brechin City flatly rejected, on the grounds of emotional attachment, the suggestion that teams in their region should amalgamate to form a stronger club.

Most interviewees believed that, for regulative reasons, there was no prospect of the Old Firm leaving Scottish football. As a hypothetical scenario, however, most fans favoured such a move, primarily on the grounds that it would enable Old Firm growth, and improve competitiveness in a post-secession SPL with the further prize of guaranteed European participation. A minority of Old Firm fans favoured staying in the SPL as they enjoyed trips to Scottish grounds and were guaranteed annual Champions League places. Some Celtic fans were concerned that they might encounter anti-Irish hooliganism at particular English grounds. Following Celtic’s 2003 UEFA Cup run, several leading Scottish sports journalists had advocated the Old Firm’s exit from Scottish football; however, most reporters have since predicted dire financial consequences for a post-secession SPL. There was little serious consideration given to the argument that an Old Firm exit would impact negatively on Scottish national identity.

Research also focused on two new supporter movements: ‘Supporter Trusts’ (STs) and ultras fan movements. Most Scottish clubs are effectively owned and controlled by a small number of shareholders, and so have attracted STs which endeavour to provide fans with a shareholding and some political representation at AGMs or on the board. Aberdeen and Motherwell have invited supporter representatives onto their boards, but Celtic and Rangers are strongly resistant to this strategy. STs adopt different political and organizational strategies – some (notably Rangers and Aberdeen) have been highly critical of club boards; others (notably Motherwell and, in part, Celtic) have worked closely with the club during crises or have avoided strong public criticisms. Several ST officials use strong international comparisons to advocate some Spanish or German corporate models for Scottish clubs, to produce membership associations that allow all fans to elect office-holders. This system is in existence at Brechin City and works very effectively in ensuring that office-holders are accountable and approachable; and in enhancing the ‘structure of feeling’ that connects the club to the wider community.

The vast majority of regular supporters at most clubs (usually over 95%) remain sufficiently unconvinced of STs to join. The strongest critics argue that STs are dominated by self-interested professionals and are ‘not for ordinary supporters’. Some argue that a ‘fan representative’ on the club board will be outvoted and unable to report back to supporters due to confidentiality requirements.

Ultras fan movements have emerged at some Scottish clubs. The Aberdeen movement (‘The Red Ultras’) represents a strong manifestation of glocalization processes, in terms of borrowing directly from supporter subcultures in Italy to reinvigorate the atmosphere at club fixtures through colourful choreographed displays and loud singing. It has established social ties with supporter groups in Italy, Ireland and Germany; and has joined an emerging network of European fan groups. The Rangers movement, ‘The Blue Order’, is less European in influence, and is mainly intended to reignite ground atmosphere by singing non-sectarian songs. Both movements have established working relationships with club officials. They have, however, come into conflict with ground stewards and security officers on the issue of spectator ‘discipline’. Many members of these fan movements consider regulations regarding seating, the use of banners, or their materials for choreographic displays, to be excessively constrictive and counter-productive in generating stadium atmosphere.
**D) The Old Firm**

The major international event involving the Old Firm concerned Celtic’s losing participation in the 2003 UEFA Cup final in Seville. A record 80,000 Celtic fans travelled to Spain; their excellent behaviour led to FIFA awarding the supporters its annual ‘Fair Play’ trophy. The internal social dynamics of Celtic fans may be explained with reference to Durkheimian sociological theory, in terms of the supporters generating an intense ‘collective consciousness’ while engaging in quasi-religious mass ceremonial rites before, during and after the game. The occasion attracted the Celtic diaspora from across the world, and raised the question, given the sheer volume of fans, as to how big the club could become globally in an extra-SPL environment. However, very few Celtic fans believe that the club’s commercial globalization could ever become so potent that the club might lose its cultural ‘traditions’, specifically its Irish-Catholic roots in Glasgow’s east end.

Research with Rangers supporters was written up with reference to sociological theories of cultural politics. Most cultural studies analysts focus heavily on how disadvantaged or marginalized groups deploy popular culture to resist or contest their societal position. We sought to consider the discourses of contestation or resistance extended by Rangers fans with reference to their relatively advantaged position, in supporting one of Scotland’s biggest teams and being associated with Unionist, Protestant politics. Notably, the respondents tended to advance critical standpoints on football-specific issues rather than wider social questions. Supporters were especially critical of their club’s leadership, in regard to Rangers’ enormous debt and their chairman’s diversion of football-related business towards profiting his own companies. Further strong criticism was directed at Rangers’ public relations department, with some fans arguing that an official supporters’ group would be better at rebutting negative or false media reporting.

Many Old Firm supporters complained that the problem of ‘sectarianism’ was very poorly defined, overplayed by the media and Scottish politicians, and more relevant to fans who attend away rather than home fixtures. Non-Old Firm fans and Scottish football journalists were inclined to view Rangers fans as more sectarian on the grounds of their favoured songs. In turn, some Rangers fans criticized their club officials for failing to show leadership in demanding an end to certain songs or phrases. They noted also that the modern spectator experience – with groups of friends scattered across all-seated, all-season-ticket stands – tended to reduce the creative spontaneity of supporters in regard to football songs, thereby precipitating a return to the old ‘sectarian’ anthems. Both sets of fans, notably Celtic supporters, argued that their ‘sectarian’ songs were better understood as expressions of a traditional identity that often commemorated popular struggles, and so bore comparison with other ethno-national communities such as Basques and Catalans. Some Rangers supporters perceived a deeply inconsistent meaning in the use of ‘sectarianism’ in Scotland’s dominant political culture, with reference to Loyalism or Ulster Unionism but not to systematic expressions of anti-Englishness.

Extended research was undertaken in North America, principally among the supporters’ clubs (SCs) formed by Old Firm fans. Other Scottish clubs lack the critical mass of fans in North American cities to establish SCs. There are over 120 Old Firm SCs in North America; the largest are in Ontario, have their own suburban social clubs, and possess over 300 members apiece. Most SC members are first generation Scottish migrants,
male, aged in their forties or over, with relatively blue-collar cultural tastes. Most clubs, particularly those formed over the past decade, owe their survival to providing exclusive live television coverage of Old Firm fixtures, thereby attracting influxes of paying customers on weekend mornings. Football provides the key cultural link to their Scottish background for many SC members; there are always some SC members who are returning ‘home’, in part to watch club fixtures.

Two noteworthy contrasts between Old Firm fan cultures in Scotland and North America are highlighted here. First, many SC members argue that they have far more amicable social relations with their Old Firm rivals than would be the case in Scotland, although interaction between the two sides is not extensive and a handful of SCs harbour some overt forms of ethno-religious politics. Second, a greater ‘deterritorialized proximity’ has arisen between some SC members and their clubs: these fans indicate that they are ‘closer’ to their club than would be possible in Scotland, in terms of meeting officials and players at annual conventions in North America, or being able to watch all club fixtures live on television.

The future reproduction of most SCs, notably Rangers ones, is highly problematic due to ageing memberships, the markedly lower interest in Scottish football of the younger generations, and the possibility of SPL fixtures being broadcast live in private residences. Expatriate fans often express frustration at the Old Firm’s failure to establish footholds in North America’s promising markets, for example by opening strong merchandise outlets, recruiting talented players from the region, or hosting ‘soccer camps’ to coach youngsters.

The North American research was written up in two ways. First, we engaged the North American research to develop a critical anthropological understanding of ‘voice’ with reference to popular culture and national identity. Football provides a key popular cultural space in which migrant groups can assemble to recreate old patterns of sociability, collective identity and *communitas*, to a large extent through the vernacular and informal culture of their working-class Scottish backgrounds.

Second, Robertson’s theory of ‘glocalization’ highlights the interdependency of ‘local’ and ‘global’ cultural processes. We deployed this theory to examine how migrant groups construct distinctive forms of ‘local’ (Scottish football) identity within a fresh cultural context (North America). We developed a four-fold typology of the fans’ glocalization projects: *relativization* involves expatriates using the formation of SCs to differentiate themselves from North American popular culture; *accommodation* involves the SC members making practical use of their North American context to maintain their team allegiances (e.g. watching games in local bars); *hybridization* involves the SC members establishing distinctive organizations and social connections within their club (e.g. forming North American supporter networks or web lists); and *transformation* involves SC members radically reinterpreting their football and cultural identities within a markedly cosmopolitan North American context. Indeed, it is in regard to transformation that the Old Firm face some future dilemmas: how, for example, might they ground or ‘glocalize’ their club identities in fresh ways to attract new fans among those with weaker or no biographical ties to Scottish football?
Future Research Priorities

We suggest six possible lines of future research arising from this project:

1. Youth Development and Capital Project Investment: research is needed to assess, through international comparisons, the £31.1 invested by the SFA and Scottish Executive in youth football, and the £50 million earmarked for six new indoor sport centres.

2. Sectarianism: research is needed, to clarify the meaning of ‘sectarianism’, with reference to fan perceptions of bigotry and religious intolerance; and, to examine the political and cultural impacts of the Scottish Executive’s ‘sectarianism summits’.

3. Football Violence – International Dimensions: the level of serious violence, and indeed murders, associated with Old Firm fixtures is a subject of recurring political and public comment. Research is needed to compare the levels of violence associated with Scottish football and that found in other nations, notably involving major club rivalries.

4. Politics of Club Football: research is needed to evaluate the role, practices and strategies of Supporter Trusts, with particular reference to their political representation of fans.

5. Football and Community: research is needed to examine the ‘community’ status of clubs, and how, via international comparisons, the club-community relationship may be qualitatively enhanced.

6. Exiles, Football and Cultural Identity: research is required to examine how migrants understand Scotland and ‘Scottishness’; to evaluate the role of football and popular culture generally in shaping migrant identities; and to write the social histories of ageing communities of Scottish migrants in North America, Australasia and southern Africa in particular.