

# *What's the Story Morning Glory? Perth Glory and the Imagining of Englishness*

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'We're singing for England, En-ger-land' ('World in Motion',  
New Order)<sup>1</sup>

1990 was a year for World Cup Finals and English football fans needed an anthem to take with them to Sardinia. This song had to capture some essence of Englishness, a trace of Hope and Glory abroad. Factory Records and the Manchester-based New Order released 'World in Motion'. The record had three sections: a soaring, acid house dance track that was followed by a rap from English wingman John Barnes and an extended chant at the end — 'we're singing for England, En-ger-land'. In 1998, it is simple to gloss over the 1990 World Cup. It is certainly easy to forget the disappointing English performance in the event. Yet we have a textual residue of a moment in history where anything seemed possible — even an English victory in the World Cup.

## **Singing a Memory**

Memories incubate in unexpected places. On Saturday, 28 December 1996, 15 000 Perth supporters came out to sing for Glory. This beatitude was not religiously inspired, but derived from an eleven-man squad playing for Australia's newest Association football team — Perth Glory. For three consecutive nights in January 1997, four of Perth's television news programs featured stories on 'the latest sporting sensation'. Instead of focussing on Perth Glory's results or the players, the camera's lens was aimed at the crowd. The stands were filled with fans singing, drinking and *being English*. Although Perth only gained a representative team in the national competition in 1996, what makes Glory so important to sports historians has little correlation with on-field play. It is the behaviour of the crowd on the hill of Perth Oval, dubbed 'The Shed', that has drawn the attention. David Hill, the head of Soccer Australia, has termed 'the boys' to be 'the loudest and most famous crowd in Australian soccer'.<sup>2</sup>

The aim of this article is not only to tell the tales of The Shed, but to grasp the crowd's Englishness,<sup>3</sup> from the singing to the scarfs and beer. This study requires a sensitivity to the performance of difference in Perth and Australia. Yet the Englishness is not only activated through the singing. I also look from the Antipodes to England for my theoretical framework.<sup>4</sup>

Many identities, values and visions circulate around the word England, invoking a sense of place, belonging and tradition. The formulation of a popular cultural consciousness feeds into national mythology. As John Sugden and Alan Bairner have suggested:

the former colonies regard a sporting contest with Britain/ England as a symbolic opportunity to emphasise that independence by showing through victory that they are more learned than the teacher ... the best way to achieve this is to compete at those sports which most epitomise Englishness — hence, the passion of the West Indies or the Indian subcontinent for cricket or the enthusiasm for cricket and rugby in Australia and New Zealand.<sup>5</sup>

Intriguingly, but not surprisingly, Association Football does not feature in their analysis. Cricket performs the passions and hostilities of the colonial relationship between Australia and England in a way that soccer has not.<sup>6</sup> Sport is part of the civilising process and a regulation of 'games' travelled with colonising ideologies.

Similar to the conceptualisation of 'soccer' in the United States,<sup>7</sup> Australian Association Football has carried the label of 'wogball'. The dominance of (non-English) post-War immigrants to Australia has been to soccer's advantage, but has created a discursive blockage to popular cultural acceptance.<sup>8</sup> The first and second generation migrant fan base is pivotal to the survival of soccer in Australia, yet this support has been framed as 'a problem' by David Hill:

If you take some of the old Sydney and Melbourne clubs, we are saying, look we really don't want you to play any more, decked out with the colours and insignia of a European country. We don't want you presenting yourselves as exclusively a team for Australian Croatians or exclusively for Australian Greeks. You should be appealing to all people in Australia.<sup>9</sup>

His project for the 1996/7 season was to 'de-ethnicise' the game, to remove the intense loyalty from Greek, Croatian and Italian supporters.

Even sports historians like Wray Vamplew argued that 'the sporting nationalism exhibited by any ethnic groups, particularly those from continental Europe, has been that of their homeland and at times this has led to violence at soccer matches'.<sup>10</sup> Although Vamplew caveats his claim, this manner of analysis is unhelpful, both analytically and politically. Quite rightly, Tara Magdalinski has been critical of this manner of discussion:

the notion that it is a 'problem' that soccer clubs are organised around an ethnic group rather than organised by region is hopelessly Anglocentric. Are the authors [Daryl Adair and Wray Vamplew] suggesting that organising clubs along regional lines (devoid of any spatial ethnic divisions), namely the way that British sports are organised in Australia, is somehow a more legitimate means of organising sport?<sup>11</sup>

Her review of Adair and Vamplew's *Sport in Australian History*<sup>12</sup> was critical and convincing. Theorising soccer within this context circulates complex and ambiguous ideologies. It is the second most popular football code in every Australian state,<sup>13</sup> yet in a time of changing attitudes towards immigration, it can easily be dismissed as un-Australian. Not surprisingly, Hill has supported the Glory and their fans, working from the premise that Englishness is a safe or invisible ethnicity, whereas Greekness or Croatianness is dangerous to the sport. This stance is a clear reversal of the sporting ideologies encircling English football supporters in Europe. David Hill is therefore mobilising a distinct, Antipodean inscription of Englishness to counter what he frames as destructive migrant prejudices.

### **S(up)porting a Map**

Sporting discourses perform, rather than reflect, the population movements of Australian society since World War II. The scale of these shifts has influenced ideologies of justice, work, leisure and pleasure. Representations of national culture are crucial to sport. Contradictions abound, but in both Australia and Aotearoa/New Zealand there is a subtle, but continual, contestation of Englishness. Sporting spaces are sites of desire and memory that encase an interlocking web of national industries and the proliferation of regional identities. There is a sporting map of Australia that has clear discursive barriers between east and west, north and south and city versus country. These divisions invoke a distinct

reading of the physical environment. The key for theorists is to resist an easy or damaging nationalism. Australian national sport requires an enemy: England in cricket and New Zealand in both rugby codes. This nationalism serves to mask, at least temporarily, regional and ethnic identities.

Soccer moves inside and outside the boundaries of the nation. This is why cultural studies approaches are so useful for studying the spectators, or readerships, of sport. Cultural studies stresses the extent to which networks of power arch beyond the nation to international and local media audiences. As Rowe and Lawrence recognised, there are clear 'limits of a national perspective'<sup>14</sup> when studying sport. In Australia, soccer refuses to be framed by the regional rules of Rugby League or Australian Rules football.

Networks of power, desire and consciousness are heterogeneous and, like soccer, do not respect coherent national limits. Homi Bhabha has argued that colonisation is not only an action of violence and dispossession, but also of ambivalence. He demonstrates that at the colonial margin of India, Sri Lanka, Aotearoa and Australia, histories of Europe reveal and test their discursive limits.<sup>15</sup> In this liminal space, frameworks of national and cultural diversity are negotiated. These nodes of difference, like grit in an oyster, emerge through excesses of signification. As Meaghan Morris has suggested, 'national identity occurs in an encounter with cultural difference when and only when the difference cannot be represented to the satisfaction of all concerned'.<sup>16</sup> The Glory's fans move through spatial and colonial rhetorics, between the heart and edges of the Empire, to activate representative identities. These fans have not simply transported English soccer to Perth Oval. Life, memory and colonisation do not function in this way. It is the *ambivalence* of these semiotic conversations with the past, operating in the midst of Australian multiculturalism, which makes the Glory moment so remarkable and important for sports historians. Obviously, huge numbers of Greek, Italian, Croatian and New Zealand fans support Glory. However, the identity of the 'real supporters' is not the point of popular cultural imaginings. Media representations formulate the frame in which sport and meaning are constructed. British colonisation is not over: as a narrative, it is still mobilising in our present. As Jane Jacobs suggested in *Edge of Empire*:

This is not an account of the near linear flow of Englishness to Australia, or the faintly traced counterflows of indigenous

Australia to the imperial heart. In placing these sites together I seek to show how the imperial project is both global in scale but also messy in its local effects.<sup>17</sup>

(Post)colonial maps cannot efface imperialist inscriptions. Semiotic tourism of England allows the clustering and circulation of past signs and ideologies in contemporary Australia.

Ethnic divisions are the primary node of fragmentation in Australian soccer. In England, class-based and regional loyalties are the key cultural cleavage. As James Walvin has affirmed, it is 'the people's game'.<sup>18</sup> It is a sport played and supported by the (ideologically-framed) everyman. Although soccer may rely on the individual brilliance of a striker, it is *the* team sport. It is not surprising that fans of Association Football form a very specific rendering of sport fandom. Fanzines are part of football culture, particularly since the mid-1980s, when a site was required to counter media representations of football supporters. Fanzines embody the participatory nature of the game. Perth Glory has a fanzine, but more significantly they also have two active net sites where fans can comment about the matches. These sites are well produced and continually updated. The home page proclaims that 'We are the best fans in the land'.<sup>19</sup> Recognising the nature of Perth's dispersed metropolis, this net-based fandom is a local reinscription of the game. As with all cultural readerships, these virtual supporters are frequently very critical of the team. As Graham Lees stated in a 'Guestbook' E-Mail to the site:

I think that Glory are getting too big for their boots now that they have a TV show, caps, headbands, and beer. They should concentrate more on playing.<sup>20</sup>

The long-term success and failure of the Glory can be monitored through these textual sorties. This letter writer alluded to the scale of the team's Perth-based franchising, including Swan Brewery's marketing of a Glory beer. Channel Seven produces a weekly program during the season, *Glory Days*.<sup>21</sup> Club souvenirs, like shirts, shorts, caps, flags, mugs, scarfs and headbands sell out at the venue and from Jim Kidd Sports Stores. Even Perth's Wildflower Nursery is selling the 'Viola Glory', a plant 'cultivated to reflect the colours of Perth Glory'.<sup>22</sup> The words of football supporters are rarely heard, but through consumerism and netzines, they are granted visibility and a virtual voice.

Soccer is an international sport containing clearly localised ideologies and imaginings. John Sugden has suggested that the game has 'recreated

and administered little Englands from Johannesburg to Perth'.<sup>23</sup> The problem becomes the mechanism through which sports historians access this little England, or as Chris Healy has suggested, a way 'to inhabit landscapes of memory which are ... landscapes littered with ruins'.<sup>24</sup> The mixed success of English soccer, when matched by media representations of hooliganism, has resulted in the construction of the victorious myth of 30 July 1966. Critcher termed this World Cup success as 'the dead weight of history'.<sup>25</sup> English soccer invokes a complex relationship between national identity, masculinity and class.<sup>26</sup> These elements are attendant to Perth Glory's team and supporters.

Any presentation of Englishness in contemporary Australian society must be nostalgic, summoning precise renderings of community and otherness. The ideology of English soccer that resonates in the Australian present can have worrying political consequences. As Critcher realised:

as long as there is a sustained belief that foreigners have little or nothing to teach us, that sport is an arena for the realisation of a recalcitrant sense of masculinity and that football should express the values of a class once nurtured on the experience of hard manual labour, then English football will not be able to take what should be its rightful place among the top nations of the world.<sup>27</sup>

Reading through his words, another problem with contemporary Englishness is an unreflexive display of the nation's 'rightful place'. The transference between memory and history necessitates an act of forgetting. While memory is socially produced, history is individually inscribed. The journey from memory to history is a passage away from triviality, popular knowledge, collective experience and aurality. To write history is to trade in ideologies of seriousness, elite knowledges and written literacies. While the struggle between these different modes of evaluating and presenting the past has had a clear impact on contemporary cultural studies,<sup>28</sup> popular memory studies provide a way to assemble a sense of how the past is produced outside the disciplinary confines of history.

For sports fans and historians, the past can be enlightening, intoxicating or destructive in its impact. While Redhead has described how 'the dead weight of traditional memory which has almost killed modern football in En-ger-land',<sup>29</sup> Perth offers a new overlay to the tales of 1966 and hooliganism. Permanent migrants never go 'home'. It is a one-way trip. The moment that a migrant leaves a place, their image of it freezes while

the site itself moves on and changes. For fans of Glory, a textualised reality of England is framing a community's experience of Australia.

### **We're Singing For ...**

The Australian National Soccer League ran for twenty years without a team from Perth entering the competition. Perth teams frequently had a closer engagement with south-east Asia than the rest of Australia. Western Australia competed in the Merdeka Cup in Malaysia from 1967 to 1970 and the Perth Kangaroos entered the Singapore Premier League in 1994. From the late 1980s, there were frequent movements to join the National League. Perth Italia registered the name Perth United during an earlier attempt to enter the competition. Yet because of divisions between Western Australia teams and the Federation, a unified push was not possible until Perth Glory's entry into the Ericsson Cup for the 1996/7 season.<sup>30</sup>

The fan response has been astonishing. The Glory played 26 games in the 1996/7 season: thirteen games were held at Perth Oval. These home matches attracted large crowds. Early in the season, attendance varied between 6000 and 10 000 spectators.<sup>31</sup> However, the match against the Melbourne Knights on 28 December 1996 was a turning point. The team won and just under 15 000 fans — a sell-out crowd — viewed the victory and the press coverage was extensive. From that point, attendance never dipped below 11 000 and reached a peak against Marconi Fairfield on 12 January, with 18 000 supporters crammed into the ground. These figures are remarkable in the context of Australian soccer.<sup>32</sup> Perth Glory offers an opportunity to reconstruct and reimagine the English presence in Australia. The fans in The Shed are semiotic tourists. Their sporting ideologies test the parameters of the nation, memory and masculinity. Singing for Glory involves hailing the spectre of a particular rendering of Englishness, which in this Hansonesque age can be, at times, disturbing. Supporters sing for more than Glory — they sing for more than England. It is a nostalgic journey which is highly ideological in form and reconfigures the past heart of Empire in the midst of an Antipodean present. Like all tourists, these fans read the past in a personal, but intensely politicised, way.

In Perth, the 'odd' behaviour of the fans means that, because of their singing, they have considerable news value. Numerous supporters have been interviewed by sports reporters on all stations and their Englishness is framed as quirky and newsworthy. The reason for this attention is

clear. The representation of another place in a media text requires an affirmation of difference to be located within a familiar knowledge system. To summon other sites and identities, whether that be Aboriginality, Maoriness or Englishness, necessitates the component of the identity that is *different* to be performed to excess. As Edward Said theorised in *Orientalism*, 'European culture gained in strength and identity by setting itself off against the Orient as a sort of surrogate and even underground self'.<sup>33</sup> The repercussions of these representative battles in Australia are clear. To paraphrase (and export) Said's maxim: England knows Australia; Australia is what England knows.<sup>34</sup> Yet colonial discourses no longer operate in clearly binarised images or identifications. Whiteness functions in Australian culture by inserting itself as the unmarked sign in politics and popular culture.

Multiculturalism, as a policy, must be more than the right of minority groups to exist. It is a way of viewing the world. A major dilemma remains: does multiculturalism allow Anglo-Celtic structures to stand, while affirming only those Samoan, Malaysian or Greek elements that are containable with the dominant discourses? Only by opening eyes (and societal structures) to heterogeneity and difference can disadvantage and oppression be recognised and countered. Clearly, there are contradictions between nationalism and multiculturalism. A nation is built on the formation of a fixed, stable citizenry. Migrants will never slot into this nationalist narrative. Their divergent life histories always disrupt the singularity of the nation. The rhetoric of cultural diversity can serve to mask numerous barriers that migrants face through language difficulties and access to education, health and housing. By David Hill being critical of non-English ethnicity in Australian soccer, he is reinforcing the Anglo-Celtic structures of society.

Not all of Perth has been captured by the passion and fashion of football fandom. In Western Australia, the 'problems' with Glory manifests itself as a division between Association Football and Australian Rules,<sup>35</sup> yet differences of class and disparate renderings of masculinity are also factored into the mix. One letter writer to the *West Australia* revealed that:

the tribalism of these Supporters is uncanny. Even though the club is less than six months old, they already sing a chant 'Come on Glory' in a peculiarly staccato sing song, unlike the deep-throated roar of rugby and Aussie Rules in Australia where men are men.<sup>36</sup>

Not surprisingly, the response to this letter was swift and provocative. The letter from a recent immigrant to Western Australia from the United Kingdom carefully unwound the ideology by placing the Glory within his narrative of migration:

Our family, which recently arrived in WA, has been delighted to share in Glory's truly excellent start. We were also looking forward to trying the Aussie Rules experience. Indeed, our little lad has enjoyed a few games at school ... unfortunately, his voice has yet to break (and I hope that my wife's and daughter's voices don't break). They are certainly not men, either. If they go to Subiaco Oval, will they be refused admission? Will I have to take a voice test first, just in case? ... Our social background positively excluded us from rucker at school (but that's a pom problem, isn't it). Anyway, must close now, off to elocution lessons ready for our first visit to the oval.<sup>37</sup>

This letter is witty and effective, playing games with inscriptions of community and difference in Perth/Australia. There is a clash of maps, as much as football codes, performed in these letters. The binaries are divisions between:

Australian Rules	Association Football
West Coast Eagles	Perth Glory
exclusive	inclusive
Australian	global
masculine	family

Obviously, the idea that 'real men' follow Australian Rules is astonishing to the letter writer from the United Kingdom, where Association Football embodies a particularly tough and tested working class masculinity.

To grasp a memory is to isolate a moment or an image and encircle it with meaning, to be conscious of representations and signification. The construction of popular memory is also a political practice. Football fans play with the past in sites varying from terraces to the pub. In Perth, a knowledge of English origins is displayed through the choice and mode of chant. On the first episode of *Glory Days*, Howard Gretton followed one hundred fans to Sydney and reported that 'the singing started well before the game on the supporter's bus'. The chants vary from the customary 'Here we go — here we go — here we go' to 'We've got the best fans in the land' to the tune of 'He's got the whole world in his hands'.

'Hey Jude' and 'For he's a jolly good fellow' are similarly poached as fodder for Glory fandom. Also during this episode of *Glory Days*, Adrian Barich attended the pre-match warm up for supporters in Perth at the neighbouring Brisbane Hotel. He said that 'in the great English tradition they practice in the pub'. Songs, once produced, are cut free from their origin. As circulating signs they can be brought forward to the present. Migrants trap images, sounds and iconography within memories. As one Glory supporter stated for the *Glory Days* camera:

Western Australia is loaded with English people and have been longing for this for a long time. We like Aussie Rules but we love soccer a lot more.<sup>38</sup>

Western Australia is a major destination for immigrants, with the highest Australian proportion of overseas-born citizens.<sup>39</sup> UK-derived immigrants form 13.1 per cent of the Western Australian population, with the next highest site of origin being New Zealanders, who make up 2.2 per cent of residents.<sup>40</sup> It is not surprising, therefore, that Perth Glory is encircled by the ideologies, chants and fans of English football.

The role of the 'hooligan' ideology has only surfaced once in Perth Glory's first season. In their major success of the year, the team beat UTS Olympic, two goals to one, in Sydney. One hundred Glory supporters flew over to the Eastern States, embarking on a long distance away-from-home match. A fight broke out between Glory and UTS fans. This scuffle was reported in diverse ways. Some news reports fell back into the hooligan framework. Others, like the reporter for *Glory Days*, blamed the UTS fans for starting the conflict, replicating the customary East versus West rivalry. Because of the minimal coverage granted to soccer in Australia, few details are known of the events in Europe and the treatment of English fans. For example, one of the featured chants on *Glory Days* was the slogan 'Let's go bloody mental'. This motto has been poached from England and it is derived from a particularly destructive context. The Bournemouth riot of May 1990 erupted when Leeds supporters gathered at the end of the match and sung 'Let's go fucking mental'. It is remarkable how context can mould the meaning of a chant. In Perth, it is reduced to a quaint, community building slogan for Australia's newest sporting 'sensation'. In Bournemouth, it was the trigger for a riot. Obviously, the ideology of the soccer hooligan is overblown and overplayed. Millions of fans around the world are passionate about Association Football without starting fights or expressing aggressive

behaviour. Football fandom is more than violence — it summons an imagining community.

The bonds of this community are performed through style and singing. Raymond Boyle observed a similar tendency in the Celtic Football Club. The Club is based in Scotland but maintains clear links with Irish ancestry and Catholicism. The Irish tricolour flies in Celtic Park and an aggressive rivalry is aimed at the Rangers, who are the Protestant face of Scotland. The allegiance of Irish-Scots to Celtic is explained by Boyle as 'a[n] expression of identity ... when people, living away from their original homeland, maintain links with symbolic events which are used to reinforce a sense of "who they are"'.<sup>41</sup> Football clubs become sites where identity is constructed and regions reinscribed. Perth Glory is a clear case study of this tendency in Australia. Ironically, Terry Venables, former coach of England and currently in charge of the Socceroos, recognised a trace of the past in his present:

It is a success story that goes beyond anything else we have seen here ... they're achieving what the other clubs want to achieve, but have been trying a lot longer.<sup>42</sup>

England becomes the real experience of soccer, which the Glory has incubated. This memory and ideology however, deprecates other ways of being a fan.

### **Ovals of Memory**

How do we write a new history or graft innovative imagining spaces onto the English football narratives? The answer to this question involves a recognition of Australia's unique social and ideological positioning. Jane Jacobs described herself as 'both coloniser and antipodean, a representative of the European core but also other to it'.<sup>43</sup> The structures of colonialism are the dominant ideologies through which we live our lives and write our histories. By formulating a transdisciplinary approach to popular culture, accessing methodologies from cultural studies, media studies, sociology and women's studies, the study of sport can summon an investigation beyond a story of individual success. Sport is the performance of all the racist taunts, ethnic divisions and gender inequalities in society. Fandom is a negotiation between the social sense inscribed by the match and the meanings derived from social experience. This mediation is discursive. Clearly, the mechanisms of colonisation do not end when the colonisers leave the country. The traces continue through cultural practices,

narratives and values. The most effective form and method for this critical commentary remains debatable. As Nick Hornby stated in *Fever Pitch*, 'complaining about boring football is rather like complaining about the sad ending of King Lear; it misses the point somehow'.<sup>44</sup> Criticising the Glory supporters' Englishness does not, however, miss the point. Emerging during the year of 'that Hanson woman' and the official 'de-wogging' of Australia soccer, the success and profile of the Glory fans must be evaluated with some disquiet.

Stuart Hall once said that 'Empires come and go. But the imagery of the British Empire seems destined to go on forever. The imperial flag has been hauled down in a hundred different comers of the globe. But it is still flying in the collective unconscious.'<sup>45</sup> Today, Australia is still in the British Commonwealth of Nations, a hegemonic maintenance of Imperialist ties. The Union Jack still flutters in the fabric of the country's flag. The difficulty with colonisation is that it is impossible to tell when the sun has set -when it is over. Even though the last governor has left Hong Kong, even while symbols of Empire are crumbling, the Shed is still singing for Glory. Not surprisingly, an ambivalent Englishness echoes their chant.

## NOTES:

- 1 'World in Motion', by New Order, *The Best of New Order*, London Records, 1994, track 17.
- 2 D Hill quoted by I Brayshaw, *Channel 10 News*, 6 Jan. 1997.
- 3 This article intentionally utilises the signifier Englishness rather than Britishness. Such a distinction serves as a recognition that the word Britain is a name imposed by the English on the non-English. Whenever the word Britain is used, a discussion is blocked of the colonial invasion of the other Kingdoms of Wales, Scotland and Ireland. These other nations only survive by name in the Commonwealth Games or the rugby field. From the seventeenth century, English military and political control of the Celtic fringe was supported by a racist ideology that held that Norman Anglo-Saxon culture was superior to Celtic cultures. After the United Kingdom was secure, the Empire building process moved off shore in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries.
- 4 My aim in this piece is to enact a graft between Perth Glory and the provoking material emerging from the Manchester Institute of Popular Culture. Sport generally, and soccer in particular, has been one of the major interests of the Institute, and has dominated its publications. Steve Redhead's *Sing When You're Winning* commenced the theorisation of sport and/as popular culture. This title was followed by *Football with Attitude. Passion and the Fashion, Hosts and Champions and Game without Frontiers*. These texts provide a history of the football crowd, constructing an analysis of passion, affectivity and power. This article serves to affiliate this research with Australian soccer, placing Perth Glory (and their fans) into popular cultural studies.
- 5 J Sugden and A Baimner, *Sport, Sectarianism and Society in a Divided Ireland*,

- Leicester University Press, Leicester, 1993, p. 4.
- 6 The significance of cricketing success in Australia was effectively explored by James Bradley's 'Inventing Australians and Constructing Englishness: Cricket and the Creation of National Consciousness', *Sporting Traditions*, vol. 11, no. 2, May 1995, pp. 35-60. Specifically, he showed how cricket 'created a dialogue about the nature of the colonial relationship', p. 35. Similarly, Mike Ticher, in 'Notional Englishmen, Black Irishmen and Multicultural Australians', *Sporting Traditions*, vol. 11, no. 1, Nov. 1994, pp. 75-92, investigated how 'for the ex-colonies, beating England at cricket has been one of the first most enduring symbols of their political independence', p. 78.
  - 7 John Sugden has stated in 'USA and the World Cup', that 'so long as soccer in America continues to be viewed as a game for foreigners, rich white kids and women, its chances of becoming established as a mainstream professional sport there are minimal', in J Sugden and A Tomlinson, eds, *Hosts and Champions: Soccer Cultures, National Identities and the USA Soccer World Cup*, Ashgate Publishing Company, Aldershot, 1994, p. 250.
  - 8 As Philip Mosely and Bill Murray have stated, 'in the Australian-ruled states soccer was a poor relation, relying on migrant players ... In Western Australia, soccer struggled along in Perth, the surrounding port and mining centres', from 'Soccer', in W Vamplew and B Stoddart, eds, *Sport in Australia*, CUP, Melbourne, 1995, p. 218.
  - 9 David Hill, *60 Minutes*, Channel 9, 29 June 1997.
  - 10 W Vamplew, "Wogball": Ethnicity and Violence in Australian Soccer', in R Gillianotti and J Williams, *Games without Frontiers*, Ashgate Publishing Limited, Aldershot, 1994, p. 214.
  - 11 T Magdalinski, 'Sport in Australian History: Recentring Anglo-Centric Males, Decentring the Other(s)', *Sporting Traditions*, vol. 13, no. 2, May 1997, p. 106.
  - 12 D Adair and W Vamplew, *Sport in Australian History*, OUP, Melbourne, 1997.
  - 13 This maxim is becoming debatable in New South Wales, where the current success of the Sydney Swans is increasing the profile of Australian Rules football.
  - 14 D Rowe and G Lawrence, 'Beyond National Sport', *Sporting Traditions*, vol. 12, no. 2, May 1996, p. 5. This article is a significant contribution to debates about the form and methodology of Australian sports history. Their discussion of globalisation and media formations has informed and inflected my research.
  - 15 Homi Bhabha stated in 'The Other question', that 'It is there, in the colonial margin, that the culture of the west reveals its *difference*, its limit-text, as its practice of authority displays an ambivalence that is one of the most significant discursive and psychological strategies of discriminatory power — whether racist or sexist, peripheral or metropolitan', in R Ferguson, M Gever, T Minh-ha and C West, eds, *Out There Marginalization in Contemporary Cultures*, MIT Press and the New Museum of Contemporary Art, New York, 1990, p. 71.
  - 16 M Morris, 'Identity Anecdotes', *Camera Obscura*, vol. 12, 1984, p. 4.
  - 17 J Jacobs, *Edge of Empire*, Routledge, London, 1996, p. 5.
  - 18 J Walvin, *The People's Game*, Allen Lane, London, 1975.
  - 19 <http://www.omen.com.au/-kelllet/glory.html>.
  - 20 <http://www.iinet.net.au/-eamon/glory.html>.
  - 21 *Glory Days* commenced on Channel Seven on 4 Feb. 1997. The opening titles commenced with the chant 'Come on Glory' and then replicated a techno-inspired opening similar to the Premier League coverage. The fans are featured in the opening titles as much as the players.
  - 22 Advertisement for 'Viola Glory' from the Wildflower Nursery, *West Australian*, 8 Aug. 1997.
  - 23 J Sugden, 'USA and the World Cup', Sugden and Tomlinson, *Hosts and Champions*, p. 223.

- 24 C Healy, *From the Ruins of Colonialism: History as Social Memory*, CUP, Cambridge, 1997, p. 2.
- 25 C Critcher, 'England and the World Cup', in Sugden and Tomlinson, *Hosts and Champions*, p. 79.
- 26 As David Runciman reported to the *Modern Review* about the World Cup held in the United States in 1994, 'although we may have invented the game, others now seem to get more out of it', Aug.-Sept. 1994, p. 14.
- 27 Critcher, 'England and the World Cup', p. 90.
- 28 The Popular Memory Group, formed in 1973, maintained a presence in the Birmingham Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies. In R Johnson, G McLennan, B Schwarz and D Sutton, eds, *Making Histories*, University of Minnesota Press, Minneapolis, 1982, the Popular Memory Group wrote a chapter to present 'Popular Memory: Theory, Politics, Method', pp. 205-14.
- 29 S Redhead, *Football with Attitude*, Wordsmith, Manchester, 1991, p. 49.
- 30 For a more detailed history of Perth Soccer, please refer to Andrew Howe's narrative at <http://bix.thehub.com.au/ozsoccer/ark/NSLclubs/PGHist.html>.
- 31 During their first five home matches, the Glory's crowd at Perth oval varied from 6299 against the Gippsland Falcons on 16 Nov. 1996 to 10 281 against Wollongong City on 14 Dec. 1996.
- 32 For further information about the Glory's fixtures during the 1996/7 season, please refer to the net site dedicated to the Perth Glory matches, <http://www.omen.com.au/-kellett/fixt.html>.
- 33 E Said, *Orientalism: Western Conceptions of the Orient*, Penguin, London, 1978, p. 3.
- 34 This statement adapts Said's maxim that 'England knows Egypt; Egypt is what England knows', *Orientalism*, p. 34.
- 35 The support for Australian Rules football in Western Australia is widespread and saturating. Not only do the West Coast Eagles and the Fremantle Dockers have an active presence in the AFL, but the local competition, re-named West Star Rules, still maintains a strong following. The arrival of the 1997 AFL season was greeted with a headline on the front page of the *West Australian* on Saturday, 8 Mar., 'The Game is Back'. It was not necessary to mention *which* game was being discussed.
- 36 M Bateman, 'No Glory for Supporters', *West Australian*, 30 Dec. 1996.
- 37 C Johnson, 'We Disagree', *West Australian*, 2 Jan. 1997.
- 38 *Glory Days*, Channel Seven, 4 Feb. 1997.
- 39 Graham Kierath, Minister for Multicultural and Ethnic Affairs, stated that WA 'has the highest proportion of overseas born people of any State or Territory. The 1991 Census figures show that 28.9 per cent of the State's population was born overseas. A further 23.3 per cent of the State's population is Australian born with at least one parent born overseas. Together these two groups account for more than half the population of Western Australia,' *Ethnicity Related Demographic Data for Statistical Areas in Western Australia*, Office of Multicultural Interests, June 1994, p. 2.
- 40 Statistics are derived from 'Birthplace' figures in *Ethnicity Related Demographic Data*, p. 21. These figures are also verified by *Population Flows: Immigration Aspects, Department of Immigration and Ethnic Affairs*, Jan. 1995, p. 51.
- 41 R Boyle, 'We are Celtic Supporters ...': Questions of Football and Identity in Modern Scotland', in Gillianotti and Williams, *Games Without Frontiers*, p. 81.
- 42 T Venables, from footage on *Glory Days*, 11 Feb. 1997.
- 43 Jacobs, *Edge of Empire*, p. x.
- 44 N Hornby, *Fever Pitch*, Gollanz, London, 1992, p. 135
- 45 S Hall, *The Hard Road to Renewal*, Verso, London, 1988, p. 68.