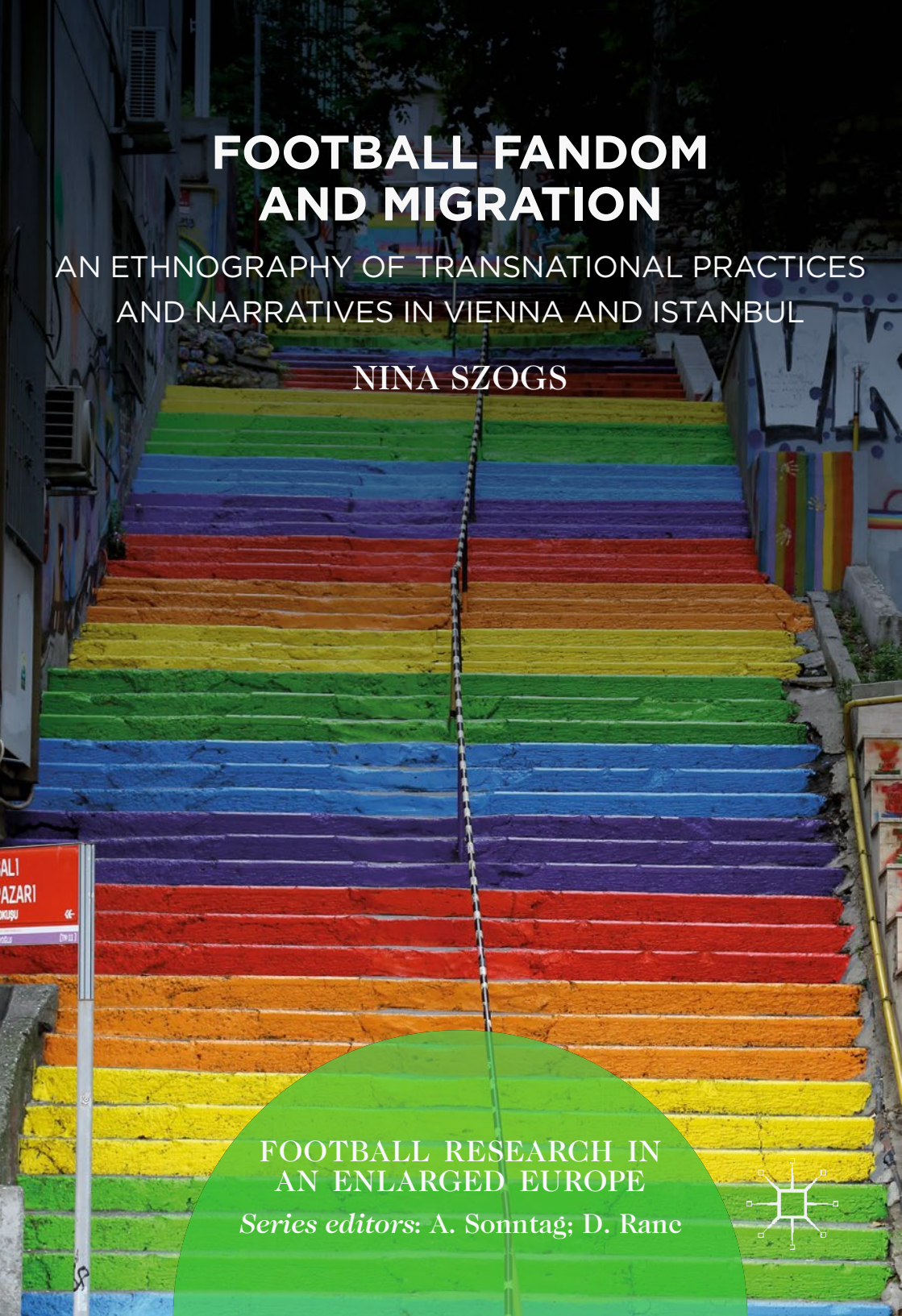

FOOTBALL FANDOM AND MIGRATION

AN ETHNOGRAPHY OF TRANSNATIONAL PRACTICES AND NARRATIVES IN VIENNA AND ISTANBUL

NINA SZOGS

FOOTBALL RESEARCH IN AN ENLARGED EUROPE

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Nina Szogs

Football Fandom and Migration

An Ethnography of Transnational Practices and Narratives in Vienna and Istanbul

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Nina Szogs
Vienna, Austria

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Rainbow Stairs. A Personal Preface

The former and current political situation in Turkey was not among the main research objectives of my study. Nevertheless, it framed both the fieldwork process and the period of writing, an influence which is reflected in the respective chapters. It makes sense, therefore, that this preface addresses personal and political matters against the backdrop of the Gezi protests, which do not fit into the main part of the book.

In 2013, protests in Turkey started as a small environmental sit-in to save the remaining trees in Gezi Park. Gezi Park is located right next to Taksim Square (Taksim Meydanı) in the European side of Istanbul, which has a symbolic dimension due to its long history of mass demonstrations and police violence. When the protests in Gezi Park were met with extraordinary police brutality such as tear gas and water cannons, thousands of people were mobilised and went to the streets to protest against President Erdoğan's repressive regime. The environmental sit-ins quickly developed into the symbolically powerful 'Gezi Protests' with demonstrations spreading across the whole country.

The fact that protestors originated from all walks of life made the movement even more special. There were left-wing groups, Kemalists, football fans, LGBTIQ activists, religious groups and so on. All together they were fighting for different kinds of freedom such as freedom of press, freedom of speech or democracy, for secularism or

against police violence and against the war in Syria. This solidarity, despite all its contradictions, motivated people in Istanbul, in other Turkish cities and among the European diaspora to join and support the protests which resulted in a confident hope that things would finally change for the better in Turkey.

The protests sparked right in the middle of my ethnographic fieldwork in late spring and summer of 2013. There was so much hope among many of the people in my research field. After some weeks, I identified strongly with their claims for freedom of speech and human rights. Expectations ran high that they could really make a change in the following weeks and months. The slogan 'Her Yer Taksim, Her Yer Direniş' (Everywhere Taksim, Everywhere Resistance) became as popular on the streets and in football stadia in Turkey as it did in the anti-Erdoğan movements in the Turkish diaspora in Vienna.

But soon not only state repressions and police brutality but also pro-Erdoğan protesters showed that not everybody was appreciating and sharing the Gezi spirit. Today, in 2016, we know that things got even worse: President Erdoğan has almost completed the process of establishing an authoritarian regime, bomb explosions kill people in the streets every few months, and the war in Syria is ongoing. The Gezi spirit was steamrolled with tanks, water cannons and many other forms of political repression.

Too often have we seen how high hopes were crushed so drastically in a short period of time in the last years. This is why it is all the more important to remember and remind people of the Gezi movement. The picture of the rainbow stairs on the cover of this book holds a strong symbolical meaning in this context. The first rainbow stairs were coloured in the Fındıklı and Cihangir neighbourhoods in Istanbul in 2013. In a spring and summer full of protests for freedom and against repression, a man decided to paint the grey stairs in his neighbourhood with bright colours to make his district nicer. When the stairs were repainted in grey by the municipality it caused an outcry and all over Turkey people started colouring stairs. The first rainbow stairs were perhaps not explicitly connected to the Gezi Protests but were strongly interpreted as a form of subversion within the Gezi movement. Many

stairs in Turkey were painted in bright colours afterwards in order to make a grey life of political suffocation more colourful and all the more: to show agency.

I can only hope that in the future human rights and peace will prevail over oppression and war. Until then we should keep on colouring stairs.

Vienna, 10 December 2016 Nina Szogs

Preliminary Remarks and Acknowledgements

The European research project FREE – Football Research in an Enlarged Europe – set out to analyse Europeanisation processes while understanding the relevance of football to today's societies and communities. The project was an interdisciplinary endeavour that consisted of nine partners in eight countries. Researchers from Sociology, Political Science, History and Anthropology worked together to analyse the football phenomenon from different theoretical angles and methodological perspectives (Fig. 1).[1]

The historical research strand of the project focused on competitions and memory. The socio-political research scrutinised the public sphere and questions of governance. The third part of the project comprised the socio-anthropological research strand that looked into matters of 'feminisation' and 'identities'. The anthropology departments in Poznań (Poland) and Vienna (Austria) were tasked with analysing football's impact on the construction of identities in a local, regional, national, and international context as well as on levels such politics, gender, social class, and subculture.

[1] FREE was successful in the 2011 call for proposals 'The Anthropology of European Integration' and was funded under Socio-economic Sciences and Humanities by the Seventh Framework Programme for Research and Technological Development (FP7) of the European Commission for an amount of 2 433 357 € (Project reference: 290805). The project period was 1 April 2012–31 March 2015.

Fig. 1 FREE comprised nine collaborating universities: ESSCA School of Management (Angers, France), Københavns Universitet (Copenhagen, Denmark), Loughborough University (Loughborough, Great Britain), Middle East Technical University (Ankara, Turkey), Universität Stuttgart (Stuttgart, Germany), Universität Wien (Vienna, Austria), Universitat de València (Valencia, Spain), Université de Franche-Comté (Besançon, France), Uniwersytet im. Adama Mickiewicza (Poznań, Poland)

This book is based on the doctoral thesis "Football Fandom and Migration: Fenerbahçe and Galatasaray Supporters in Vienna. An Ethnography" which was successfully accepted at the Philipps-Universität Marburg on 3 February 2016 and defended on 1 July 2016. The research for this book was part of the anthropological research strand of the FREE Project.

Whereas in the FREE Project we used the general term anthropology, it needs more differentiation within this academic discipline to contextualise this research. My dissertation project was strongly informed by the

methodological and theoretical realm of the anthropological discipline of European Ethnology. In the humanities in German-speaking countries anthropology can refer to Social and Cultural Anthropology (*Kultur- und Sozialanthropologie, former Ethnologie/Völkerkunde*) as well as to European Ethnology (*Europäische Ethnologie/Empirische Kulturwissenschaft/ Kulturanthropologie, former Volkskunde*). In this book I will refer to many different European and international authors in anthropology but a special focus will nonetheless be on the adaption of recent discourses about football and migration in European Ethnology. Throughout the book I will refer to all the different sister disciplines simply as anthropology for reasons of simplicity. If a distinction is crucial to the argument, such as in the literary review, I will indicate this.

After being part of a European research project for three years, I can conclude that there are many positive outcomes of collaborating on a European level such as being up-to-date regarding different academic discourses and research practices in various places in Europe. However, there are also some issues that should be discussed.

The fascination about football is mirrored in crowded football stadia, football pubs and at public viewing events. The first personal experience of football is most of the time local but the love of football happens more and more on a transnational level. Mobility and Europeanisation are central research strands in many disciplines. Also in football (fan) research these key words are of great relevance. The FREE Project is a great example of the orientation towards these research topics. Football is an especially promising research object in this realm because processes of Europeanisation and transnationalisation are extraordinarily visible in contemporary football (fan) cultures. The mobilisation and multilocality of supporters automatically result in a mobilisation and multilocality of research fields. Researchers cannot only focus anymore on local microcosms but need to become mobile themselves. Only when they are mobile they understand and analyse the everyday lives of football fans.

Consequently, joint quantitative surveys and joint qualitative fieldwork projects were central aspects of the FREE Project. Due to the fact that we came from different academic disciplines, we were approaching the research field from various perspectives. We benefitted from the interdisciplinary endeavour and its different, complementary methodological

and theoretical approaches. In this way, we could meet the requirements of the transnational structures of football fan cultures. This included, however, not only a regular exchange via Skype and email, but also meetings in different European cities. This was the only way to guarantee a productive collaboration. We researchers were thus always on the move: for our fieldwork and within the project. The funding from the European Commission simplified this mobility on a financial level to a great extent. Nevertheless, it also became clear that wage differences within Europe are immense. Equal research will only be possible if adjustments in this matter happen in the future.

From the researcher's perspective, the concept of Europe also became relevant for my perception and research practices while working for FREE. Travelling across Europe (and the world) for the project had a crucial impact on my perception of football research on a meta-level. Football research is a big research field in many countries in Europe. Nevertheless, it is dominated by certain regions. This particularly includes football research in England but also in Germany. The east-west and north-south asymmetries in Europe are also reflected in academia.

Furthermore, football research is still a 'white', male-dominated research area which many football conferences that I have attended have shown. What happens in football stadia also happens in the realm of football research itself. But the claim for more diversity is omnipresent. Women, for example, are entering the field of academic football research increasingly. In the FREE Project all of us three PhD students were female researchers. Research must always include a reflection of the researchers and their environment. The research we were able to do was strongly dependent on the academic environment and the personal background that we had. Research in a male-dominated environment such as the field of football often reproduces existing hegemonies and patriarchal views on a field. The FREE Project has shown that by strengthening the diversity of researchers research perspectives also consequently get diversified.

Acknowledgements

Very special thanks go to my interview partners and all the people that I met during my fieldwork. I would like to thank them for their kindness, openness, inclusiveness and understanding. Without them this study would not exist.

Further I would like to thank my research supervisors Karl Braun and Michał Buchowski for their advice and encouragement. I would like to express my deep gratitude to Alexandra Schwell for her guidance, support, encouragement and friendship during the last years. My grateful thanks are extended to Paul Stöttinger, Anna Eckert, Lukasz Nieradzik and Ariane Sadjed for their emotional support and exciting discussions. I would like to thank all international and local members of the FREE Project for three academically insightful and exciting years. Furthermore, I would like to thank my colleagues at the Department of European Ethnology in Vienna and the members of Almut Sülzle's supervision group in Berlin for the helpful exchange and many questions.

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Introduction: Fenerbahçe and Galatasaray Fans in Vienna

Football is one of the most popular sports in Europe and beyond. It is a crucial part of our everyday lives – even if people do not like football they cannot escape from it. It is talked about in the media, at the workplace, among family and friends. Football can thus be considered as an 'ideal' field for anthropological research because in one way or the other it touches all our lives. Football does not only happen on a local level but is increasingly intertwined with transnational and translocal discourses. Europeanisation, transnationalisation and migration processes are deeply entangled in football fan practices. At the same time, football engenders these processes by increasing mobility and international attention to football events. The enlargement of the Champions League, the Europa League or the European Championship and the World Cup has a great influence on how we perceive Europe and the world.

My research within the European research project *FREE – Football Research in an Enlarged Europe* focused on football fans that have a 'long-distance relationship' to their team. The book analyses the transnational

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and translocal practices of football supporters to understand how transnationalisation, Europeanisation and migration processes intersect with football fandom. Therefore, I refer less to the influence of institutions such as the European Union or the Union of European Football Associations (UEFA). Instead I refer to the everyday practices of football fans in a world where fan loyalties are not necessarily bound to national affiliations anymore and where the internet enables supporters to follow football leagues around the world. As a consequence, being a fan of a club that is located in another city, another country or even on another continent has become a regular phenomenon in football fan culture (cf. King 2003). This phenomenon becomes even more compelling when fan loyalties are negotiated in a framework of migration.

Particularly within the field of migration research, discussions often form part of larger political debates. This also applies to the interplay of football fandom and migration. Consequently, the study on the intermingling of migration and football fandom provides detailed insights into recent discourses in society. It enables the researcher to look into migration processes and discussions about related topics from a different angle: the love of a football club. At the same time, this perspective allows the researcher to approach football from the perspective of migrant football fandom – a perspective that is informed by concepts and practices of (self-)culturalisation.

The research focuses on fans that are a regular part of football fan culture in the city of Vienna. The largest fan groups in Vienna that support a club abroad are to be found in diasporic contexts. Particularly the Turkish, German, Croatian and Serbian diaspora in Vienna established fan clubs and many fans regularly frequent fan bars to follow the respective football league.[1] I very soon excluded fans of the German Bundesliga from my research because I was born and raised in Germany and did not want to dig around in my own backyard. I first gained access to supporters of the Turkish Süper Lig and eventually focused my research on the supporters of the two Istanbul clubs Galatasaray and Fenerbahçe. In Vienna the fan base of these two clubs is big and is therefore particularly visible in the city on match days: on the streets and in front of bars.

[1] In 2013, 94.282 Serbian and Montenegrin, 74.970 Turkish, 49.706 German and 22.993 Croatian migrants and their descendants were living in Vienna. Source: Official homepage of the City of Vienna. https://www.wien.gv.at/statistik/bevoelkerung/tabellen/bevoelkerung-migh-geschl-zr.html (accessed 29 October 2014).

Fenerbahçe and Galatasaray are among the most popular Turkish clubs in Turkey, in Austria, and in other European countries. They are two of the Istanbul 'Big Three' (*üç büyükler*, together with the club Beşiktaş), and their relationship is characterised as a traditionalised rivalry (Chap. 4). The fans of Galatasaray and Fenerbahçe in my research field in Vienna are eager to actively support their teams, whether they have grown up in Austria or moved there later. It is important to look at the fan scene in Vienna as an equivalent experience and performance of love and loyalty to a football club, an experience similar to being a football fan in Istanbul or anywhere else in Turkey. But it is crucial to note that the meaning people attribute to football fandom and its everyday performances can sometimes differ. The analysis of the contexts and situatedness of the fan performances of Galatasaray and Fenerbahçe fans in Vienna is not only necessary but crucial to understand the narratives and practices that I observed and listened to in my research.

Migrant fans are, like female fans or queer fans, still a neglected field in football fan research and are often considered as a non-regular and exceptional part of football fan cultures. In my research, football discourses and fan discourses intersect with migration discourses to a large extent. Consequently, narratives about football fandom are often linked to migration experiences. This particularly includes practices of (self-) ethnicisation in the diasporic context in Austria. This is what makes the research particularly compelling and relevant. Here, prejudices, stereotypes and other hegemonic discourses about different people in an Austrian society intersect in a nexus of attributions and self-attributions. Constructed ethnicities and also masculinities and femininities meet in football fan performances and in the construction of what makes a (proper) football fan.

1.1 (Turkish) Football: A Politically Charged Research Field?

The scepticism about my research interest is one example that serves to underline the relevance of the analysis of the complex intersection of football fandom and migration. Controversial discussions about my

research topic were not only recurring in my research field itself, but also in my private and academic life. My research interest was considered to be unusual and sometimes even strange and was discussed extensively among colleagues at lunch or friends in pubs. This often led me to insights into common prejudices about male football fans, female football fans and also about 'Turks'.

The prejudice about the uneducated, uncivilised, male, drunk football fan is still widespread in Austria and Germany and particularly in the world of academia. For a long time football was seen as even too ordinary and inferior to be worth researching. These prejudices do not only include aspects of classism but also of sexism. Men are perceived as a barbaric mass where 'it must be difficult for a woman' to do research or simply to participate. Johanna Rolshoven (2008) discusses the role and the relevance of football research in European Ethnology. She pays special attention to the prejudices that researchers face when researching football or sports in general.

Furthermore, Rolshoven makes it clear that especially for academic disciplines that analyse culture, sports are an important research field that is still neglected (2008, p. 39). Brigitta Schmidt-Lauber (2009) focuses on the changing perception of football research in academia. She identifies a link between the growing popularity of the perspectives in Cultural Studies and a legitimisation of football as a research field (Schmidt-Lauber 2009, p. 419). The appreciation and valuation of popular culture in Cultural Studies (cf. Lindner 2000; Warneken 2006) has thus impacted growing interest in football fan research.

In this regard, it is remarkable that in the early 2010s a football research project won a highly competitive call for proposals by the 7th European Framework Programme. This decision is not only a reward but also a financial, symbolic and institutionalised appreciation of football research in Europe. Politics and academics alike seem to have understood the importance of the football phenomenon for and in Europeanisation processes. Nevertheless, my personal encounters with, for example, other academics have often mirrored that football is still considered as an inferior, poor, substandard cultural phenomenon. This often resulted in the doubtful question of why one would want to research 'those violent hooligans'. These prejudices accompanied me throughout the whole research process.

While I do not want to deny or trivialise problems of sexism, racism, homophobia and nationalism in European football stadia (cf. Buchowski et al. 2016; Schwell et al. 2016), generalisations do not help either. Working on a football project often led to puzzled and even worried looks about my research in a place that is perceived predominantly as a male domain. When I specialised my research on Turkish football, questions became even worse. Now some people expected that I was entering a totally men-only environment. Yes, my gender was decisive in my research. Yes, people – no matter if in Germany, Austria, or Turkey – treated me differently because I am a woman. But women are a regular part of football fan culture, also in Turkish football, and academics or people with a feminist or generally left-wing political affiliation too, as well as liberals, conservatives and right-wing people.

The intersection of negative attributions on different levels is what makes this research particularly socio-politically relevant. Turkish football fandom is a field where various and discursive powerful prejudices, stereotypes and clichés amalgamate and interact. The analysis of these social and cultural processes that are relevant to many people's everyday lives enables the researcher to draw conclusions about hegemonies in society and their subversion in and via football fandom practices.

1.1.1 Turkified?!

For the football context, it is relevant that in Austria Turkish migrants and postmigrants are amongst those who experience the most negative media attention compared to discourses on other migrants and postmigrants. Wiebke Sievers, Ilker Ataç and Philipp Schnell emphasise how 'Muslims in general, and Turks in particular, have often been described as unwilling to integrate into Austrian society' (Sievers et al. 2014, p. 264; cf. also Hödl 2010). They summarise that '[the] context is characterized not only by public discourses marking Turkish immigrants and their descendants as others, but also by a delayed interest on the part of the Austrian government in integrating immigrants and their descendants' (Sievers et al. 2014, p. 268). When the authors talk about the concept of 'integration'[2] they are

[2] The concept of 'integration' has been under critique in public and particularly in academic and critical political discourses for its entailed normative and consequently hegemonic meaning (cf. Krämer 2008 2008).

not referring to the 'duty' to assimilate to a so-called 'Austrian culture' but to the failure of the Austrian government to create equal chances of access to education, work and political participation (ibid., p. 267).

An insightful article was published in the German magazine *Der Spiegel* by Özlem Gezer (Spiegel Online [Gezer, Ö.] 2013).[3] The article is called '"Turkified" Why I Can Never Be A Proper German'. In this article, Gezer reflects on her childhood and youth in Germany, growing up as a daughter of Turkish migrants. She critically discusses different prejudicial, discriminating and racist questions that friends, boys, or teachers have been asking her all her life. These questions include the most dominant prejudices against Turkish migrants and postmigrants: violent fathers, oppressed women, being religious, not eating pork and most importantly not being a 'proper German'.

Making the point that she was indeed 'Turkified' by other Germans rather than by her parents or other migrants and postmigrants from Turkey, she impressively shows how ethnicising practices, or in this case more specifically Turkifying practices, put her life in a narrow corset of identifying possibilities. The article stems from the German context but it is also applicable for the Austrian case and particularly for the context of this research. This is due to the fact that I was socialised in the German context and therefore to a certain extent look at (Turkish) migration processes from this perspective. Also, the problems that Gezer addresses in the article are very similar to those that were described to me in some interviews during my research.

The contexts and framework of Turkish migration to Austria and of Turkish migration to Germany are in some parts comparable and in other parts rather different. Whereas many examples from the German context also work for the Austrian context and the other way around, there are some decisive peculiarities that need to be carefully attended to. Similar are, for example, the reasons for migration from Turkey. Both in the German and in the Austrian case many Turks initially came to both countries in the 1960s as work migrants or so-called 'guest workers' to support the growing German and Austrian economies (Özbaş et al. 2014). One of the differences is the historical context in Austria and its impact

[3] The English version of the article was published in the online version of the magazine, *Spiegel Online*.

on Austrian society today. Sievers et al. (2014) summarise that particularly in Vienna Turks have been constructed as the 'Oriental enemy' due to the two Ottoman Sieges in 1529 and 1687. In Austria, they are referred to as the Turkish Sieges and taught to school students as such, which has conserved them in public discourses and collective memory until today (Sievers et al. 2014, p. 264). This is why '[t]here are strong popular associations outside the realm of political discourse that can be effectively tapped into to animate public rhetoric' (Gingrich 1998, p. 105).

When I first entered my research field I wanted to look into the practices of fans that are at a distance to their fan object: the football club. Typical anthropological serendipity, seen as a research tool (Rivoal and Salazar 2013, p. 183), led me to fans of Turkish football first (Chap. 3). After a while I decided to further narrow my perspective and to focus on Galatasaray and Fenerbahçe fans in the city of Vienna. I often avoided saying that I was searching for Turkish fans, because I wanted to meet people that supported one of these two clubs. Calling Galatasaray and Fenerbahçe fans simply 'Turkish fans' would not have represented the plurality of people in the research field. At the beginning I was trying to focus on club affiliations rather than national affiliations. To emphasise the club aspect of one's fandom seemed to be the 'appropriate' way to approach people. Nevertheless, the club level and discourses about national affiliations are strongly interwoven. Many fans in my research field simply called themselves 'Turkish fans'. This is also due to ethnicising practices in the diaspora context (Chaps. 4 and 5).

Dariuš Zifonun works with the term 'imagined diversities' (Zifonun 2008, p. 54) referring to Benedict Anderson's 'imagined communities' (Anderson 1983) to underline how plural affiliations of an individual, in Zifonun's case to the FC Hochstätt Türkspor, dissolve (ethnic) self-attributions. Also in my research field, plural affiliations to various social groups were omnipresent in the interviews: being a fan, left-wing/conservative, Turkish, Austrian, Viennese, a sportsman/sportswoman, a student, man/woman et cetera. Nevertheless, describing oneself as a 'Turkish fan' was very common. The self-perception and particularly self-representation as 'Turkish' in the football context is an important part of the fan performances among the Galatasaray and Fenerbahçe fans that I accompanied. This construction is then again situated in a nexus of

ascription and self-ascription (Hall 1999, p. 92) between me and my interview partners. It is therefore crucial to include an analysis of these reciprocal processes in this book.

Even though I intended for my research not to be yet another study on 'those migrants' it was easy to fall into the same traps that many have fallen into before. These traps include culturalisations or ethnicisations, victimising, and generalisations of migrants and migration processes. Practices of culturalisation and ethnicisation, for example, diminish the complexity of social life to the constructed categories of culture and ethnicity. These are highly critical practices to maintain differences, social boundaries and hierarchies in a society with the simple argument of 'culture' or 'ethnicity' (Römhild 2007; Schiffauer 2002). The *Spiegel* article illustrates the problem vividly. It can be understood as an example of all those 'traps' that I did not intend to fall into.

In order not to ask one of those questions that 'stupid Germans' would ask, I sometimes did not dare to ask questions my interviewees might have considered 'wrong' and consequently I often remained silent. I was sometimes blocking my research when I did not ask a question that would have been necessary to understand certain practices. Finally this tiptoeing behaviour on my side led to situations where my interview partners made fun of me because of me being exhaustingly politically correct (Chap. 3). This was then again, however, helpful to the analysis and also deepened the social relationship with my interview partners. Nevertheless, due to the fact that I had read articles like Gezer's and was as a result so concerned about culturalising my research field, I was even more naively surprised when I encountered self-ethnicising and self-Turkifying practices to such a great extent in interviews and during participant observations (Chap. 5).

Sceptics, including myself and my interview partners, were initially critical about why yet another German was conducting research on '*the* Turks' and on top of that in Austria. Now I can simply answer to that: Why not? As long as the conflicts and prejudices that occurred during the research are reflected and explicitly included in the analysis of this study, this constellation can offer interesting insights about a society. The irritations I caused in the research field led to complex social encounters and will be discussed throughout the book. So is the research field politically charged? The field certainly does provoke a great set of emotions and other reactions – an ideal starting point for an anthropological analysis.

1.2 Research Foci and Structure of the Book

In this book, I analyse the meanings and strategies that supporters link to their football fandom practices from an actor-centred and inductive approach. The anthropological micro-perspective is especially helpful to learn how people interpret, adapt to and subvert local, national, European, transnational and global processes. Hegemonic discourses that are part of these processes impact the supporters' practices, narratives, and perceptions to a great extent. Subversive interpretations and performances, however, can alter these discourses. Consequently, via the analysis of football fan practices, this anthropological endeavour can offer insights into questions of hegemony and agency in society.

There are three important preconditions for this research. First, it can be considered Eurocentric in the way the FREE Project defines Europe in an 'enlarged' definition (see Preliminary Remarks). While I am well aware of the limitations of this approach, it is at the same time a necessary step to keep the focus on the central questions of this research. Second, the research focuses on men's football teams only. This is due to the fact that men's football is still much more popular than women's football and reaches more people in Europe and beyond. Consequently, fans of women's football teams are rare and less visible in the city also in Vienna. Lastly, this research focuses on football fans only; it does not include the analysis of (migrant) football players or (migrant) local teams.

This book is eager to stress that the fan practices of Galatasaray and Fenerbahçe supporters in Vienna cannot be reduced to a migratory context. The following research foci go way beyond a simple study of migration and football fandom. It is a study of many different aspects of fandom where discourses that evolve around migration are only one (important) aspect next to many others (cf. Römhild 2014, p. 263).

This book focuses on five analytic approaches:

1. It analyses the role of the researcher in different periods regarding its relevance to the research. This includes a critical reflection of the choice and construction of the 'field' such as the choice of interview partners and a reflection of the interaction and impact in the research field. This is to understand the contexts and situations in which the qualitative interviews and fieldnotes were gathered.

2. The book analyses how and where Fenerbahçe and Galatasaray fans perform their fandom in Vienna, Istanbul, and Europe more broadly. It looks into the mostly offline practices and delves into homes, bars and public places. The aim is to understand the social hierarchies and dominant discourses that these performances inhabit and (re) produce.
3. Due to the constructed antagonism between Fenerbahçe and Galatasaray, practices and narratives that evolve around performances of rivalries and loyalties become significant. The research asks how rivalries and loyalties are performed in everyday practices and how the flexibility of these performative concepts is negotiated. Dominant practices in these performances include the othering and selfing practices about the own and the other club. The book asks what these performances reveal about their self-images and how others and selves are constructed within fan narratives and also beyond the football context.
4. A central focus of this book is the examination of how gender roles, social class, subcultural affiliations, political affiliations, nationalities, ethnicities and so on are performed and narrated as part of fandom practices. It asks which socially constructed categories or attributions become particularly relevant and how they intersect. Thereby, the analysis answers the question of which categories or attributions become more important for some interviewees than for others.
5. This anthropological research talks about microperspectives from certain milieus and their actor-centred perspectives on broader contexts. The book focuses on whether and how different fans and fan groups relate to each other and which images they (re)produce in this process.

The following chapter of this book serves as an introductory chapter to become familiar with the current state of the field in anthropological and sociological football fan research with regard to discourses on migration, gender and transnationality. In a second step, central theoretical concepts for this book will be clarified, critically discussed and defined for the use in this ethnographic study. This particularly concerns concepts, theories and critique of migration, intersectionality and related socially constructed categories.

Chapter 3 leads the reader to the research field. Relevant persons will be introduced and contextualised regarding their significance for this book. The central questions of Chap. 3 evolve from the analysis of the entering phase to the research field. The chapter analyses the obstacles I met in accessing the research field. It discusses how these obstacles can lead to first insights into fan performances and particularly into the bias or constructivity of research itself. My role in the first months of the research process is critically reflected in this chapter as are the research practices and the way that I decided to define my research field. This includes a discussion about the constitution and hierarchies of emotional practices and sensory perceptions that will be analysed using exemplary situations from participant observations and interviews.

Among the most distinctive and likewise most common characteristics about the research field are the performances of loyalties and rivalries. The construction of us and them is thereby indeed (always) a construction of several 'UsES' and 'ThemS' that are performed in and via football. Chap. 4 disassembles these different intersecting – and most importantly shifting – layers. These performances go way beyond club rivalries and are informed by nationalities, politics, subculture, gender and class. This discussion includes the analysis of the construction of the antagonism between Fenerbahçe and Galatasaray and likewise the practices of distance that question this very antagonism. Thereby, the chapter looks into the strategies and meanings that supporters attribute to their football fandom. It discusses the transnational aspects of these practices and narratives that include practices of doing kinship, doing home and embodiment via merchandise.

Whereas all chapters to some extent work with the concept of intersectionality, Chap. 5 puts a spotlight on the intersecting performances of gender, social class, and ethnicity. The chapter analyses narratives and practices of self-ethnicising and its intersection with the construction of masculinities and femininities in fan narratives. The chapter looks into the negotiation of different perceptions of masculinities, feminism and the empowerment of women. The question of the interdependence of football places, gender constructions and the (re)production of social class is central to the analysis of this chapter. It critically looks at how intersecting performances of social class, gender and ethnicisation (re) produce boundaries in football places in Vienna and beyond.

The conclusion of this book returns to the initial starting point of this research: the intersection of football fandom and migration. Whereas the respective chapter conclusions discuss the results of the different sections of this book, Chap. 6 will focus on the main themes and results that (re)occured in all chapters and discuss them on a meta-level. In a final analysis, I will recapitulate how self-images and self-representations of Galatasaray and Fenerbahçe fans in Vienna are negotiated via football fandom. I will discuss the ethnicisation of football fandom, of gender and social class in this research field and its meaning for fan discourses. The conclusion offers an outlook to further research on the topic of football fandom and migration and critically reflects the ethnicisation in this ethnographic study.

2

Approaching the Field

This chapter offers a review of the relevant literature for this research with a focus on anthropological and sociological research that deals with transnationalism, gender and migration. This review includes football fan literature from the German-speaking European Ethnology and literature from all over Europe including Turkey that was originally published in English or later translated into English (especially French and Turkish literature). It specifically discusses literature on and about transnationalism, gender and migration due to the fact that these are the central aspects of this research on football fandom.[1] The second part of this chapter then focuses on the theoretical framework of the book. It offers a critical approach to the concept of migration. It further reflects on the theoretical embedment of this research in the framework of anthropology.

[1] The literary review does neither seek to be a comprehensive overview of football fan literature nor of ethnographic approaches to fan cultures or to Turkish-Austrian migration. It instead aims to highlight the crossings where these three threads meet. The literary review furthermore particularly discusses the works that have deeply impacted the underlying research by either having added valuable perspectives to the topic or by helping to dismiss a certain approach. Since this book is institutionally, methodologically and theoretically affiliated with the discipline of the German-speaking European Ethnology, I will particularly also discuss research that stems from this academic strand.

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This reflection includes an introduction to the methodological realm of the concept intersectionality and its theoretical value for the analysis of the ethnographic fieldwork that I conducted for this research.

2.1 Anthropological and Sociological Approaches to Football Fandom in the Nexus of Gender, Migration and Transnationality

For many football researchers in anthropology, Christian Bromberger's ethnographic work on football supporters in Marseille (1991, 1995a, b, 1998, 2003) carried out in the 1980s is considered one of the first comprehensive ethnographies on football (cf. Rolshoven 2008, p. 48). Bromberger showed how an anthropological analysis of football provides an insight into our societies and is therefore not only worth researching but a duty to research for anthropologists. In the German-speaking European Ethnology, one of the first researchers that considered football fan research to be an important part of anthropological research was Rolf Lindner (1980, 1983, 1986; Lindner and Breuer 1978). Lindner's edited volume from 1983 (*Der Satz 'Der Ball ist rund' hat eine gewisse philosophische Tiefe*) includes contributions by the 'big names' in sport research in the 1980s: Norbert Elias (1983), Gunter A. Pilz (1983) and Gunter Gebauer (1983). The contributions of this edited volume discuss, for example, the growing commercialisation, professionalisation and also problems with violence in football fan culture. Aspects of transnationalism, gender, and migration were not yet at the centre of attention.

Recent studies on football fan culture in European Ethnology include Brigitta Schmidt-Lauber's (2003) project on the FC St. Pauli and a collection by Jochen Bonz et al. (2010) on football fan cultures in Northern Germany. Following an explicit ethnographic approach Schmidt-Lauber's edited volume decodes myths, marketing strategies and images of the FC St. Pauli in Hamburg and its fans. The Bonz et al. edited volume especially focuses on the fan culture of Werder Bremen fans. It deals with a variety of topics relevant to fan culture such as policing, sports bars and away games.

2.1.1 Gender Discourses

Female, migrant and queer football supporters are a crucial and visible part of football fan cultures in Europe, yet they are still often considered an extraordinary phenomenon in a white-heterosexual-male-dominated domain. This not only refers to the fact that men often still come in larger numbers to football stadia but also to the fact that fan practices are strongly interwoven with the (re)production of masculinity. One of the recent most comprehensive and critical studies in anthropological football fan research in Germany is Almut Sülzle's *Fußball, Frauen, Männlichkeiten* (*Football, Women, Masculinities*, 2011).

Sülzle makes it clear that fan cultures follow a 'male grammar' (*männliche Grammatik*) in which masculinity is (re)produced by men and women likewise (2011, p. 349). One of the most important traditionalised myths that enforces the reproduction of this male grammar is that football culture has always been a proletarian and male culture. This masculinity is created by othering everything that is perceived as female or as homosexual (Sülzle 2011, p. 349). Nevertheless, in football fan culture a variety of gender constructions and gender roles apply. Sülzle underlines that due to the fact that the construction of masculinities is overemphasised in many football fan cultures, it consequently leaves a chance of agency in gender role constructions for women. This is because there is a lack of definition of what might be considered 'true femininity' whereas there is a definition of 'true masculinity' (Sülzle 2011, p. 352).

Both Gabriele Dietze (2012, p. 55) and Almut Sülzle (2011, pp. 349–50) use Bourdieu's concept of 'serious games' from his book *Masculine Domination* (2002) to explain how hegemonic masculinity is created in football fan cultures. Thereby, 'male community' and 'male honour' are produced to playfully learn the male habitus (Sülzle 2011, pp. 349–50). It is crucial that women can be a part of these 'male games'. They are only excluded when violence becomes part of the game because only 'men of honour' are allowed to take part in violence (Sülzle 2011, pp. 349–50). Michael Meuser makes it clear that these performances of masculinities are particularly visible in football. He calls football a 'paradigmatic practice of masculinity' (*paradigmatische Männlichkeitspraxis*) (Meuser 2008, p. 116). The same applies to the concept of 'fan honour'.

Sülzle argues that women can be part of the common othering practice to degrade opposite fans in insulting their male honour, for example by singing sexist or homophobic chants. Women can take part in the games but can never become 'men of honour' (2011, pp. 232–233). Women thus are recognised and are an accepted part in a male-dominated environment and do likewise accept the male-dominance within the environment (Sülzle 2011, p. 298).

Next to Almut Sülzle's book (2011), research on femininities and masculinities and on sexual identities in football fandom is becoming increasingly relevant (for example Heissenberger 2016), although it is still often at the margins of football fan research interests. Eva Kreisky and Georg Spitaler (2006) coedited a broad inventory of football and gender research discussing male hegemony in football culture. The contributions include a variety of interdisciplinary theoretical, geographical and methodological approaches such as from the Cultural Studies perspective (Marschik 2006), from ethnography (Selmer and Sülzle 2006), media analysis (Spitaler 2006) and a thematic focus on masculinities in Japan (Manzenreiter 2006).

Particularly relevant for this book because of its focus on Turkey and because of its critical analytical approach to the intersection of football fan cultures and gender performances are Yağmur Nuhrat's research (2013a) and Itır Erhart's research (2011). Both researchers raise issues of gender discrimination in football stadia in Turkey. These include especially the use of sexist and homophobic language. Their work informs different chapters of this book because many football discourses and practices of fans of the Turkish league are not specific to Turkey but a transnational phenomenon (for example fan chants).

An important task for researchers is also to reflect on the circumstances under which studies are generated. Almut Sülzle pays special attention to the problems and shortcomings in past football fan research. One of Sülzle's main concerns is the negligence of gender aspects in academic studies. She highlights that the fan practices of female fans need to be considered a regular part of football fan culture. When she emphasises that researchers should therefore not only focus on gender when it is most obvious, but instead they need to include it in every research, she makes clear how research itself is always part of gender hierarchies as well

(Sülzle 2011, p. 353). Accordingly, this book does not only focus on migration and football fandom but also includes gender performances explicitly in the analysis. Questions of gender are important and decisive to many practices and strategies among Galatasaray and Fenerbahçe fans in Vienna. This not only refers to the performance of masculinitnies but also particularly to the performance of femininities.

The question of the research context also includes an analysis of diversity in the academic arena. In this case, it is particularly striking that not only are most fan cultures male-dominated but that this hegemony is also reflected by those that research football fan cultures. The sociologists Richard Giulianotti (for example 1999, 2002) and Gary Armstrong (for example 2003) have published extensively on football fan cultures following an ethnographic approach. In their co-edited book *Entering the Field. New Perspectives on World Football* (1997) Armstrong and Giulianotti collected an impressive geographical diversity of football research and researchers. The collection, however, does not pay much attention to the question of gender. It is not surprising then that only two of the 18 contributing authors were women. Until today women are to a great extent underrepresented in football fan research. However, recent football research shows that the number of female football researchers is increasing. Some classically deal with questions of gender (for example Dietze 2012; Erhart 2011; Sülzle 2005; Selmer and Sülzle 2010). Others study also topics that do not (directly) focus on gender research (for example Kowalska 2016; Hofmann 2016; Schwell 2015).

2.1.2 Migration and Transnationality Discourses

Research on football and migration has been neglected in the past decades, although football fandom and migration interact in various visible ways in public life: as football teams with an ethnicised club directive (cf. Zifonun 2008; Metzger 2011), as players who are constructed as role models for 'integration' (David Alaba or Mesut Özil, cf. Nuhrat 2015) or as football fans of local clubs or clubs from another country (cf. McManus 2013, 2016) like in the case of Galatasaray and Fenerbahçe fans in Vienna. In this book, I argue that migration and transnational

practices have become regular and everyday phenomena in the world of football. Different authors have worked on this topic with different foci. In the following I will discuss the works that are relevant for the discussion in this book.

Together with Roland Robertson, Richard Giulianotti has dedicated a variety of articles to global aspects of football fandom. These include works on glocalisation, migration, transnationalisation and globalisation and their impact on football fandom (Giulianotti and Robertson 2004, 2007a, b, c). Richard Giulianotti and Roland Robertson (2007a) offer a rather sociological approach to football fandom and migration.[2] In their article 'Forms of Glocalization', they explore the strategies of football fans that migrated from Scotland to North America. By claiming that the local can be mobile, they argue that fans can take their local fan culture with them during or after migration and apply a rather one-dimensional definition of culture (Giulianotti and Robertson 2007a, p. 134). In their article, they offer four categories of analysis:

(a) Relativization: The strategy of relativization includes keeping 'core cultural allegiances'. It means that an imagined community is kept alive by expressing national identity (via songs, team emblems, folklore from the home country) which can include the degradation of North American viewpoints (2007a, pp. 137–138).
(b) Accommodation: This strategy embraces the accommodation of cultural differences. It means that fans accommodate with the people in the host society, use local pubs et cetera for their fan practices and adapt to the local requirements and conditions (2007a, pp. 140–142).
(c) Hybridization: The most constructive strategy that Giulianotti and Robertson identify is hybridization. Thereby, they refer to practices where fans perform 'hybrid supporter rituals' such as hybrid club names or hybrid fan products (for example the New York Celtic Supporters Club) (2007a, pp. 143–144).

[2] One of Richard Giulianotti's articles (2002) on football fandom pays special attention to the categorisation of supporters. By dividing them in 'supporters', 'followers', 'fans', and 'flaneurs', he offers a framework for the understanding of different spectator types. His approach, however, neglects the situational and contextual notion of fan practices and is therefore not entirely helpful to this anthropological study.

(d) Transformation: The strategy of transformation characterises the point of who is 'us' and who is 'them' and how that is negotiated. In Giulianotti and Robertson's study this does specifically refer to the fact that religion and politics are not that important anymore for the fan identity; as a result collective rituals change. Rather, their key question here is: will there be a next generation of football supporters? (2007a, pp. 144–147).

Giulianotti and Robertson evolved their categories around the question of 'how migrant groups sustain significant elements of their "local" culture while critically engaging with particular aspects of their host society' (2007a, p. 147). As helpful as such categorisations might be, they do cause various issues. As mentioned before, their definition of culture is rather one-dimensional. Moreover, it does seem as if culture is something one can 'carry around'. If we rather refer to a term like 'practices' that are constructed, we can stress the temporal and especially contextual and situational notion of fandom. The overlapping and temporal discontinuity of these four strategies consequently would warrant more attention.

Anthony King (2000, 2003) and Cornel Sandvoss (2003, 2005, 2012) follow a transnational approach with the focus on Europeanisation processes rather than migration. King's fieldwork on Manchester United fans revealed that for many fans the club identity has become more important than a possible identification with the national team. Furthermore, travelling through Europe to see Manchester United play on a European level results in getting familiar with the concept of Europe which indicates the Europeanising notion of football (2000, p. 425). In line with this, Sandvoss emphasises another important point regarding European identification. In his study on Chelsea FC and Bayer 04 Leverkusen he concludes that while fans maybe do not 'feel European', because of the football experience they indeed do 'act European' (Sandvoss 2012, p. 97).

John McManus also deals with transnational phenomena in contemporary football. In this case, the research also focuses on a migrant perspective on fandom in Europe. McManus researches Beşiktaş fan communities in England, Germany and in Europe more generally (McManus 2013, 2015, 2016). He focuses on the role of technology,

new media and 'polymedia' (Madianou and Miller 2012) in this nexus with special regard to practices of place-making in a transnational online and offline context. His research, like the present book, is so far amongst the few studies that explicitly focus on football fan practices of supporters in a diasporic context, more specifically on fans that keep on supporting the team of their own home country or the parents' home country.

European football has been characterised by its postmigrant and migrant players (cf. Liegl and Spitaler 2008) and fans from different parts of the world. Particularly, because football is a place where it is relatively easy to join a community (cf. Sülzle 2011, p. 239), it is thus a place that is attractive for migrants to a certain extent (cf. Schmidt-Lauber 2008, p. 52). Referring to Bromberger (1998), Brigitta Schmidt-Lauber argues that fandom offers a chance to connect to members of the host society via the shared cultural practice of football (2008, p. 52). This is in line with what the football researcher Max Gluckmann has experienced and reflected on when moving from South Africa to England (cf. Gordon and Grundlingh 2016).

Cornel Sandvoss's work does not explicitly focus on migration but does include migrant perspectives on football fandom from a transnational perspective. He argues that the loyalty to the parents' home team is most of the time a club affiliation and not a national one. The interest in the national team of the parents' home is thus mostly rather small (2012, p. 87). Sandvoss calls these fans transnational migrants, comparing their loyalty and rivalry practices to those people who have a 'subnational migratory background' (2012, p. 88). Schmidt-Lauber argues that in the context of migration, nationalities are often questioned and need to be newly negotiated (2009, p. 446). She makes it clear that among migrants it is especially obvious that people have plural loyalties and affiliations (ibid.). However, there is considerable pressure on migrants who are often forced to choose one loyalty and whose plural loyalties are problematised. This does not only apply to a football context but also, for example, to citizenship. The problematisation of plural affiliations will be discussed throughout this book.

Victoria Schwenzer and Nicole Selmer (2010) have written a comprehensive overview about the lack of academic research on football fandom and migration. The authors underline the critique of the claim that football is a mirror of society. Migrant fans, they write, are still underrepresented in (German) stadia and have been of little interest to the clubs for a long time (Schwenzer and Selmer 2010, p. 388). With technology enhancing, it is easier to follow any league around the world. This is especially interesting for migrant football fans, as they can watch league matches on a regular basis in a pub, on a computer or elsewhere. Schwenzer and Selmer identify two perspectives for migrant fans that are linked to this development. When watching football in a (Turkish) pub generation-spanning can be considered a common practice among football fans. However, it is also a recent cultural practice of growing transnational fandom and transnational fan communities (Schwenzer and Selmer 2010).

Alongside Schwenzer and Selmer, Ayhan Kaya refers to how experiences of exclusion can be negotiated in popular culture. He writes about the role of the Turkish hip-hop youth in Berlin-Kreuzberg and also about the role of being a fan of a Turkish club, in which they 'form […] a kind of part-time communitarianism that provides them with a political response to their exclusion from the public space in Germany.' (Kaya 2001, pp. 157–8) In their contribution on fans and migration, Schwenzer and Selmer emphasise the usefulness of Axel Honneth's 'Theory of Recognition' for the analysis of processes related to migration because they are very often connected to a 'struggle for recognition' (Schwenzer and Selmer 2010, pp. 387, 394–5). Honneth's theory of recognition (Honneth 1990, 1992, 1996) is on the one hand helpful to understand migration processes (cf. Becker 2001; Szogs 2010) but it entails the risk of victimising migrants and their actions via assuming that 'failures of recognition' are a regular part particularly of a migrant's life.[3] I will use Honneth's theory for this book as an analytical approach to experiences of disrespect that are partly specific to a migrant context, but emphasising that experiences of disrespect are part of everyone's everyday life.

[3] A major argument of Honneth's theory is that every single individual experiences 'disrespect'; it is not specific to migrant contexts (Honneth 1990, 1992, 1996).

2.2 A Theoretical and Methodological Approach to Ethnographic Research on Migration and Intersectionality

Generally, theoretical concepts are explained in the respective chapters to which analysis they are relevant. In this chapter, theories, concepts and terms will be discussed that are central to the entire understanding of and approach to the research field and to this book.

The central terms for an anthropological analysis that follows a constructivist and praxeological approach are: performances or performativity, practices, narrations and strategies. These terms are central for this book as we can already see in the research foci as discussed in the introduction. I therefore shortly define them in the way they are used in this research. First of all, these terms do not exclude each other but overlap and intersect. If we understand performativity and performances in the sense of Judith Butler, 'not as a singular or deliberate "act", but rather, as a reiterative and citational practice by which discourse produces the effects that it names' (2011 [1993], p. xii), then we can see how narrations, strategies and practices are always also performances. At the same time, I understand practices as any social (human) action (cf. Reckwitz 2003, p. 290). This generally also includes narratives. I will refer to the term narratives and narrations if I want to explicitly emphasise that I refer to the practice of narrating or telling.

The narratives in this book are the stories, motives and myths that Fenerbahçe and Galatasaray fans told me in interview situations or in conversations during participant observations. The analysis of these narratives is central to this book to understand 'the fundamental ways in which humans organize their understanding of the world. […] Narrating is, after all, a major means of making sense of past experience and sharing it with others.' (Cortazzi 2001, p. 384) This means that narratives are not only important to understand what happened to interviewees in the past or what concerns them in the present, but narratives themselves are practices of human action that shape meaning. They can be strategies to represent, to explain, to organise thus to *construct* actions and meanings as well as to construct others and selves (Lucius-Hoene and Deppermann 2004b, p. 61).

Regarding 'strategies', I understand the concept of strategies also as practices following Ann Swidler's approach. Swidler argues that culture is a 'tool kit' that helps to create 'strategies of action' (Swidler 1986, p. 273). Here, strategies are not conscious plans, but 'a general way of organizing action' (ibid., p. 277). Culture can be considered a '"tool kit" of symbols, stories, rituals, and world-views, which people may use in varying configurations to solve different kinds of problems' (ibid., p. 273).

Following these approaches I consider my interviews and participant observations as embedded in socio-cultural contexts that are flexible and processual. Culture and society and thus also research and all it contains are processual phenomena that need to be analysed as such (Binder and Hess 2011, p. 48). This also applies for the concept of fan loyalties and rivalries, selves and others as they are hybrid and flexible constructs (Bauman 2000; Hall 1996a).

2.2.1 Migration

Many researchers have criticised generalisations in migration research that often stem from the negligence of questions of milieu and subculture (cf. Römhild 2014, p. 260; Binder and Hess 2011). Regina Römhild emphasises that academia does not need yet another study about migrants but should instead include migrants into regular research (similarly to how Sülzle argues for gender) about questions of society and culture (Römhild 2014, p. 263). In their research on urbanities and migration Nina Glick Schiller and Ayşe Çağlar have argued that researching culture through an 'ethnic lens' leads inevitably to a one-sided and one-dimensional analysis of social phenomena (Glick Schiller and Çağlar 2009, p. 177). In their case, they relate their argument particularly to a failure in examining 'the dynamic relationship between migrants and the places of migrant departure and settlement' (ibid., 2009, p. 178).

Social processes that evolve around the phenomenon of 'migration' do impact the practices and narratives of Galatasaray and Fenerbahçe fans in Vienna. But in the narratives and practices of these supporters migration is only *one* constructed social factor that intersects with others that are part of a flexible 'assemblage'. In accordance with the concept of

assemblages that is for example used by Aihwa Ong and Stephen Collier (2005) the inductive approach of this endeavour has proven that qualitative research is always intermingled in certain temporal situations and a great number of contexts that are situated in a flexible framework. These contexts, however, do not just 'appear' out of thin air but are also formed by historically grown experiences and hegemonic discourses (Guitérrez Rodríguez 2010, 2011). Only if we historically reflect terms and concepts, such as migration, can we fully understand their social and cultural dimensions in terms of power, agency and oppression.

The term 'migrant' itself is vague and can refer to a variety of meanings and concepts. Who is a migrant after all? Is it simply someone who moves to one country from another to work, to study or to reunite with one's family? Is someone whose grandparents have moved to another country decades ago still a migrant? Aren't most of us some kind of migrant then? Are the students from Istanbul who appear in this research migrants? Are the people from the Fenerbahçe Pub that were born and raised in Vienna migrants? Am I a migrant because I moved from Germany to Austria to work in a research project? Or am I an expat?

Particularly, when people differentiate between the term 'expats' or 'expatriates' and the term 'migrant' or 'immigrant', it becomes clear that these attributions refer to much more than to moving from one place to another. In 2015, Mawuna Remarque Koutonin summarised the inequality that is enclosed in these terms in the British newspaper *The Guardian* in a simple headline: 'Why are white people expats when the rest of us are immigrants?' (theGuardian.com [Koutonin, M. R.] 2015). Koutonin makes it clear that the colour of one's skin decides on the privileges a migrant has, which is very simple: when migrants are called expats they have privileges, if migrants are called migrants they do not. Here, migrant is constructed as an ethnicised attribution. This goes hand in hand with the constructed intersection of migration and (lower) social class and with, again, ethnicity.

In Regina Römhild's discussion about academic research on migration, it becomes clear that academia enforces the definition of migrants as poor(er), less educated and often marginalised people and expatriates as rich, well-educated and most importantly 'white' people (Römhild 2014, p. 264). This is due to the fact that researchers have extensively focused

on the former and neglected the latter in their research agenda. Already in 1969, Laura Nader was pleading to broaden the anthropological perspective from 'studying down' to also 'studying up' to gain a better understanding of power and responsibilities in society and also to critically reflect on power relations between the researchers and the researched.

> [W]e find relatively abundant literature on the poor, the ethnic groups, the disadvantaged; there is comparatively little field research on the middle class and very little first-hand work on the upper classes. Anthropologists might indeed ask themselves whether the entirety of field work does not depend upon a certain power relationship in favor of the anthropologist, and whether indeed such dominant-subordinate relationships may not be affecting the kinds of theories we are weaving. What if, in reinventing anthropology, anthropologists were to study the colonizers rather than the colonized, the culture of power rather than the culture of the powerless, the culture of affluence rather than the culture of poverty? (Nader 1972 [1969], p. 289)

The researcher needs to critically reflect on his or her choice of interview partners and the research field in general. For the case of migration research, 'studying down' is thus still a widespread problem. Debates include ethnicising attributions and the factor of social class is mostly left unmentioned. Researchers, media and politics likewise neglect to reflect the crucial category of social class in their analysis of social phenomena.[4] When academics only focus on poor(er) migrants or migrant milieus at the margins of society rather than on wealthy and/or well-educated individuals at the top ranks of society – without any discussion of the role of social class in this nexus – then being 'poor' becomes sort of a 'natural' attribution to migration.

In my research field, the multidimensionality and bias of the term migrant also often led to confusions. Right from the beginning my research included interviewees that were drawn from all different kinds of backgrounds. Many had university degrees while others were working in a factory. The 'classic' and one-dimensional definition of a migrant in its intersection with social class would rather refer to the latter. The well-educated ones, of whom some had just recently moved to Vienna, would

[4] Binder and Hess (2011) offer a comprehensive overview of this problem in recent research.

rather be referred to as 'expats' or exchange students. However, according to the very basic definition of 'migrant', as someone who moves from one country to another, the latter fall even more clearly under the category of migrant than the ones who were born and have lived in Austria for a long time. Nevertheless, those that might have lived in Vienna for generations are the ones that are predominantly regarded and perceived as migrants. Here, the complexity of the term migrant becomes very obvious.

Some researchers work with the terms 'migrant' and 'postmigrant' (cf. Kiwan 2007; Wagner 2008). The aim of this distinction is to differentiate between people that recently moved from one country to another and between the ones that have not migrated themselves but whose lives are strongly impacted by the migration of their parents or grandparents. I will use this differentiation only where it is crucial to the analysis because it contains yet another possibility for categorising people in far too simple schemata which reduce people to a migration history.

The intermingling of social class, ethnicity and migration was similarly evident in discussions about my German background in my research field in Vienna. Technically, I am also a migrant in Austria. Saying that though often caused big laughter among my interviewees. Nobody in my research field seriously considered me a migrant. I spoke German as my only mother tongue and worked at a Viennese university. Neither my skin colour, nor my language, nor my social class fit into the widespread definition of what features a migrant 'should' have – also from a migrant's point of view. We can conclude that migration is not simply about mobility, but about many other levels of othering practices and attributions.

2.2.2 Intersectionality and Ethnography

For this book, this leads to the necessity of a multi-dimensional approach to actively including the multiplicity of not only migration but of the research field and its different intersecting layers in general. Gabriele Dietze has shown that football research can only profit from an intersectional perspective to reveal the interplay of the recent 'big four' in football: nationalism, sexism, racism, and homophobia (2012). The intersectional analysis was initially conceptualised to reveal social hierarchies and hegemonies with

special regard to the interdependence of sexism and racism (cf. Crenshaw 1989; Collins 2000 [1990]; hooks 1998 [1981]). Even though the term 'intersectionality' was not explicitly mentioned in early analyses the argument stays the same: discrimination is rarely a stand-alone phenomenon but connected to various other social power structures and forms of oppression. In Germany, for example, this became particularly obvious during the first feminist movement. Helene Lange, amongst others, was fighting for women's rights but from a middle class perspective. Clara Zetkin of the socialist feminist movement, on the other hand, fought for the rights of working class women that had to deal with a very different set of problems in their everyday lives (Honeycutt 1976; Frandsen 1982).

Approaching the research field with the concept of intersectionality has proven to be helpful in order to avoid generalisations. It is useful to tackle the general lack of focus on milieus and subcultures in migration research (cf. Römhild 2014, p. 260; Binder and Hess 2011). An intersectional approach underlines the multi-facetted construction of social phenomena. Vera Kallenberg, Johanna M. Müller and Jennifer Meyer suggest 'a flexible, self-reflexive and pragmatic concept of intersectionality' (2013, p. 30). This follows Beate Binder and Sabine Hess who argue for the case of anthropology to not work with predetermined categories but to use the strength of ethnography. Thereby, they plead for an open-minded approach for situative, dynamically constructed contexts and their analysis from an inductive approach as part of an intersectional analysis (2011, pp. 49–52). This argument is important because the term 'intersectionality' has particularly been criticised because it encapsulates the danger to essentialise and simplify those categories that are seemingly intersecting (Knapp 2011, pp. 259–60).

Kallenberg, Müller and Meyer summarise this critique:

> Figuratively speaking, the picture of a crossing could only apprehend the interplay of already set categories, but not their co-constitution. (Kallenberg et al. 2013, p. 24)

Nevertheless, they further argue for the use of intersectionality as a method of analysis when the researcher is eager 'to outline categories historically and to historicize intersectional analysis' (ibid., p. 26). In this

book, I will therefore use the following definition of an intersectional analysis as a theoretical and also a methodological approach:

> We understand "intersectionality" as a provisional heuristic instrument that does not, however, claim to be able to disentangle the complexity of social mediacy. What it does, though, is to examine the production of difference and inequality in a given historical constellation from a situated point of view both synchronically and diachronically. Here, "intersectionality" appears as both process and result of intertwined, often contradicting, mediated (social, economic, juridical, political and cultural) processes of transformation, and (socially, normatively, symbolically) entangled practices. The possible results of an analysis are constituted by the process of entwining and the viewpoint of the researcher. (ibid., pp. 30–31)

They suggest that the role of the researcher is central to the analysis. This is, however, not specific to an intersectional analysis but one of the basic requirements of an anthropological study. A reflexive approach to understand the interview sections and the fieldnotes is therefore not only necessary but essential for the following analysis.

3

Entering the Field

The central places where football fandom of the two Istanbul clubs Galatasaray and Fenerbahçe is performed in Vienna on a daily basis are *Beisln* (pubs), streets, fan clubs, and living rooms. The advancement of media and technology results in the chance to integrate fandom easily in one's everyday practices (cf. McManus 2015; Sandvoss 2012). This includes celebrations of championships in various public places in the city. Vienna as a football space and city has become deeply entangled with the performance of fandom, and for many Fenerbahçe and Galatasaray fans it is the origin of their fandom. For all of the fans that are a central part of this book Vienna is the main physical space where football takes place in their everyday lives – next to many online spaces. Chris Stone summarises the meaning of everyday life in the football context:

> It is in everyday life that football culture is primarily perpetuated, expressed and experienced. That is not to say that the spectacle of match-days and the actuality of football teams' performances and results do not play an important part for many supporters, but it is not the primary aspect of football culture that affects individuals' notions of self-identity, belonging and interpersonal

N. Szogs, *Football Fandom and Migration*, Football Research in an Enlarged Europe, DOI 10.1007/978-3-319-50944-0_3

> relations; all of which are initiated, reinforced and challenged through the enactment, internalization, embodiment and contestation of structural influences within the daily practices of life. (Stone 2007, p. 170)

This book has a strong ethnographic focus. The ethnographic fieldwork includes predominantly participant observations and qualitative interviews (cf. Bernard 2006). Interview sections and also sections from my fieldnotes are directly quoted in this book to underline the ethnographic emphasis of this research. Moreover, I have included the analysis of different online and offline media that the respective interview partners referred to during participant observations or qualitative interviews. Part of the fieldwork was also staying up-to-date on Austrian, transnational and Turkish fanzines, fan fora, Facebook pages and Austrian and German media reports on Turkish football. Furthermore, the research comprised the analysis of leaflets, pictures, (self-made) merchandise and many other items relevant to football fan culture of Galatasaray and Fenerbahçe fans and beyond.

The 18-months long fieldwork was conducted from August 2012 until December 2013. In late spring 2013 the Gezi protests in Turkey sparked off and also impacted the everyday lives of Fenerbahçe and Galatasaray fans in Vienna. Gezi Park is one of the few remaining parks in Istanbul and located right next to Taksim Square in the European part of the city. Thousands of protesters gathered to stand up against the neoliberal politics and construction plans of the government and against President Erdoğan's conservative and authoritarian regime. Gezi changed the discourses about Turkish football and about fandom to a Turkish club. It was a critical moment of hope to some interview partners that directly impacted narratives about club loyalties and rivalries. Additionally, Fenerbahçe was expelled from European tournaments because of match fixing accusations, which again changed narrations about the football clubs and the fan practices.

The fieldwork was conducted in different cities and countries, but the home or main site for my research was the city of Vienna. I went to several Viennese pubs where Galatasaray and Fenerbahçe matches were broadcasted. I was invited to join fans to watch matches in living rooms and I sometimes visited official fan clubs and fan associations

in Vienna. For the Europa League and Champions League matches I accompanied Fenerbahçe fans to Salzburg (Austria) and went to Schalke (Gelsenkirchen, Germany). During summer 2013, I went to Istanbul for one month to join those interviewees that went to Istanbul for the summer. In Istanbul, I watched matches with my interview partners and their friends and families in bars and in the stadium. Also, I visited places that the football supporters in Vienna had told me about. These places mostly were part of nostalgic and 'mystifying' narrations and I linked these narrations to the actual places. They included for example the football stadia, the club museums and the Bağdat Caddesi (Bagdad Street) in Kadıköy, which is famous for big celebrations when Fenerbahçe wins derbies or championships. This stay in Istanbul took place shortly after the first wave of the Gezi protests and the city and its people were still shaped by the protests. The one-month stay in 2013 was complemented by a one week field trip to Istanbul in spring 2014.

My research can to some extent be considered a multi-sited ethnography (Marcus 1995) because I accompanied my interview partners to different places in Europe. Although Vienna is the main physical site, for many of the fans mobility is a central aspect to the fan practices that I observed and therefore my fieldwork also had to be mobile. It could therefore also be described as following 'moving targets' (Welz 1998) to different football-relevant places. However, it might not even be necessary to find a term for being mobile while doing fieldwork. Mobility has become a general precondition and thus normal in many research fields. This does include football fandom that is strongly impacted by transnationalisation, Europeanisation and globalisation. I follow Sabine Hess's and Maria Schwertl's understanding of an alterable or flexible field that needs to be reconsidered and reviewed constantly (2013, p. 31).

The sample that was used for the analysis consists of 34 participant observations and 16 qualitative interviews.[1] All interview locations were chosen by my interview partners and thus all interviews were conducted in an environment that the interviewees knew and felt comfortable in. Some of them were football related places, some of them were not.

[1] For an overview over the qualitative interviews and participant observations please see a table in the appendix of this book.

One interview in Istanbul was conducted in English, all of the other interviews were conducted in German and then partly translated into English for this book by myself. Most of my interviewees used Turkish words or terminologies in the interviews, which I did not translate directly into an English equivalent but which are indicated. The same applies to Austrian idioms when they are necessary to understand the context. Pseudonyms have been used for all the names of persons, places and fan clubs in order to maintain confidentiality. The names of cities and football stadia remain the same. Age, job positions, and further details of the interview partners are taken from the time in which the fieldwork was conducted.

The interviews consisted of three parts: a biographical part, a part on everyday practices of fandom, and lastly a part on the meaning that people attribute to their club. I did not follow a strict questionnaire but three different interview units that contained different topics. The strength of the qualitative or narrative interview is its flexibility regarding unexpected topic changes or insights in the interview situations (Schmidt-Lauber 2007). Consequently, I could adapt questions according to the different interview situations and to the interviewee's interests. I was able to stay open-minded because the methodology particularly allows for unexpected turns in the interview (cf. Dornheim 1984). At the same time all interviews at least touched upon the same topics to make them to a certain extent comparable.

An important example for the so-called 'situated knowledge' (Haraway 1988) in research is the decision to conduct all interviews that took place in Vienna in German. This was on the one hand due to my insufficient Turkish language skills but on the other hand it also generated an interesting perspective. Talking about the support of a Turkish team, where fan chants, broadcasting and transnational online chat rooms are predominantly in Turkish generates the need for translation and therefore sometimes also for rethinking for example when interview partners translated fan chants.

The analysis of all interview transcripts and fieldnotes followed the grounded theory approach by Anselm L. Strauss and Barney G. Glaser (Strauss 1987, 1994; Glaser and Strauss 1967). This technique was chosen to ensure the continuation of the inductive approach of this anthropological research also during the course of analysis. Transcripts and fieldnotes

were coded, memoed and analysed during and after the fieldwork period to keep openness to the research and to leave the chance for 'surprises' in the very sense of an inductive approach and of ethnography.

3.1 The Research Field

In this book I will often talk simply about football fans meaning always both female and male football fans because in almost all locations such as pubs or football stadia there were always both women and men or girls and boys. If I am referring to a men-only group I will talk about male football fans and if I am referring to a women-only group I will explicitly talk about female football fans.

Galatasaray and Fenerbahçe fans in Vienna are as diverse in terms of social class, education, places they grew up, political affiliations, age and gender as football fans are elsewhere. One aim of the research was to look into contrastive groups to be able to understand fandom practices, perceptions and meanings from different socio-cultural perspectives. My interview partners have various political affiliations, from left-wing to conservative. Many of them were born and raised in Vienna; others have spent most of their life in Istanbul and came to Vienna only a few years ago. And others spent their childhood and teenage years partly in Vienna and partly in Istanbul. Some engage in their football fandom in Vienna only, while many spend their 'fan time' split between Vienna, Istanbul and other European cities. All of them are neither hooligans nor ultras. Some are very committed and even own a season ticket for matches in Istanbul, whereas others prefer watching at home in Vienna in front of the computer. However, all of them consume Turkish football on a regular basis and communicate via social media and transnational channels. They stay up-to-date by following Turkish (football) media such as newspapers or TV channels. All of them have in common that they are connected to Turkey via their families: either their parents or grandparents came from Turkey or they were born in Turkey themselves.

A general precondition to this research project is the technological advancement that occurred only in the last two decades. In interviews

with football fans that migrated in the 1970s or 1980s to Vienna,[2] the supporters often talked about the problems they experienced in performing their fandom back then. One could not watch matches and could only find out the results in newspapers that often arrived days after the match. They said that it was the only way to find out the results. With technology enhancement, the situation changed and my interviewees explained that they resumed following Turkish football on a regular basis. The Süper Lig (the highest Turkish football league) fan culture in Vienna, as it can be observed today, is still quite new due to limited accessibility in the past. The use of media changed and is still changing the perception and more importantly also the performance of football fandom abroad. It enables a fan to integrate the performance of love and loyalty to a football club into their everyday lives simultaneously to the events in Turkey. In the past, due to the lack of information, watching football in a bar and spontaneously going to public places to celebrate the victory of an important match was simply not possible. As a result, Turkish football fan culture was less visible in the city of Vienna.

My fieldwork research initially began through my participation in and communication with two non-organised groups of fans in Vienna: a group of students from Istanbul and a group of local regulars from a pub which I will refer to as the 'Fenerbahçe Pub'. Starting from these two groups, my research led me to many other different groups, fan clubs and individuals. As varied as my interviewees are in many aspects, all of them associate themselves with a Turkish diaspora in Vienna, and all of them were either born in Vienna or have been living there for several years, thereby having strong affiliations to the city. Most of them are either in their twenties and early thirties or late forties and early fifties and they are both male and female.

The following sections do not include all interview partners or persons from my fieldnotes that will be mentioned in the course of the book. The people that I introduce here are the central persons in my research and they are particularly central for the analysis.

[2] Interview Orhan, in his late forties, male, Galatasaray fan, 9 November 2012, café, Vienna, afternoon. Interview Metin, 45 years old, male, Galatasaray fan, Metin's and his family's apartment, Viennese suburb, afternoon; together with his daughter Derya, 15 years old, Galatasaray fan and his wife Nevin, in her forties.

3.1.1 Sibel, Cem, Sinan, and Selin

The first group of fans, that is, the students from Istanbul, came to Austria after they finished school in Turkey in order to continue their studies at one of the universities in Vienna. Most of them were enrolled in programmes in art, design and other similar disciplines. The school they attended in Istanbul is prestigious and considered to be mostly available to students that come from a middle class background. They were confronted with similar problems that many other students face when studying abroad, such as visa issues, language difficulties, and loneliness, to name but a few. The crucial difference, however, is that due to the large Turkish diaspora in Vienna, they were often associated with the constructed image of Turkish '*Gastarbeiter*' ['guest worker'] migrants in Austria and consequently also faced similar prejudices and stereotypes.

The central persons in the student group are Sibel, Cem and Sinan. They represent a female and male perspective of educated students that grew up in Istanbul. All three underwent a good education and had the financial and educational possibilities to go abroad to study. They thus represent a well-educated middle class from Istanbul. Selin grew up in Vienna, is also well-educated and is friends with some of the fans from the student group. All four of them are in their twenties and early thirties and engaged in rather artistic studies. They have jobs and/or interests in the same area. All of them were strongly politicised when the Gezi protests sparked off in late spring 2013 but already belonged to a rather left-wing milieu before that.

Coming from the metropolis of Istanbul, one of the biggest cities in the world, Sibel, Cem and Sinan grew up and were socialised in a very diverse environment with innumerable possibilities for going out, studying, spending time and watching football. Selin goes to Istanbul quite often, as well. I met her at an art event as part of the Gezi protests in Istanbul in summer 2013. Contrary to their self-image, in Vienna all of them are often identified as 'being Turkish' rather than as being part of a cosmopolitan artistic elite. Ethnicised or nationalised attributions of being Turkish in Austria strongly intersect with attributions of social class and political views. Thus, being associated with a Turkish diaspora

does not only generate images of coming from Turkey or having Turkish ancestors but also coming from a lower social class and often also of being conservative. This often resulted in serious practices of distinction from other Turkish migrants in Vienna (Chap. 5).

One male fan from this group, Cem, was a central character for my research. He can be considered the classic door opener or gatekeeper. He was the first person I interviewed and he later introduced me to other people and eventually he also introduced me to the owner of the Fenerbahçe Pub. He is a key informant or rather 'key participant', as information does not simply 'exist' and is then 'given' to the ethnographer but is produced in the interaction with the ethnographer (O'Reilly 2009, p. 136). Via Cem I gained access to Galatasaray and also to Fenerbahçe fans in Vienna. He initially decided which doors were open for me and which ones stayed closed (cf. Lindner 1984). As the book will show, this is why my contact to football fans in Vienna started quite commonly with people drawn from a similar milieu to my own and I only slowly gained access to other Fenerbahçe and Galatasaray supporters in Vienna.

With the student group I watched matches in private places and in different pubs throughout Vienna depending on the match. One of the places that they mostly frequented is a place that I will refer to as 'Football Restaurant'. It is a restaurant with an eating area and a big ballroom that served predominantly Turkish dishes. The ballroom is the room that is most crowded and loud during important matches such as Champions League matches. In the 'Football Restaurant' all of the tables were covered with white table cloths which gave the place a very formal, restaurant-like appearance. The restaurant contained several TV sets in every room which screened football on match days.

3.1.2 Emre, Alper, Ayla and the Fenerbahçe Pub

Emre is the owner of the Fenerbahçe Pub. He has lived both in Vienna and in Istanbul throughout his childhood and teenage years. He is familiar with both cities regarding football fan practices and issues. Alper is the main bartender in the Fenerbahçe Pub during football matches. He grew up in Vienna and learned and practiced his fandom predominantly

in Austria. Ayla is one of the female guests who frequents the Fenerbahçe Pub with her female and male friends. She regularly goes to Turkey to visit friends and family and to buy Fenerbahçe merchandise. All of them are in their twenties, went to school in Vienna, work in blue-collar jobs or have professions that do not require a university degree. Ayla and Alper are an example of fans that have predominantly lived in Vienna and that have parents who are either first- or already second-generation migrants from Turkey. Emre represents fans that were socialised both in Vienna and in Istanbul. Ayla and Emre were also interested in politics in Turkey in terms of the Gezi protests. Many of the pub visitors are in their twenties and thirties but also older men frequent the pub during match days. Guests from the Fenerbahçe Pub eventually led me to different fan clubs in Vienna.

Both the Fenerbahçe Pub and the Football Restaurant are located in districts in Vienna that accommodate many other Turkish shops and restaurants. The Fenerbahçe Pub will be described in further detail in the following section. Most notably however, the Fenerbahçe Pub is known for a certain diversity of people that frequent it. Contrary to the group of fans from Istanbul that are quite homogenous in terms of education, interests, and political views, the pub consists of people from all different kinds of backgrounds. Men and women go there, blue-collar people as well as some white-collar people, conservatives, liberals, Fenerbahçe, Galatasaray, Trabzonspor fans, people that grew up in Istanbul, people that never go to Istanbul and so on. The Fenerbahçe Pub cannot be considered as a leftist *bobo*[3] or hipster place, which are very popular in Vienna and which the students from Istanbul usually visit.

3.1.3 Metin, His Family and the Supporters from the Fenerbahçe Fan Bus

I accompanied Metin to two football matches in football stadia (to a Fenerbahçe match in Salzburg and to a Galatasaray match in Istanbul). He is in his mid-forties and has a teenage daughter and a teenage son, who are also passionate Galatasaray fans like himself. He lives with his wife and

[3] Bourgoise-bohème.

children in a Viennese suburb. Metin regularly goes to the stadium in Istanbul and is an example for someone who has actively integrated his family into his football fandom practices. He has a working class background and is the only one in his family who was born and raised in Turkey.

I met Metin in a crowd of Fenerbahçe fans who were on their way to a Fenerbahçe match in Salzburg. The whole trip was organised by the official Fenerbahçe Fan Club in Vienna. Metin's friend Birol, also a Galatasaray fan, was accompanying him to this match. The trip to the Fenerbahçe match in Salzburg was particularly insightful for this research. Here, four men with different, sometimes contrary, political affiliations were confronted with my presence in the fan bus (Chap. 5). Whereas Birol, Metin and the Fenerbahçe fan Demir are examples of liberal men that do not take their own constructed masculinity and ethnicity too seriously, Ayhan is as a conservative counter pole in this nexus.

3.1.4 Merve, Sedat, Mehmet and the Young Fenerbahçe Fan Club

One of the Fenerbahçe fan clubs in Vienna was founded especially for younger Fenerbahçe fans. The aim of this fan club is to include children, teenagers and young grown-ups into a family-like environment to support Fenerbahçe. When I first met this group, they did not have their own club house yet, so we met at different places mostly close to the Fenerbahçe Pub and sometimes even in the Fenerbahçe Pub. In terms of social class and education, the people from the Young Fenerbahçe Fan Club are similar to the group of people that frequent the Fenerbahçe Pub. Regarding politics and gender roles, however, they sometimes displayed rather conservative views. The owner of the Fenerbahçe Pub, Emre, and the regular Fenerbahçe Pub visitor, Ayla, introduced me to Sedat and Mehmet. They are the main organisers of the fan club for young Fenerbahçe fans in Vienna. At an event of the Young Fenerbahçe Fan Club I finally met Merve. Merve used to be an active member in the Young Fenerbahçe Fan Club. Later, I also met her in the Fenerbahçe Pub. Merve is 21 years old and works in child care. Sedat is 18 years old and still goes to school. Mehmet, who is 27 years old, works in a non-professional job.

3.2 Entering the Field: The Fenerbahçe Pub

The entering phase of research is often when the first findings are made (Lindner 1984). How are outsiders treated? Is a group used to welcoming new people or not? What is required to become a regular member of a group or to be able to enter certain places? The aim of the following sections is to show how I entered the research field, what kind of obstacles occurred when I tried to do so and in what way the analysis of these obstacles can be considered as first results (cf. Szogs 2014). Central to this introductory discussion is a critical reflection of my role as a researcher and my personal background.

The research draws on ethnographic fieldwork following an inductive approach. Using participant observation and narrative interviews, it is crucial to reflect the role of the researcher in the fieldwork process and also during the analysis. Donna Haraway follows the approach when she talks about 'situated knowledges' (1988). Haraway refers to the fact that the researcher produces a certain kind of research results that can only be understood when they are interpreted within the situation and context where, when and by whom they were generated.

Even the research field as I define it must be understood as a 'praxeological construction by the researchers'[4] (Hess and Schwertl 2013, p. 32 [author's translation]). Since a comprehensive and 'radical contextualism' (Ang 1996) is not possible in its entirety, it is nonetheless necessary to attempt to 'contextualise radically' to guarantee detailed insights into research practices. Ien Ang emphasises that the researcher is responsible for producing a certain reality and therefore must be open regarding his or her standpoint. This includes questions of for whom I am writing, in which context I am writing and what position I have myself (ibid., pp. 56–71).

My nationality, my gender, my social class and my political views influenced the research field and were important factors in the interview situations, during participant observations, regarding the choice of my research field and throughout the analysis. Therefore, a critical analysis of the entering period and the context of my perspective on the field is crucial to the interpretation of fieldnotes and interview transcripts, also for the following chapters.

[4] Original: 'praxeologische Konstruktion von Forschenden.'

I will exemplarily focus on my first visits to a pub that many supporters of Turkish football frequent. Throughout the chapters I will refer to this location as the 'Fenerbahçe Pub' in order to facilitate recognising this specific place. It was not the starting point of my research about Galatasaray and Fenerbahçe fans in general but it was the starting point of my research in the Fenerbahçe Pub and of the people and networks it comprises. I chose to look into this research period because the access to the people in the pub was initially rather difficult. My mobility in the pub was limited and I did not immediately succeed in connecting with people. This is why an analysis of the entering phase in this environment is helpful to understand not only the social rules of this specific place (3.3) but also general difficulties that reoccurred in different parts of the research (3.4). These difficulties provide insights in discourses and practices of power in society and its relevance among Galatasaray and Fenerbahçe fans in Vienna.

The pub consists of two rooms, a smoking area and a non-smoking area. The entrance and the bar as well as the two TVs are located in the non-smoking area. In the smoking area it is possible to install a big screen and a projector (Fig. 3.1).

The Fenerbahçe Pub is a central location for this football fan research. However, the Fenerbahçe Pub is much more than a football place. During the day it functions as a café and at night concerts and parties are often hosted there. At weekends, in the afternoon and in the evening as well

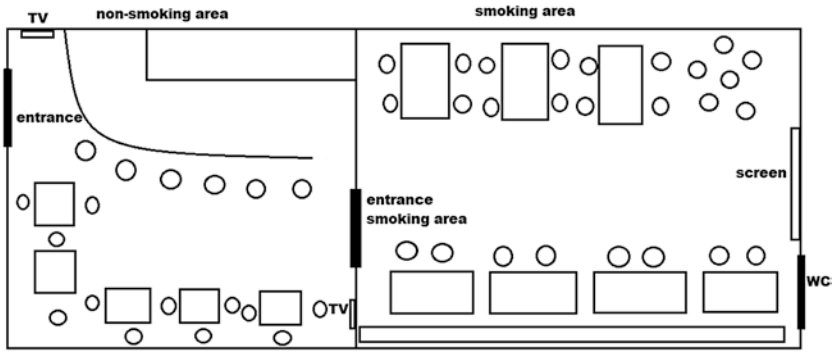

Fig. 3.1 The Fenerbahçe Pub

as for European Championships during weeknights it serves as a football pub. The social constructions of this place change at different times, and for each event different social and also emotional rules apply.

3.3 Mobilities and the Role of the Researcher

At first I will discuss my limited mobility in the Fenerbahçe Pub. For a couple of months I did not have access to any seats in the smoking area. I considered the smoking area to be an important part of the pub because most of the fans were sitting there. It was the place where I predominantly wanted to conduct my participant observation. At the beginning I could not really understand why I was restricted from going there, nor could I guess whether it was going to change after a while. Thus, the time I spent in the non-smoking area was not entirely voluntary because I would rather have wanted to sit next to the fans in the smoking area. How challenging the access to the smoking area was is illustrated in the following section of my fieldnotes from 8 November 2012, my first visit to the Fenerbahçe Pub.

> It is a rather small and longish pub including a smoking area and a non-smoking area. They are separated by a glass door. We, a colleague and I, would like to sit in the smoking area, but we cannot enter because, as the bartender [Alper] tells us, all seats are reserved. He adds that this area is only for people that want to watch the match. We emphasise that we also want to watch the match, but we are rejected with the argument that all seats are already taken. After a while a table in the non-smoking area opens and we sit down. There, we have a good view of one of the two small TVs on the wall in the non-smoking area. It is not long until kick-off. Maybe 15 minutes. In the big smoking area the TV on the wall is taken down by one of the bartenders, who, as we will learn later, is the owner [Emre] of the pub. Based on what I can observe through the glass door, instead of the TV a linen screen is rolled down and a projector is switched on.[5]

[5] Fieldnote from 8 November 2012, Fenerbahçe Pub, Vienna, Fenerbahçe vs. Limassol (Europa League), evening.

After the match I started talking with the bartender, Alper, about my research. He seemed to be very interested, asked how long my research would last and gave me his address and telephone number. Later we talked again and he reserved two seats for the next matches for me and my colleague and also introduced me to the owner. The next time I went to the pub, I directly approached the bartender, Alper, who was the main bartender at the time of my fieldwork. When I asked him about my reservations he sent me to a table in the non-smoking area. I objected and said that I had reserved for the smoking area with the large screen. He responded that the smoking area was already too crowded and pointed at the table in the non-smoking area. The next time I tried to make the best of what was for me a frustrating situation and stayed in the non-smoking area right from the beginning. By then I had only crossed the smoking area to go to the bathrooms which are located at the end of the smoking area. Soon, I decided to sit down close to the bar on a barstool. Despite the relatively harsh rejection right at the beginning of my fieldwork I kept on going to the pub for several months. I wanted to find out what it would require to take a seat in the smoking area.

What was so special about the smoking area? Obviously, the smoking area was not only about smoking, although visitors made use of this feature extensively. In the smoking area people had the best view of the big screen at the end of the room, which was installed before the matches. In an object hierarchy, the screen can be considered to be at the top of the list in this temporarily constructed football space. Martina Löw defines space as a relational construct of subjects and social objects (Löw 2001, p. 154). Michel de Certau underlines that space transforms depending on different contexts (de Certeau 2006, p. 345). In line with this, objects and people relate to each other and produce space in different ways. Accordingly, the installation of the screen determines the position of chairs and how people sit: everybody turns in the direction of the screen and chairs are directed to the screen as well. Objects are part of the construction of space (Löw 2001, p. 155) and due to the dominance of the screen conversations with other people at the different tables are limited.

This construction directly impacts social hierarchies of the pub visitors. The most attractive seats, those with the best view, are allocated depending on the social status of a person or group, next to making a reservation

in good time. It was only when Fenerbahçe played that reservations were necessary, as the pub was then incredibly crowded. People's status can be defined by their level of mobility in the pub: the less boundaries they experience and thus the more mobile they act, the higher is their social status. They get, for example, the seats with the best view.

I also visited the pub when it was not a 'football place', like in the afternoons. It was a completely different place. Not many of the rules that applied for the time of the football matches were relevant now. It was not crowded, so everybody could sit wherever he or she wanted. People were mostly quietly talking, no cheering and no yelling. TVs were switched off and the linen screen was not installed and therefore people looked at each other or at their newspapers while their chairs were pointed to the table and not to a screen.

Participant observation and conversations revealed that close friends, relatives and 'real fans' were the ones that could mostly get hold of the best seats. A real fan, in this case, was defined as someone who loves his or her club, is loyal, supporting, and is always up-to-date in club matters, as the main bartender, Alper, explained later in an interview. The key players in this specific social space were the owner and the main bartender, who I had met during my first visit in the pub. They decided on reservations and on who gets which seats.

Consequently, I decided to sit down right at the bar, close to the owner and the main bartender. There I was in a central position, and thus had the opportunity to talk to them and vice versa they could talk to me whenever they had time and interest. After a while the seat at the bar became 'my' seat and other people had to leave when I arrived. This can be interpreted as my growing social acceptance in the pub and also as a symbol for my slightly increasing social capital. However, my mobility in the pub was still very limited. I could certainly not become a 'real fan' to improve my social status, but I somehow had to convince the key players of my serious interest in Turkish football and its Viennese fans. This was crucial because being mobile was a key condition that would enable me to conduct a long-term participant observation in this pub.

People were sceptical about my interest in Turkish football and often communicated this openly. Sometimes they did it in a more serious and sometimes in a humorous manner. One reason why they were being

sceptical about me and my research at the beginning was why I as a German woman in Austria was interested in Turkish football. Very often the topic got onto the subject of my German background. People called me, mostly in a friendly way, teasing me, but still degradingly, '*Piefke*', the belittling Austrian term for Germans. I could repeat myself as often as I wanted that I was interested in Turkish football because I wanted to find out how being a fan geographically far away from a club works. I was missing the entrance ticket as I had no connection to Turkish football whatsoever. Many stayed sceptical until the end of the research. Victoria Schwenzer and Nicole Selmer write about the strong emotional family-oriented aspect of fandom, taking a Galatasaray fan as an example (2010, p. 401). In many interviews the love of Galatasaray and Fenerbahçe was narrated as strongly connected to family and to discourses of home. I was missing this link and could not generate it.

One other reason for a sometimes difficult start was that people were sceptical about my intentions as a researcher. This does also apply for the student group from Istanbul. After all, I was not only an outsider but to a certain extent also an intruder that was 'claiming' to do research. Right at the beginning of my research in 2012 I became aware of the fact that the interest in Turkish football outside a constructed Turkish community is rather rare. Cem, a Galatasaray fan of the student group, for instance, asked me very seriously whether I was bullied by Turkish boys in school and whether I was now trying to compensate for that with my research.[6] People wondered about my intentions, assuming that I must have *another* reason for conducting this research, a motive that had nothing to do with football. People were searching for a reason to normalise and rationalise my presence in the field. Although there were often also female fans in the Fenerbahçe Pub and also in the student group, my gender was yet another 'exotic' aspect of my unusual interest in Turkish football. Women still have to prove themselves to be a 'real fan' and to be 'honestly' interested in football whereas men are more easily accepted (cf. Rapoport and Regev 2016).

The scepticism about me and my interest in Turkish football was also present in the student group from Istanbul but was not so intense.

[6] Fieldnote from 5 December 2012, Turkish restaurant (Football Restaurant), Vienna, with the student group, Sporting Braga vs. Galatasaray (Champions League), evening.

A significant factor that distinguished the two approaches in many terms were the differences and similarities in terms of social class, subculture and generally about similar backgrounds. With the student group fans I shared experiences of studying as well as political views and musical interests. Not surprisingly I entered the research field via this group of fans, the group of fans that is the most similar to my own milieu and where I therefore also gained access more easily (cf. Lindner 1984). In the Fenerbahçe Pub several people were also studying but many were working in jobs that do not require university degrees. Their musical interests were different. Many were politically interested but to a different extent and in a different framework. Until the end, some referred to my research as 'for your master's thesis' (*'für deine Diplomarbeit'*). At the beginning I corrected them telling that it was meant for my PhD thesis, especially when they were wondering why my research was taking so long. After a while I stopped doing so because I did not want to come across as snobbish. To put it in a nutshell, the pub visitors and I did not have much in common. This is why, in contrast to the student group, at the beginning we did not really have many things to talk about – except for football. But then again: my interest in football, the only topic for conversations, was strongly doubted.

After a while, the situation changed. Due to my other fieldwork more and more topics came up that we could talk about, which helped me to get accepted in the pub. This particularly meant getting a more personal connection to the two key players: the owner, Emre, and the bartender, Alper. One of those key situations occurred when I was coming back from a Champions League match in Gelsenkirchen where Schalke had played Galatasaray on 12 March 2013.[7] It became an important topic of conversation in the pub: 'Nina attended the Gala match at Schalke.'[8] Another important occurrence was that my favourite fan object back then, Borussia Dortmund, was successful in the Champions League in that season. Now we could talk about how Dortmund was playing, how successful they might end up in the knock-out phase and how much of a

[7] See blog post on the match between Schalke and Galatasaray in Gelsenkirchen/Germany (Szogs 2013).

[8] Fieldnote from 26 April 2013, Fenerbahçe Pub, Vienna, with people in pub, Fenerbahçe vs. Benfica Lissabon (Europa League), evening.

typical '*Piefke*' Jürgen Klopp is. I was still not a Fenerbahçe or Galatasaray fan, but now people noticed that I had a fan object of my own and therefore I could show that I comprehended how it is to be emotional about a football club. Almut Sülzle argues convincingly that researchers who are football fans and conducting research in their own field of fan expertise are often blind about their research because of being too involved (Sülzle 2011, p. 36). A general interest in football, however, and an emotional connection to a football club turned out to be one of the entrance tickets to my research field.

Shortly after that, in April 2013, I experienced a breakthrough in the pub during a Süper Lig match. I had again taken 'my' seat on the barstool at the bar when the owner came running to behind the bar to get a drink. He was always sitting with his friends right in front of the screen in a set of comfortable chairs in the smoking area. After talking to me shortly he asked me whether I wanted to join him in the smoking area. I immediately agreed and followed him to the most wanted seats with the best view where he introduced me to his friends. When the owner invited me to join him and his friends at their table right in front of the screen I was visibly declared an accepted visitor of the pub. My social status improved drastically as one of the key players had invited me. I now felt like I could move in the pub more freely and talk to people because one of the key persons in the field had qualified me to do so. According to the concept of social capital I was now able to profit from my newly gained social capital because of being a member in a group or network.

Pierre Bourdieu defines social capital as relationships of mutual recognition that are to a certain extent institutionalised. This means that the social capital is generated from being a member in a group or network of people (Bourdieu 1983, pp. 190–1). Thereby, it is not only the simple existence of social relationships that an individual can refer to that decide on the social capital. It is also the economic, cultural or symbolic capital of the ones that an individual is in a relationship with that can increase the social capital of an individual (1983, p. 191). In this concept, the negotiation of a possible inclusion of an outsider into a group is of particular importance. Whenever someone new enters a group it entails on the one hand the chance of multiplying capital further but on the other hand it also inhabits the risk of changing the status of a group and of

altering its boundaries if the new person, for example, does not fit the code of the group in the end (1983, pp. 192–3).

For the case of my mobility in the Fenerbahçe Pub, Bourdieu's approach to social capital offers an understanding of the rather long process to be accepted or recognised in the group. I did not really fit the code (no connection to Turkish football via family members or friends, no link to any guests in the pub and so on) and therefore I was a 'risk' for the well-established social group of football fans and its social rules in the Fenerbahçe Pub. I was a threat to the existing boundaries of exclusion and inclusion of the group. In the Fenerbahçe Pub, my social capital was at a very low level because I was not in a social relationship with anybody in the pub. Only my persistent approaching of the owner of the Fenerbahçe Pub who can be considered as one of the persons with the highest social capital in the pub (he knows everyone personally in the pub during football matches) and his very symbolic gesture of recognition finally – to a certain extent – provided me membership and thus social capital. My 'social value' in the pub increased immensely.

From that point on I had a greater insight into what was happening in the pub. The rather long path to accessing the smoking area and to people in the pub in general made it possible to draw conclusions about the social status and power relations of other people in the room. It was now possible to get an idea about who was new in the pub and who had been going there for a long time and had a good relationship to Emre and Alper.

3.4 Emotional Practices and Bodily Perceptions

My first visits to the pub as described above had left me a bit insecure. Consequently, as the anthropologist Rolf Lindner describes, I was thinking a lot about what my research subjects were thinking about me (Lindner 1981, p. 54). As a result, I was extremely cautious in interactions and always aware of the different (social) barriers in the room. This led to a lot of sensory irritations and I became extremely aware of my body. How should I sit? Should I kiss people on the cheeks when going there or

shake their hands? Should I join in when everybody started screaming or would it seem inappropriate? In the end, I ended up sitting there almost paralysed wishing to be invisible, inaudible and imperceptible.

The following analysis focuses on the one hand on my role as a researcher in the entering process. On the other hand it adds an analysis of bodily experiences, emotional practices and also the sensory perception of the researcher by the supporters. Bodily experiences, emotional practices and sensory perceptions are crucial to understanding why I experienced the access to the Fenerbahçe Pub as particularly difficult. Moreover, this subchapter reflects how the researcher is influenced or even biased in his or her choice of interview partners. In this case the bias is directly linked to emotional practices in the field.

In football fan culture, emotional practices are a central part of the dramatic potential of the game (Sonntag 2008a, pp. 77–104; Elias and Dunning 1986). Mike S. Schäfer, referring to Émile Durkheim's (1981) concept of emotions, emphasises the importance of the collectively shared and ritualised expression of love to the fan object in football fandom to establish a community feeling (Schäfer 2010, pp. 115, 125). Christian Bromberger summarises the emotional involvement of the supporter as his or her 'passionate partisanship' (1995a, pp. 105–11). Emotional practices and also sensory perceptions obtain an important role in all research fields. In the research about fan cultures, emotional practices can become particularly sensory, visible, audible and so on. For many fans, they are an integral part of why fans like to watch football and like being a fan. Regularly, many fans use football as an emotional outlet:

Ayla: At home we have the atmosphere because we can simply cheer and scream as we like. We can criticise as we like (both Nina and Ayla start laughing), you know? But well, the love is coming from, it's like this in football, you can get upset, vent your anger but also be happy. This excitement, the adrenaline is just there, do you know what I mean?[9]

[9] Interview Ayla, 25 years old, female, Fenerbahçe fan, 30 April 2013, her work place, Vienna, afternoon.

Ayla describes football fandom as a place where she can act freely without sticking to strict social rules that would otherwise not allow such behaviour. For many of the interviewees, one of the most important aspects is that football is considered a counterpoise to 'normal life'. Escaping the real world for a certain amount of time, mostly 90 minutes and a little bit more, is a popular reason to watch football.

Emotions and senses are part of incorporated practices that are habitualised and part of cultural practices (Scheer 2012a, p. 209; Bendix 2005, p. 7). They need to be understood and analysed as learned practices that are socially constructed. Regina Bendix emphasises that we should understand senses as an important part of our research methodology and that senses should therefore be included in the analysis of cultural practices (2006, p. 72). The aim of this perspective is a better contextualisation of the gathered observations and interviews and therefore also a better way of reflecting the researcher's role during the research.

In the Fenerbahçe Pub, fans can watch a match and act loudly. It is a place to meet with friends and to share emotions in a football fan community. Monique Scheer, who discusses emotional practices in the framework of Protestantism, emphasises that emotions are a cultural practice that does not exclusively 'happen' inside a person but are also performed on the outside depending on different social rules in different contexts (Scheer 2012b, p. 182). Mike S. Schäfer underlines this by saying that in our society, it is rare to have a place where it is legitimate to perform emotions outside the body. In football, on the other hand, it is not only legitimate but expected to do so and can be a serious requirement to be recognised as a 'real fan' (Schäfer 2010, p. 118).

Accordingly, some fans in the smoking area of the Fenerbahçe Pub – but not all of them – acted emotionally and performed those emotions with the whole body: joy at the score of a goal was celebrated with cheers and joyful chants. People jumped up and down, put their arms into the air, they high-fived with fellow fans and hugged and kissed. Before an important penalty, the tension was expressed by sweating and tearing one's hair out. When the other team scored, people were mourning quietly. If the referee made a decision that was contrary to the opinions of the fans, some of these people swore at him, booed him and wished him dead, often accompanied by jumping up and down and using furious

gestures. During matches that were considered important a quiet room filled with tension could turn into a space of explosive bodily performed emotions in just one second. However, emotional practices cannot be generalised. These practices are impacted by and often depend on age, class, gender or cultural differences and particularly also by space.

Referring to Gertrud Lehnert's discussion of space (*Raum*) and emotions (*Gefühl*),[10] people construct 'space' into places of meaning (Lehnert 2011, p. 11). These spatial constructions then again impact the performances of emotions and their bodily-sensory representations and perceptions. The Fenerbahçe Pub is therefore a place – like any other place – that contains many intersecting layers of various spatial constructions and interpretations. Therefore, it also evokes different emotional and sensory connotations and performances (Lehnert 2011, p. 12). It is crucial to look into the sensory-emotional experiences and attributions linked to the meaning of space in order to understand the different practices in the research field (cf. Pink 2009, p. 25).

When emotions are performed on the outside of the body, they become sensory for others. With regard to Norbert Elias' work on affect or emotional control (*Affektkontrolle*) (Elias 1997 [1939]) in modern societies, Schäfer adds that football creates a space, or more correctly, fans create via football a space where it is appropriate to perform emotions loudly. However, the way emotions are expressed is still also socially regulated in football places (Schäfer 2010, p. 121). As elsewhere, in the Fenerbahçe Pub fans aspire to an ideal emotional performance (cf. Scheer 2012b, p. 180).

In a football context, emotional rules are often experienced as more flexible and 'free' but they do not happen in a space without hierarchies. Therefore, emotional practices might be understood more easily when football places are not analysed as an extraordinary space but as a regular part of our everyday lives with its specific norms and rules. This is because we most of the time have to adapt to a variety of emotional expectations within just one day. A family breakfast demands different emotional practices than a work-related meeting just two hours later. An example

[10] The terms 'Gefühl' [feeling] and 'Emotionen' [emotions] are sometimes used to describe different phenomena and sometimes synonymously. Because of the authors I refer to use them synonymously or do not specify the difference between the two terms, I will translate both terms into 'emotions' for reasons of consistency.

for the rules that also apply even though emotions, at first sight, seem to be acted out 'freely' in football places, is the set of rules that applies for 'yelling'. In the Fenerbahçe Pub, it was generally considered appropriate to yell, but only under certain circumstances and conditions: yelling loudly was legitimate but using swear words was only considered to be appropriate under very specific conditions (for example jokingly among men). Likewise, loud cheers during the match without any 'legitimate' reason such as the chance of scoring were looked down upon by others.

These emotional practices, however, are not specific to the Fenerbahçe Pub. In other football places I observed very similar emotional practices. The following description is taken from a fieldnote from 20 November 2012 in a ballroom of a Turkish restaurant (Football Restaurant) that is regularly used to show matches of Turkish teams:

> In the second half it finally happens: Gala [Galatasaray] scores. I am somewhat overwhelmed. Everybody is kissing, hugging. A chair is knocked over. I am thinking that I should join in, but do not feel comfortable doing that. […] The match stays exciting until the end. Everybody is nervously and loudly requesting the final whistle. When it finally happens the cheering is intense. Standing up, jumping, hugging. Cem [a member of the group] joins a group singing fan chants.[11]

When I was watching football with my future interview partners in the Fenerbahçe Pub, or in a living room or some other pub or restaurant, I was often at my emotional and bodily limits. In the Fenerbahçe Pub, for example, I had only gotten to know the people very recently and had not yet learned the social rules of the place. Being unfamiliar with the behaviour that was considered appropriate led to a great insecurity on my side regarding how to conduct myself. I was afraid that if I did something wrong I would never get access to the smoking area or gain the trust of possible interview partners. At the same time, I simply could not act as emotionally and physically anyway because I was not in an 'intense emotional social relationship' (Schäfer 2010, p. 115 [author's translation]) to the fan object anyway, in this case to Fenerbahçe.

[11] Fieldnote from 20 November 2012, Turkish restaurant (Football Restaurant), Vienna, with student group from Istanbul, Galatasaray vs. Manchester United (Champions League), evening.

When I was watching matches of the Turkish league, I neither felt love for the fan object Fenerbahçe nor did I understand the rules of the rituals of how to perform the emotions with your body. As discussed before, the performance of emotions is part of a cultural practice that can be learnt, but not that quickly. Therefore, outsiders cannot so easily become part of the group via shared emotional practices either.

The aim of my research in this pub was not to become a regular member of the group, but I needed to gain the right to participate in the pub due to very practical reasons: access to and understanding of the people that frequent the pub. Emotional rituals are central to collectivisation processes in football (Bromberger 2003, p. 292) and I considered participating in them to some extent important to gain access to the research field. Rosita Henry writes about the emotional involvement of researchers:

> I argue that by drawing us into performance mode, moments of intense emotional engagement in the field can lead to important ethnographic insights. (Henry 2012, p. 535)

However, the picture of a football fan that loudly performs his or her emotions is rather one-dimensional whereas at the same time it is very dominant in narratives about social (self-)expectations of football fans. When I asked what in the interviewees' opinion makes a good fan, they would often mention: love, passion, being nervous about a match and passionate cheering. According to many of my interviewees' definition, a good fan performs his love to the club in a way that is considered sensory – in the sense of perceptible by the senses – for others. Other fans need to see, hear, feel and maybe even smell the emotional performance. This was, however, partly contrary to what I was experiencing in the Fenerbahçe Pub. There were many fans that were quietly sitting in front of the two TVs and watching the matches right next to me in the non-smoking area. I was not interested in them and did not even notice them at the beginning because I was in this case also relying on my senses.

I thought that you not only had to see a 'real fan' but to hear (screaming and yelling), sense (hugging and jumping) and smell him or her (for example when fans did not wash their jerseys as long as Fenerbahçe was winning all the matches). My definition of a 'legitimate' fan that

I consequently considered to be 'right' for my research was directed to the ones that acted noticeably with their bodies. I considered those emotional practices that I could sense as the dominant practices of performing football fandom. The male and female spectators in the pub narratively related to these dominant practices but did not necessarily adopt this style of fan performance.

Consequently, at the beginning of my research I missed the opportunity to talk to the fans right next to me because of my presuppositions regarding emotional fan practices. Instead, in the first weeks and months I was busy trying to get access to the crowded smoking area where I could not get hold of a seat. Meanwhile, a lot of Fenerbahçe fans were sitting in the non-smoking area, especially men that were more than 40 years old, that I could have asked for an interview. They watched the matches mostly without any emotional 'outbreaks' and later turned out to be research relevant people to talk to. However, because I did not hear them, feel them nor smell them, I consequently did not 'see' them either. This means I simply did not pay attention to them and therefore I did not notice them.

The question of the performativity of emotions can also particularly be considered as related to age and gender in the Fenerbahçe Pub. Whereas older men often gathered in the non-smoking areas in front of one of the TVs, to watch 'without disturbance or excitement', young men and women (approximately 18–35 years old) rather gathered in the smoking area. Women were in bigger numbers among young fans. Both female and male fans performed their emotions similarly in the smoking area.[12] Everybody in the pub had quite specific ideas of what was appropriate emotional behaviour for oneself and for others. This also included expectations for the way I performed emotions. Peter Berger calls situations in the research field 'key emotional episodes' when field researchers unintentionally react in a specific emotional way that is mostly not compliant with the rules of the group that is being researched. As a consequence, the researcher can draw conclusions about values and norms of a group. Most importantly, he emphasises that it is not the researcher's emotions that

[12] Fieldnote from 14 April 2013, Fenerbahçe Pub, Vienna, with people in pub, Fenerbahçe vs. Eskişehirspor (Süper Lig), evening.

are important here but the reactions to the emotional performance of the researcher of those who are being researched. The focus should further be on the time and context of when the 'key emotional episode' occurs and on the consequences for the further integration of the researcher (Berger 2009, pp. 150–7).

3.4.1 A 'Key Emotional Episode'

At the end of April 2013, I had made plans with the owner to watch Real Madrid play Borussia Dortmund in the Champions League with him and his friends in the Fenerbahçe Pub. Now I was the one who was nervous because of a match that I considered to be most important for me. I was sweating while the others were now looking at me and not the other way around as during the other matches. Suddenly, I could be seen, heard, sensed and probably also smelled in a way I and the others were not used to, while the others were relaxed. This is when a so-called 'key emotional episode' (Berger 2009) occurred, which then revealed how my role was negotiated in the field.

The discussion of the 'key emotional episode' will be introduced by a short excerpt from the fieldnotes from 30 April 2013.

> Last Thursday, I was asking the owner whether they will also show the other European matches in the pub. Consequently, we made plans to watch the Dortmund match together. When I enter I can see that the pub is not crowded. It is about ten minutes to kick-off. The only person I know is the owner's brother. Then I see the young bartender [I had met him several times before], but no sign of the owner. I ask the brother whether they will show the match. He confirms. We joke about the fact that today I can choose where to sit since all the seats are empty. I choose the smoking area and there I take a table close to the screen. When the owner finally arrives, he sits next to me and asks whether I am nervous. I affirm. After a few minutes some friends of his arrive. They start talking and finally ask if they can join us. The owner responds gesturing towards me: Sure, she is one of us. […]
>
> At the end of the second half the match unexpectedly gets exciting when Real Madrid has the chance to turn the match around. I start loudly complaining about how Dortmund is playing. I am offending different Dortmund players in a – relatively – harmless manner. "Move yourself, you idiot!"

> [Lauf endlich, du Penner!] is probably one of the worst insults that I yell. Because of this I cannot fully understand what happens next. I can't even remember which of the players I was yelling at, at the time. But suddenly all the guys at the table are looking at me. They, especially the owner, start commenting on my insults towards the Dortmund players by "teasing" me and accusing me of being a racist: "Ha-ha, how funny, Nina, the racist, is sitting here with lots of Turks at the table." The laughter lasts for a while. I am shocked and start asking myself whether I have said anything that could be interpreted as a racist remark. I cannot think of anything, except that I was offending all of the Dortmund players, including the ones that are not from Germany or that who have the often quoted "migrant background". I do not really know how to react and finally I also start laughing.[13]

This situation is revealing several insights about what the pub staff and some visitors were thinking about me watching football with them that day and also about me frequenting the pub in general. When the owner's brother and I started joking about the fact that on that day I could sit wherever I wanted, it became clear that my struggle for a place in this environment has not been unnoticed. Additionally, it became clear that in this specific field a Borussia Dortmund and Real Madrid match in the Champions League is not of great interest to most of the usual clientele of the Fenerbahçe Pub. The part that is most interesting for the analysis of the interaction between people in the pub and me was the moment when Emre called me a 'racist'.

There are two central points about this incident: expected emotional practices and the construction and perception of the ethnicised other. When we were watching the match together, it was unusual that I was showing emotions so enthusiastically. This does not mean that this kind of behaviour is unusual for me in general but in the context of my research in the Fenerbahçe Pub it was rather unexpected due to my different emotional practices in the past. All the other times, I had just been sitting there quietly and often awkwardly observing what other people were doing. I suddenly changed my behaviour and stepped over the boundaries of my role in the research field.

[13] Fieldnote from 30 April 2013, Fenerbahçe Pub, Vienna, with owner and his friends, Real Madrid vs. Borussia Dortmund (Champions League), evening.

I consider this incident a 'key emotional episode' because the reactions of the 'researched' to the emotional performance of the 'researcher' were unexpected. It particularly reveals that I was not just sitting there at the table with Emre and his friends as a fellow football fan or football researcher but also and particularly as a 'non-Turkish' person. When, at the end of the match, I started yelling at different players my co-spectators interpreted this jokingly or not jokingly as racist remarks. Even if they were teasing me in a friendly way, the incident underlines how unusual this situation must have been so that especially the owner needed to comment on it in an ironic way, although or maybe particularly because he stated at the beginning in front of his friends: 'Sure, she is one of us.'

Likewise, because he assumed that he could make this kind of joke with me, he underlined our good social relationship in front of the others. On the one hand by making clear that they are Turks and I am not, he reproduced and underlined the ethnicised differences between us. Most importantly, it also meant that I in my social position was assumed able to make racist remarks. But on the other hand he made clear that we two did have a close social relationship and that I was – somewhat – part of the group, that I was an inside-outsider.

Kotthoff et al. (2013) discuss the role of humour with a special focus on contexts of migration. They define different social functions that humour inhabits. Humour is important to negotiate belonging and also recognition. It is an essential social practice to (re)produce, (re)define or subvert boundaries (Kotthoff et al. 2013, p. 14). In the discussed situation in the field, Emre uses humour to negotiate the boundaries between us. He reproduces the boundary of him being Turkish and me not being Turkish, moreover me being part of that section of society that has the discursive power to discriminate against Turks. This boundary, however, does not only exclude me, but, by jokingly emphasising the difference, he also recognises me as an accepted member of this little football group watching the Champions League in his pub.

It was often important in my research field that I am a foreigner in Austria. As a German citizen, I was on the one hand a privileged migrant, as discussed in Chap. 2, but also subjected to discriminating discourses against Germans in Austria. In an Austrian-Turkish community these prejudices against Germans are similarly evident as in other parts of

Austrian society. In this case, however, it was rather random whether I was German or Austrian. It was more important what I represented in that moment. I tried very hard not to correspond to the cliché of the ignorant German and no matter what, especially not to be considered a racist. I was often lost in awkward situations when I was for example trying to describe whom I was looking for my research. Explaining my research with 'I am researching Süper Lig in Vienna' was often summarised as: 'Ok, you mean Turkish fans.'[14] To accuse me particularly of being racist can therefore also be understood as a humorous and mocking response to my awkward attempt at always being politically correct.

At the same time, the owner was testing me and my response to this kind of teasing and I somehow passed the test. It is also again a reflection of the unusualness of my research interest that somehow needs to be normalised. This was sometimes also done by introducing me mockingly as: 'She studies Turkology'.[15] By doing so, Emre was showing his scepticism about my study and a certain fear of generalisation and of being 'Turkified', but more importantly also his humorous acceptance. Nevertheless, here again he revealed the limits of his acceptance: He was fine with me doing the research in his pub but by joking he showed me the limits of his consent. He made clear that he would not accept generalisations or racist remarks.

With regard to my integration into the field, this incident had a rather positive effect. Now the owner quite often invited me to the seats at the very front in the smoking area and I received a lot of help in planning my stadium visits in Istanbul.

3.5 Conclusion

How do the discussion about the field in general and the analysis of the entering phase facilitate the approach and contextualisation of the following chapters? This chapter introduced the reader to the specific context of

[14] Fieldnote from 2 May 2013, Young Fenerbahçe Fan Club & Fenerbahçe Pub, Vienna, with young Fenerbahçe fans and people in pub, Benfica Lissabon vs. Fenerbahçe (Europa League), evening.

[15] Fieldnote from 14 April 2013, Fenerbahçe Pub, Vienna, with people in pub, Fenerbahçe vs. Eskişehirspor (Süper Lig), evening.

this book for (1) the research in general and for (2) the Fenerbahçe Pub in particular. It offered a contextualising analysis and a critical reflection of (3) the approach and the role of the researcher in this process.

1. First of all, it is necessary to focus on the discourses that (co-)determine social affiliations among Turkish football fandom in an Austrian society and their intermingling meanings and discourses. This includes the socio-cultural background of the researcher in general and the specific academic and personal context in which she is situated. Prejudices on all sides towards Turks, Germans, Austrians, men, football fans and also the personal bias of the researcher are a central part of the analysis of this book. The situatedness and assemblage of all these different factors in specific situations in the research field is a key element of anthropological research (cf. Süßmann 2007).
2. The exemplary analysis of the approach to the Fenerbahçe Pub put its emphasis on the link between the mobility of the researcher and the growing social capital of the researcher. My loyalty to a German club and going away to matches of Turkish clubs became the entrance ticket to my field. Because of that I proved that my interest in football in general and also in Turkish football and its fans was serious. My changing social status and thus my growing social capital can be seen from my different stops in the pub. Likewise it is possible to get a first impression about the social status and capital of others in the place. It is a mapping of social hierarchies. By mapping the social hierarchies between the members of the group in the pub, power relations can be revealed as well as the social and also the cultural capital in a social space (Bourdieu 2006, p. 358). But this can only be a first step as other factors co-decide which seat you can take.

   The analysis of emotional practices in the Fenerbahçe Pub also proved to be helpful to understand the relationship between the researched and the researcher. This sometimes complicated relationship can often only be understood when social rules are broken or people leave their roles they usually obtain in a specific environment. In this case the observer became the observed and likewise the other way around. At the beginning of this chapter I underlined that the entering phase of a fieldwork process can provide detailed insights

about how a group of people or a specific place deal with outsiders or newcomers. It became clear that outsiders are not very common in this environment when football matches take place. Outsiders in this case are people that have no link to Turkey. This is due to the fact that outside a constructed Turkish community the interest in Turkish football is extremely low. People are included however – it just takes some time.

3. One aim of this chapter was to discuss how problems that are specific to the field can help to gain deeper insights in one's research and also the bias of the researcher. A research field is always the construction of the researcher (cf. Knecht 2013). The researcher chooses more or less deliberately what to research, where to look, who to interview and what to write down or not to write down in a notebook. This is why the ethnographic description is always a very specific constructed representation – and othering practice – towards the 'researched' (Schiffauer 2002). The methodology and the questions itself need to be theoretically embedded and reflected to understand the research approach. Lila Abu-Lughod argues that research results can always only be understood as 'positioned truths' (Abu-Lughod 1991, p. 147). She makes it clear that every answer an ethnographer gets or every fieldnote an ethnographer writes down is strongly dependent on his or her own background and the context of where it was conducted. She further argues that '[t]his does not make such studies any less valuable; it merely reminds us that we must constantly attend to the positionality of the anthropological self and its representations of others' (ibid., pp. 141–2).

   The analysis of the approach to the Fenerbahçe Pub made clear that my bias on the definition of a 'real fan' limited my research to a certain extent. I was critically looking at the role of emotional practices with regard to how I conducted my participant observations and chose my interview partners. As a result of this self-reflection, I understood that my emotional requirements to what is supposed to be a 'real fan' narrowed my insights and access at the beginning. This does not only apply to the Fenerbahçe Pub but also to other places in the research. The type or symbolic figure of the 'real fan' is a recurring image in this book. This chapter made it clear that not only fans themselves but also the researcher relate to this powerful discursive construction.

Whereas this chapter was an introduction to the dynamics between the researcher and the researched, the following chapter deals with the dynamics between Galatasaray and Fenerbahçe fans on different levels. There, complex othering processes that are never rigid nor one-dimensional, but that are fluid and flexible and marked the whole 18 months of ethnographic fieldwork, will be unscrambled.

4

The Plurality of Us and Them: Performing Loyalties and Rivalries

This chapter deals with selfing and othering practices that are expressed and performed via the football club. These processes of selfing and othering go well beyond football fandom: they concern people's ethical ideas, political views and socio-cultural backgrounds. The construction of selves and others intersects with many parts of a fan's everyday life. Hence fans do not talk about a singular 'us' and a singular 'them' but about multiple 'usES' and multiple 'themS' that are flexible and shift in different situations and contexts – including the definitions of 'us' and 'them' regarding the fan loyalty to a club (cf. Szogs 2016a, b). Nevertheless, when it comes to narrations about the loyalty to a club, fans often narratively construct their loyalty as a singular and non-flexible phenomenon. But, in further narrations and particularly in fandom practices it quickly becomes clear that football loyalties and also football rivalries are

> […] never unified and, in late modern times, increasingly fragmented and fractured; never singular but multiply constructed across different, often intersecting and antagonistic, discourses, practices and positions. (Hall 1996b, p. 4)

N. Szogs, *Football Fandom and Migration*, Football Research in an Enlarged Europe, DOI 10.1007/978-3-319-50944-0_4

In this quote, Stuart Hall is originally referring to the concept of identity, but it also works perfectly well to define the concepts of rivalries and loyalties. In this book I work with a definition of loyalties and rivalries as fluid, plural, flexible, competing and processual constructs (Bauman 2000; Hall 1996a). Working with the popular term and concept 'identity', even when it is defined as a flexible construct, has been under critique for its rigour and predetermining character (cf. Binder and Hess 2011; Collier and Ong 2005). To a certain extent this critique also applies to the concepts of loyalties and rivalries as they are constructed categories that encase the danger to determine and naturalise the support to one club. This is why a critical reflection on these concepts is the central focus of analysis in this chapter.

Selfing and othering practices occur on different levels and in different contexts in fans' lives. In interviews, fans were using narratives about their loyalty to a club and about the rivalry to the other club as a strategy to (re)present themselves. Stuart Halls writes how we use language to represent ourselves:

> In language, we use signs and symbols – whether they are sounds, written words, electronically produced images, musical notes, even objects – to stand for or represent to other people our concepts, ideas and feelings. (Hall 1997, p. 1)

For this research, I consider the football clubs Fenerbahçe and Galatasaray as signs and symbols which the fans that I interviewed used to represent their 'concepts, ideas and feelings'. Thereby, it is for a start not important whether the interviewees deliberately do so in interview situations, as an active narrative strategy, or not. Cornel Sandvoss has discussed, analysed and conceptualised this kind of 'self-reflection' in fandom practices. From a psychoanalytical approach, Sandvoss emphasises that when a fan talks about the fan object he or she is indeed talking about him- or herself (in his approach not deliberately):

> [T]he relationship between fans and their objects of fandom is based on fans' self-reflective reading and hence narcissistic pleasures, as fans are fascinated by extensions of themselves, which they do not recognize as such. (Sandvoss 2005, p. 121)

Sandvoss's approach will help to understand and analyse the narratives of the different interview partners, if we understand Fenerbahçe and Galatasaray as 'extensions of themselves'. When we analyse what fans are telling us about their club, we can find out something about the way they want to represent themselves in general and in the interview situation in particular (cf. Lucius-Hoene and Deppermann 2004a, p. 168). These narrations and indeed constructions of self are processes of subjectification that are performative and happen in a nexus of agency and limitation. Judith Butler sums up performativity in subjectification processes:

> There is no subject prior to its constructions, and neither is the subject determined by those constructions; it is always the nexus, the non-space of cultural collision, in which the demand to resignify or repeat the very terms which constitute the "we" cannot be summarily refused, but neither can they be followed in strict obedience. It is the space of this ambivalence which opens up the possibility of a reworking of the very terms by which subjectivation proceeds – and fails to proceed. (Butler 2011 [1993], p. 84)

Butler thereby underlines the restrictions of subjectivation but also makes clear that because of its performativity there is possibility for agency. Applying this performativity to the following analysis in this chapter, we will see how on the one hand Galatasaray and Fenerbahçe fans perform loyalties and rivalries within the framework of citation. On the other hand, the narratives and practices of Galatasaray and Fenerbahçe fans reveal the subversive notion in loyalty and rivalry performances.

There are millions of Galatasaray and Fenerbahçe fans in both Turkey and in other parts of Europe, which makes it nearly impossible to generalise about the supporters of these two clubs – also for the fans themselves. Thus, to a certain extent fans can create their 'own' fan loyalty by projecting their values and beliefs on the club. The narratives about the club image are deeply entangled with constructions of belonging such as being left-wing, nationalist, educated, Turkish, Viennese and so on. Therefore, it does not matter whether the characteristics that fans attri-

bute to Galatasaray and Fenerbahçe are 'facts' or not. By referring to Roland Barthes' 'myths' (1957) and to the research strand of semiotics, Cornel Sandvoss emphasises that 'facts become relative within the meta-narrative of the myth, which in turn is reflective of the fan's values, beliefs and image of self.' (2005, p. 135)

Nevertheless, a football club has to represent extremely diverse and manifold signs and symbols so as to capture all of these different 'extensions' of the self. If a fan projects his or her own image of self onto the club and then consequently talks about this self-image when talking about the club, the club must be open for a variety of 'encoded' meanings (Hall 1980). As a consequence, this is only possible as long as other representations do not become overwhelmingly powerful. Galatasaray and Fenerbahçe do have official marketing strategies and an official image which they try to sell to their fans. Striking examples for this were noted during visits to the Galatasaray museum and the Fenerbahçe museum in Istanbul in summer 2013. In the museums, club history got mystified (Fenerbahçe) and glorified (both clubs) by linking it to political events in Turkey and by displaying trophies of all kinds. The central fan shops and stadia of both clubs send the message of a modern, European, professional, successful, and financially stable club that can compete with any other European club or league.

Brigitta Schmidt-Lauber writes about the images of football clubs which in general claim to have a specific 'style' that entails specific values, beliefs and ways of life for their supporters (2008, p. 20). In the case of St. Pauli, a German club from Hamburg, or in the case of Beşiktaş (see later this chapter), this 'style' is not rigid or inflexible either and it is questioned by its fans, but the celebration of the left-wing image of these clubs that is enforced by marketing strategies, by the ultra groups, media and fans in general predetermines the attributions to the clubs strongly. I argue that it is different with Galatasaray and Fenerbahçe. In interviews, Galatasaray was often linked to an elite culture and Fenerbahçe to a bourgeois or middle-class culture which is consistent with the most popular myths of the club (cf. Dmowski 2013, p. 339), but *only* by fans that identified with these categories.

Similarly, these dominant readings were also referred to by those fans of the respective opposite club that wanted to distance themselves from the rival by referring to these narratives – when they explicitly did *not* want to identify with them. The official images of Fenerbahçe and Galatasaray about traditionalised myths of their founding and fan base codetermine the ascriptions that fans attribute to a club. But the mass of supporters in various places in Europe and beyond with a diversity of contexts, such as a diasporic context, already make the official images less important and dominant. Thus, how fans describe their club can be considered an assemblage of all these different contexts and junctures.

This chapter comprises four analytical parts preceded by an introduction to Gerd Baumann's approach to selfing and othering practices (2004). His approach is helpful to understand the multi-layered processes of rivalry and loyalty constructions among Galatasaray and Fenerbahçe fans in Vienna. Although it is to some extent a structuralist concept, it still encompasses an adaptiveness which underlines the context-related flexibility of these processes and fan performances. In the concluding remarks of this chapter, I will then get back to Baumann to analytically summarise the different selfing and othering practices of the various subsections.

In Sects. 4.2, 4.3, 4.4, and 4.5 the analysis focuses predominantly on the narratives about loyalty and rivalry constructions and entailed practices. The performances of rivalries are thereby strategies that are used to deal with everyday matters in the lives of Fenerbahçe and Galatasaray fans in Vienna. Thereby football fandom practices and the very talking about fandom can be (presented as) a strategy of doing home and doing kinship, of self-positioning or of subversion of hegemonic discourses. The key question of these subsections is in which contexts fans can, want to or are expected to perform loyalties and rivalries as inflexible entities on the one hand or as plural or shifting social constructions on the other hand.

The analysis of the contexts of when it becomes 'legitimate' to support other teams or even the rival is most insightful to understand the flexibility of loyalties and rivalries. The narration of inflexibility particularly occurs

when supporters (re)tell their fan biography. Retrospectively, most of the fans that I interviewed (re)constructed their own fan career as something fateful that happened without any struggle or doubt (cf. Sandvoss 2003). The subsections will therefore look into the narrations of 'becoming a fan' and particularly also on its continuation today. This is not always a linear process, it can be part of biographical and in this case migration related junctions and cleavages. The analysis of these loyalty constructions will lead to insights about the categories, narratives and hegemonic discourses that supporters find important to include into their (fan) biographies, (self-)presentations and (re)presentations in the context of the interview.

4.1 Orientalism, Segmentation, and Encompassment

Different football (fan) researchers have developed and addressed ideas of shifting or plural loyalties and also of secondary and flexible fandom in football. Hans Kristian Hognestad, for example, uses the term 'polygamy' (2012, p. 389) to address how fans support more than one club, which he figures can be understood 'also as a result of physical explorations and social networking between football communities' (ibid.). Cornel Sandvoss locates four different categories in his research on Bayer Leverkusen fans that produce plural loyalties: 'migration and family links, distant mediated encounters, textual activity and membership to fan networks and travel and cosmopolitan consciousness' (Sandvoss 2012, p. 86). Victoria Schwenzer and Nicole Selmer, who have worked on multiple identifications in migration and football, emphasise that a fan can support more than one team to express his or her belonging to both the host society and the home country (2010, pp. 402–3). They use the example of the 2006 World Cup in Germany and the 2008 European Championship in Austria and Switzerland to point out that by using Turkish-German flags, people were producing hybrid fandom to represent hybrid concepts of belonging (2010, pp. 407–8). This chapter does not however primarily focus on plural loyalties or secondary fandom, which do usually exist simultaneously and are not necessarily contradictory, but with loyalties that 'shift' for a certain amount of time in a specific context (cf. Szogs 2015).

In order to analyse the different othering processes that will be discussed in this chapter, I will use Gerd Baumann's three grammars of selfing and othering to bring all these 'selfings' and 'otherings' together (Baumann 2004).[1] Baumann adapts the three concepts of selfing and othering practices by Edward Said, Edward E. Evans-Pritchard, and Louis Dumont in order to expand these 'grammars of identity/alterity'. Said's concept of 'orientalism', Evans-Pritchard's concept of 'segmentation', and Dumont's concept of 'encompassment' serve Baumann to define, advance and refine how individuals and groups 'self' themselves and 'other' others. All these three grammars are evident in the othering practices of the interviewed Galatasaray and Fenerbahçe fans. Some are performed rather secondarily; others are a crucial part of fan performances, such as orientalism. In this subchapter, I shortly introduce the concepts of Said, Evans-Pritchard and Dumont in the way Baumann has adapted and enhanced these binary grammars to, indeed, ternary grammars.

4.1.1 Orientalism

Baumann points out that the important aspect of Edward W. Said's concept (1978) is that it does not simply mean that 'We' (the people in an imagined 'West') are good and 'They' (the people in an imagined 'East/Orient') are bad. In orientalising practices, the 'Others' are not only bad, but are also 'admired' for what 'We' have already lost or 'forgotten'. Consequently, the construction of the image of the 'Other' holds both sides: a negative connotation for its 'primitivism' and a positive connotation for the preservation of 'naturalness' that 'We' have already lost (Baumann 2004, pp. 19–21). It is an image that 'Westerners' produced of what they considered to be the 'Orient':

> Orientalism as Said analysed it, was not some primitive technique of reversal favoured by the stupid or the vicious, but on the contrary, a sophisticated discipline developed by academic and artistic elites, and the grammar of orientalism is not limited to: 'we are good, so they are bad. (Baumann 2004, p. 20)

[1] Alexandra Schwell has used Baumann's grammars to analyse the complex othering processes during Euro 2012 in Poland (2015).

Accordingly, the picture 'We' paint about the 'Other' is in our imagination, and likewise any construction of 'Them', and is not an equal exchange or negotiation of selfing and othering processes. Orientalising practices are thus extremely hierarchical and crucially simple because it does not matter 'whether the other is known or not known, defined or undefinable.' (Baumann 2004, p. 29) Orientalising practices depict the most common othering strategy used by Galatasaray and Fenerbahçe fans in the narratives about the two clubs. Othering others by degrading them as less 'civilised' or 'primitive', even though there might be a hint of admiration in it, is most likely the simplest way of differentiation.

4.1.2 Segmentation

Baumann further adapts Edward E. Evans-Pritchard's concept of segmentation from his study of the Nuer (1940) to his grammars. Interestingly, Baumann uses a football example to illustrate how selves and others, or in this case more precisely rivalries and loyalties, can change or shift depending on different contexts. He describes how on a local level, fans of antagonist clubs cheer for different local clubs. Yet on a regional or national level, they might support the very same team (Baumann 2004, p. 22). Baumann summarises:

> The Other may be my foe in a context placed at a lower level of segmentation, but may simultaneously be my ally in a context placed at a higher level of segmentation. Identity and alterity are thus a matter of context, and contexts are ranked according to classificatory levels. (2004, p. 23)

For today's football and also for my research field, the approach of segmentation to loyalties and rivalries might be too linear. The shifting of loyalties does not necessarily only work from the local to the national level, but can also happen in many different constellations. In his research on post-national identity in Europe, Anthony King has pointed out that in the case of different European championships, it is possible that the loyalty to the club is more important than the loyalty to a nation (King 2000, 2003). Accordingly, for some of my interviewees

the thought of supporting the antagonist team only because the competition is happening on a supra-national level is simply unthinkable. At the same time, the temporary and contextual shifting of loyalties and rivalries is an important part of football fan culture. It can be considered an element of the 'game' or 'fun' of being a football fan or football lover. We can observe flexible fan loyalties, for example, during international tournaments between national teams and/or clubs (World Cups, European Championships or Champions League, Europa League) when one's 'own' team – however one defines that – drops out or does not even participate in the competition (Szogs 2015).

4.1.3 Encompassment

Louis Dumont's concept of encompassment (1980) explains how in a universalising manner, 'Others' are made to be one of 'Us'. The crucial point about the concept of encompassment is that the 'Others' are made to be 'Us' without their knowing or approval. Encompassment consists of two levels only, the lower level that thinks it is different and the superior level that denies the difference and encompasses the lower level. Encompassment is thus, like orientalism, strictly hierarchical. The hierarchical superior decides who becomes part of 'Us' and who stays an outsider (Baumann 2004, pp. 25–6):

> Encompassment means an act of selfing by appropriating, perhaps one should say, adopting or co-opting, selected kinds of otherness. […] To put it somewhat polemically: "you may think that you differ from me in your sense of values or identity; but deep down, or rather higher up, you are but a part of me." (Baumann 2004, p. 25)

4.1.4 Intersecting and Ternary Grammars

Baumann summarises the three grammars as they were intended by Said, Evans-Pritchard and Dumont as the 'exclusion and exoticized appreciation' of orientalism, the 'contextual flexibility' of segmentation and the 'universalizing rigour' of encompassment (Baumann 2004, p. 25). One of

the crucial points about Baumann's interpretation of these three grammars is that they do not stand for themselves but are indeed interacting and intersecting. He emphasises that all these three concepts do not necessarily appear separately but can appear at the same time. This is what makes Baumann's approach helpful to the analysis of othering practices among Galatasaray and Fenerbahçe fans in Vienna. There is never just one way of othering the 'Other' but it is a multi-facetted, flexible performance. Thereby, Baumann further explains, the grammars do not only interact but also compete with each other in the selfing and othering processes and practices of 'constructing identity and alterity' (Baumann 2004, p. 26). Baumann's second core concern about the seemingly binary grammars is that they are in fact all ternary (Baumann 2004, pp. 38–40). As we will also see in the case of Galatasaray and Fenerbahçe fans in Vienna, there is always a third party that is left out.

In the grammar of orientalism, the third party is an additional group or are additional groups that are added to the binary system. Baumann, in reference to Roland Barthes' concept of the myth, calls it a 'ternary staggering of the orientalizing grammar' (Baumann 2004, p. 39). Here, he refers to an additional group, often a new group, that joins the seemingly binary practices of orientalism and adds an additional layer to it.

In the grammar of segmentation, the ternary part depends on the level of segmentation and changes accordingly. But it always exists. Cheering for Rapid Wien against Austria Wien in the Austrian League excludes all other teams and its fans of the Austrian League. When these Rapid fans then cheer for the Austrian national team in the European Championship together with their rivals from Austria Wien the ternary party changes. Now fans that do not cheer for the Austrian national team are in the ternary position (Baumann 2004, pp. 38–40).

In the seemingly binary grammar of encompassment the ternary parties are the ones that are excluded from the encompassment. The excluded ones are in this case the ones that are not encompassed by the superior actor in the hierarchy. This means that the superior level includes one or several lower levels but thereby excludes many other levels. Being Catholic and saying about Protestants that 'we all are Christians' encompasses Protestants but excludes any other religion (Baumann 2004, pp. 38–40).

The examples to explain the ternary notion of the three grammars are simplified to illustrate how the grammars work in order to use them as one theoretical framework for the following analysis of othering practices. I will refer to the different practices of the three grammars throughout the chapter. In the chapter conclusion, I will further analyse which grammars were particularly relevant in the different examples of rivalry and loyalty constructions, where and when these different grammars are interacting, competing or excluding each other.

4.2 Narratives and Practices of Doing Kinship and Doing Home

One significant difference between the narratives of how people were socialised into football, was whether they became a fan in Istanbul and other cities in Turkey, or whether they became a fan in Vienna and other Central or West European cities. In a nutshell: whether or not they became a fan in a diasporic context and whether they had the chance to go to the stadium or to watch in bars in Turkey. Additionally, there are the ones that spent part of their childhood in Austria and part of their childhood in Turkey. They are both socialised in a fan culture abroad and in a fan culture in Istanbul. This is relevant because in some terms fan practices differ, such as where and how it is preferred to watch the matches, and the reasons why someone loves the club and likes being a fan.

Gender is another important aspect of the way people were introduced to football. All of the key persons who introduced my male *and* female interview partners to football by taking them to the stadium for the first time or by watching matches together with them on TV were exclusively male. Sometimes female persons such as mothers and sisters were involved in their first experiences with football as well, but fathers, uncles or male friends, siblings and cousins are retrospectively considered the initiators and role models for the love of the club. This applies especially to attending matches at the stadium. In this case, it does not matter whether a female or male fan grew up in Istanbul or in Vienna: it is a male key figure from which football fandom is considered to be learned.

The main narrative of those interview partners that grew up in Istanbul is about a father or uncle that took them to the stadium for their first time.

> Cem: Since I was three or four years old I went with my father to the Ali Sami Yen Stadium to watch Gala [Galatasaray] matches. When I was 13 or 14 I started to go to the matches on my own or with friends.[2]

Another prominent way of how people describe their first contact with football and why they started liking it is by playing themselves: playing on the streets with friends, playing in an official football club and also playing football via video games such as 'FIFA'. Sinan, born and raised in Istanbul, explains that he has neither played football, as he was not very sporty, nor did he watch the matches when he was a child or a young teenager. Nevertheless, he emphasises that he was 'born into' a Galatasaray family and that therefore the love of Galatasaray was always part of the family. He considers football fandom as something that can be 'inherited'.

> Sinan: I have always been a Galatasaray-Fan. I have never played football nor did I watch matches, but the love has always been there without watching football. […] My father was a passionate Galatasaray fan and my mother, yes, she doesn't like football, but she also has this love [for Galatasaray].[3]

Here, the family aspect is important to explain one's loyalty, making it clear that loyalty can start without even watching football – even without liking football. In this case, expressing the loyalty to a club is a central practice of community building and doing kinship by adopting the club's symbolic meaning that the family members agreed upon. Sinan only became interested in watching the matches when he found another way to identify with the players via his PlayStation.

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[2] Interview Cem, 34 years old, male, Galatasaray fan, 21 August 2012, Turkish restaurant, Vienna, late afternoon.

[3] Interview Sinan, 24 years old, male, Galatasaray fan, 23 November 2012, atelier at his university, Vienna, afternoon.

Sinan: Yes, I started playing FIFA, I still did not watch the matches, but I always played FIFA with Galatasaray and every other team. Yes, exactly, I played FIFA and Pro Evolution Soccer a lot and then this, this urge came up that I wanted to watch football.[4]

Many of the interviewees regard their 'choice' of the club as destiny, a 'naturally given' way, or a family legacy and heritage. Mesut summarises it quite rationally. Mesut is a 27-year-old student, born and raised in Berlin by Turkish parents.[5] At the time of the interview, he had been living in Vienna for more than six years. He moved to Vienna to study at one of the Viennese Universities.

Mesut: But once some friends of my father's were visiting us and they had a son of the same age [as me]. He was already back then a pretty fanatic Fenerbahçe fan and he then infected me. It's always like this in Turkey, well the same in Germany, you get infected by your brother, father or by friends. First come, first served. You don't become a fan from conviction [aus Überzeugung], but when someone, for example a Beşiktaş fan comes along first, well then you become a Beşiktaş fan.[6]

Mesut's rather 'practical' approach to loyalties in football fandom also emphasises the family aspect. However, he underlines that family members are 'just' the first ones that have the chance to influence the choice of team. This process is not described as an active choice by a fan. He even compares it to a disease that spreads by 'infecting' others. Cem on the other hand, who considers himself as a free mind, tries to find a way to make it his choice again, but with a hint of irony and humour. He works

[4] Interview Sinan, 24 years old, male, Galatasaray fan, 23 November 2012, atelier at his university, Vienna, afternoon.

[5] Many high school graduates in Germany decide to go to Austria to study because it is often cheaper and easier to be accepted. See: derStandard.at (2014) Deutsche Studenten strömen weiter bevorzugt an österreichische Unis, http://derstandard.at/2000009041250/Deutsche-Studenten-stroemen-weiter-bevorzugt-an-oesterreichische-Unis, (published 5 December 2014, accessed 30 October 2015).

[6] Interview Mesut, 27 years old, male, Fenerbahçe fan and Hertha Berlin fan, 7 Februar 2013, traditional Viennese coffee house, afternoon.

as an editor and a writer for a sports web page and was asked by his company to write a report about his own fandom.

> Cem: And I wrote, I started like this: I am not a Turkey fan. Because I didn't choose that, well, I could not choose where I was born. But I am a Galatasaray, Gala fan, because I could choose that. Well, of course, it is an issue you can argue about. My father was a good fan, he says, when I asked him about this, he always says: Boy, I told you about Galatasaray's character, about Fenerbahçe's and about that of Beşiktaş and you yourself chose. When you were three or four years old. (Cem and Nina start laughing).[7]

In speaking ironically about his 'choice', Cem makes clear that there is no real choice, even though many fans, himself included, claim to have chosen a club for a certain reason. Most of the time the loyalty to the clubs exists first due to the wish to belong to a community which is mostly a family or peer-group (cf. Crabbe 2008; Bromberger 1995b; Hognestad 2012). After these introductory remarks on fan biographies I will further focus on the everyday practices of doing home and doing kinship among Fenerbahçe and Galatasaray fans in Vienna.

4.2.1 Narratives of Doing Home, Belonging and Kinship

Many interview partners used the performance and construction of (shifting) loyalties and rivalries in their football fandom narratives and practices to negotiate concepts of home, belonging and kinship within and beyond the football context. In the following example, I will discuss how rivalries and loyalties can shift even though they are narrated as if they were inflexible. In order to maintain the antagonism and thus also the excitement of being a fan, permanent negotiation is required. In this subsection, I will look into these negotiations with a particular focus on the role of a diasporic or migratory context in this process.

[7] Interview Cem, 34 years old, male, Galatasaray fan, 21 August 2012, Turkish restaurant, Vienna, late afternoon.

The exemplary analysis focuses on the Galatasaray fan Metin and his family and how Metin 'handles' the rivalry with Fenerbahçe. I met Metin during an away trip to Salzburg in July 2013 when Fenerbahçe tried to qualify for the Champions League. Metin is married and 45 years old. He has a teenage daughter and a teenage son and has been living in Vienna for more than twenty years. His daughter and son are also very passionate Galatasaray supporters. His wife also supports Galatasaray but does not consider herself a football fan. When Metin and I met, he often mentioned that he planned to move back to Istanbul when his children graduate from high school.

Metin goes to Istanbul a couple of times a year to visit friends and relatives, and also in order to go to the stadium to attend Galatasaray matches. In addition, he attends Galatasaray *and* Fenerbahçe matches in Austria and in neighbouring countries on a regular basis. When I told him that I was confused when I saw a Galatasaray fan riding on a Fenerbahçe fan bus, he responded simply that Fenerbahçe is a Turkish team and that this is why fans of both clubs have to mutually support each other.[8] In an interview several weeks later, he elaborated further on his support for Fenerbahçe. He showed me pictures of himself on his mobile phone wearing a Galatasaray jersey during a friendly match between Fenerbahçe and Newcastle in Sopron in Hungary.

Nina: So you really like to watch Fenerbahçe matches, like in Salzburg?
Metin: Well, yes. But if Fenerbahçe loses I am not that sad. But-
Nina: But anyhow you are supporting Fenerbahçe-
Metin: Fenerbahçe is still a Turkish team. If I go to work the next day, I tease the Austrians, if Fenerbahçe won. (Nina and Metin's wife start laughing). Once, Beşiktaş was playing Rapid [Wien]. About three years ago. I said, if a Turkish team comes I'll always support them. […] I was, but before I was also wearing a Beşiktaş shirt.
Nina: Really?
Metin: But I wouldn't wear a Fenerbahçe shirt.
Nina: Okay. And why is Beşiktaş okay and Fenerbahçe isn't?
Metin: Yes, Fenerbahçe is like an enemy. Do you understand?

[8] Fieldnote from 31 July 2013, fan bus from Vienna to Salzburg stadium, with Metin and his friends, Fan Club, Young Fenerbahçe Fan Club, more than 14 hours.

Nina: And Beşiktaş?
Metin: Beşiktaş not so much, not so bad, but Fenerbahçe is different.
Nina: So if Fenerbahçe is playing Beşiktaş-
Metin: Well, if you hand me a Fenerbahçe shirt, for example, and you tell me that you would pay me a hundred Euros if I wore it, I wouldn't do it. I swear.
Nina: Okay. (Laughs). But Beşiktaş is okay?
Metin: Beşiktaş is okay. Well, not to wear it always, but for one match. […]
Nina: And what do Fenerbahçe fans say if you go to a Fenerbahçe match wearing a Galatasaray jersey?
Metin: Ah, there [in Sopron, Hungary] people were looking at me but didn't say anything. But in the Fenerbahçe stadium – you cannot do it there. They would cut it off. In Vienna, people are also fanatic, wearing scarves and so on, but nobody told me I should take it off or anything like that.[9]

The logic of my research field would usually exclude the idea of supporting the 'arch enemy'.[10] Therefore, Metin applies a certain strategy to justify his shifting support. He claims that it is self-evident for him to support another team from Turkey apart from Galatasaray. Whereas some fans that I interviewed would never agree to that, others share this practice. The Fenerbahçe fan Mesut, for example, wanted to accompany me to a Galatasaray match in the Champions League. He said that on an international level he would always also support Galatasaray because he supports everybody who is wearing a Turkish flag on his chest. He elaborated further that Galatasaray fans have done likewise when Fenerbahce was successful on an international level a few years back.[11]

[9] Interview Metin, 45 years old, male, Galatasaray fan, Metin and his family's apartment, Viennese suburb, afternoon; together with his daughter Derya, 15 years old, Galatasaray fan and his wife Nevin, in her forties.

[10] This shifting support is to some extent comparable to fan practices that evolve around Bayern München. Even though many football enthusiasts in Germany would claim to hate everything about Bayern München, it is interesting how many people will then support the team on a European level and even find 'good' reasons for it, such as 'they have such a good youth programme' (cf. for example fieldnote from 25 May 2013, Viennese Coffee House, Vienna, with friends, colleagues and students from Istanbul, Borussia Dortmund vs. Bayern München (Champions League, final)).

[11] Fieldnote from 14 February 2013, Fan Club and Fenerbahçe Pub, Vienna, with Mesut and people in pub, BATE Borissow vs. Fenerbahçe (Europa League).

In his research, Anthony King has dealt with the question of how in Europeanisation processes club rivalries can become more important than the nationality of a club or a national team in general (King 2000, 2003). On that matter, Galatasaray and Fenerbahçe fans were quite split. How they acted in these shifting contexts often reflected their attitude towards national identification generally and towards Turkey in particular. Somewhat leftist fans would never cheer for the arch enemy for a reason like national affiliation, whereas others identified with Turkey or via Turkey with different concepts of home and belonging and occasionally supported the rival. Nevertheless, it becomes clear that '[t]he mental maps of football fandom are not restricted to local and national rivalries but run transversal and cross, sometimes also unexpectedly, national boundaries.' (Alpan and Schwell 2015, p. 5)

The temporary support of Fenerbahçe, however, is not without limits or rules. Metin, for example, emphasises that he would never wear a Fenerbahçe jersey. Instead, he wears the jersey of the national team when he attends Fenerbahçe matches. The football shirt becomes an important symbol of his limited loyalty to the opposite team. Thereby, he expresses his loyalty to Turkey and maintains the rivalry to Fenerbahçe. Likewise, it becomes visible that Metin experiences the rivalry between Galatasaray and Fenerbahçe in Vienna as softer than he would in Istanbul. Assuming that other fans of Turkish football in Central Europe are of the same opinion on this matter, he decides to wear a Galatasaray jersey at a Fenerbahçe match.

Metin is able to use his fandom of Turkish teams to apply a strategy of 'doing home' (*Beheimatung*) and belonging (Binder 2010, p. 190). Binder writes that migrants are often confronted with the prejudice that migration equals rootlessness, which means having no home and being foreign, before people even have the chance to say what being home means to them (2010, p. 194). Metin has several places where he feels at home depending on the perspective and situation. Asking him from a football perspective, he would mention Istanbul as a reference point and a place of yearning, whereas Vienna is his reference point when it comes to talking about his family, work and his colleagues. Therefore, he uses football as a tool to close the geographical gap between his two constructed homes. Additionally, every football match becomes a homelike place.

In his case, fandom can be considered as a 'tool' that helps to create 'strategies of action' (Swidler 1986, p. 273). Ann Swidler defines strategies less as a conscious plan, but as 'a general way of organizing action' (1986, p. 277). Applying this theoretical concept to the underlying case, we can consider football fandom as part of a '"tool kit" of symbols, stories, rituals, and world-views, which people may use in varying configurations to solve different kinds of problems' (Swidler 1986, p. 273). For Metin, football fandom is that part of culture that he uses as his 'tool kit' to create homelike emotional spaces in which he feels comfortable.

Furthermore, Metin mentions his joy in playfully teasing his Austrian colleagues at work the next day if a Turkish team has won. Therefore, he expresses not only his loyalty to Turkey but also differentiates himself from Austrians in the football context by emphasising the superiority of Turkish teams. At the same time, by 'teasing', he applies a type of humorous communicational interaction, thereby stressing both his difference and also his sameness (cf. Klingenberg 2013).

The biographies of my interviewees are quite different in terms of where they grew up, their educational background and their political views. One aspect that all of the interviewees who grew up in Turkey have in common is that football for them constructs a space where it is possible to (re)tell concepts of home and belonging and likewise spaces where the distance to the geographically distant home can be minimised for ninety minutes and beyond. For those fans that grew up in Vienna, their fandom often has a different connotation. For many of them, it is a strategy to maintain family links as well as to share and create a link to the former home country of a family member, very often the father. Ayhan Kaya, who researched the Turkish hip-hop youth in Berlin-Kreuzberg, talks about a 'symbolic bridge between country of settlement and the homeland' (Kaya 2001, p. 156). For others of the same group the family ties and links to a sense of 'Turkish belonging' are less important because being a Galatasaray or Fenerbahçe fan for them is mainly a Viennese habit of socialising with friends and peer-groups.

Doing kinship in the football context means constructing families on two different levels. First of all it is a vehicle to strengthen the community feeling and sentiments of belonging, mostly between fathers and their

daughters and sons. Non-related fans also consider themselves as a 'fan family'. An important part of the family feeling is that new people are often immediately welcome. This is also why there is no question that women are welcome in many environments, even though they are often not accepted as 'real' fans (Sülzle 2011, p. 241). Almut Sülzle elaborates on the 'fan family':

> The fan family serves as a surface to project a great number of needs on that are associated with an "ideal world" and emotional security; it is characterised as a space free of commerce and competition and stands for values that are at the same time assumed to be eroding in society: loyalty, selfless love, willingness to help, trust. (Sülzle 2011, p. 239 [author's translation][12])

Sülzle refers to cases and people that are not necessarily related but the same also applies to family members. Within families football fandom can also be a strategy to bond with family members. Sibel describes the many different layers of doing community and belonging that football fandom contains for her. In Sibel's case doing kinship and doing home are both reflected in her fan narratives.

Sibel: This is because I watch Turkish TV and it is, I can somehow [compensate] my longing for Turkey, it's not only about that, I guess, but it is something Turkish like Turkish food. A certain dose of Turkish football is really good. I feel at home. Of course, it has also to do with my father and my childhood. I used to swim in [the Galatasaray Sports] Club. But if I were in Turkey right know, I would also watch [football] I guess. It's not only because I am here now. I wouldn't say that I watch football only because of my longing. But because I watch it now it is nice and that's maybe also the reason why I watch Turkish football instead of Austrian football, because I need more Turkish relationships than Austrian, German or English ones. […] Yes and I also think that it is important that all my friends, they also want, you know, to have these relationships and when we watch together, when we see each other, then

[12] 'Die Fanfamilie dient als Projektionsfläche für alle möglichen Bedürfnisse, die mit ‚heile Welt' und Geborgenheit assoziiert werden; sie wird als kommerz- und konkurrenzfreie Zone charakterisiert und steht für Werte, von denen zugleich angenommen wird, dass sie gesellschaftlich erodieren: Treue, selbstlose Liebe, Hilfsbereitschaft, Vertrauen.'

> we have the feeling that the distance does not exist. As if we were in Turkey and it is exactly like Turkish food, when you live abroad, then you know, sometimes you have the urge. I really have to eat Pide and Lahmacun then. And when I eat it I can stay for two months here, I don't have an urge then.[13]

For Sibel her football fandom is part of many different strategies that she summarises in this short interview section. It is part of doing home which she describes as minimising the distance to Turkey and as an emotional place where she feels at home and therefore comfortable. Likewise, her fandom is related to establishing and maintaining a football community of friends that regularly meet. She creates an environment where her football fandom is not only legitimate but part of the entrance ticket to be Turkish or to be somehow connected to Turkey. Additionally in Sibel's case it becomes obvious how family bonds and conflicts can be negotiated via football experiences and fandom practices:

> Sibel: Yes, well, football and Galatasaray have always been kind of a symbol that I shared with my father. Because my mother hates football, my sister has no idea but I was somehow like the son that he always wanted to have. You know, we somehow shared this and it was something we had in common. Especially for me. […] I would have never thought that I now can have really passionate discussions with my father (laughs). But it is sort of funny, well, now I can talk about it with men, it is always fun. I realise now that some [female] friends [Freundinnen] of mine, they want to talk to a man, you know, or with a [male] friend [Freund] that they already know and sometimes you don't know what to talk about and I just, like men, start talking about football immediately and everything goes quickly. It is kind of a bonus, I suppose. In society. No matter whether you know the guy it is better than asking "where are you from?"[14]

In the second excerpt of the interview section, Sibel describes more precisely with whom she can connect via her football fandom. For her it is

[13] Interview Sibel, 26 years old, female, Galatasaray fan, 3 December 2012, hipster café, Vienna, late afternoon/evening.

[14] Interview Sibel, 26 years old, female, Galatasaray fan, 3 December 2012, hipster café, Vienna, late afternoon/evening.

less a general way to build a community with friends but more importantly it is a strategy to connect to men. Via football she feels able to establish an emotional relationship to her father. She considers football to be a 'bonus' that makes it easier for her to connect with him. This does not only apply to her father but also to men in general. She regards her own football fandom as both cultural and social capital in a male-dominated environment. Even more, football is the joker in the pack for her, putting her ahead of the competition compared to other women. Thereby she makes clear that in her perception football is a world of male hegemony. She can take advantage of this (male) football knowledge in conversations with men to establish a community feeling with them. In her description, she enters a male-dominated environment and by proving her football knowledge she earns respect and recognition. This respect and recognition can only come from male football fans because she considers them the 'legitimate' preservers of football knowledge.

In Ayla's case, the family and particularly the father are also important factors to her football fandom. When growing up in Vienna, the first experiences with football and as a fan are less connected to a built football environment like a stadium. Instead, they are linked to family narratives about a former home of a parent or grandparent or the broader family:

> Ayla: Well, it is like this, my interest came from my father, let's say it that way. (Both start laughing.) It's how, how can I say that, I am a Fenerbahçe fan, okay? And this is one of the most popular football clubs in Turkey. Or from Turkey, let's put it that way, and my father, he is also a huge fan and he became like that because of Grandpa. It is passed down from one to the other in our family. The whole family are Fenerbahçe fans, it's because of the family. My father is a huge fan of the team because when he was little and was still living in Turkey, it used to be a thing between him and his father. They went to watch matches together, used to play together. It was the team both of them stood for. Let's put it that way. It was his memory of his past and when he came to Europe he retained this. And this is how I picked up this interest. It means every time we are in Turkey the first thing we always do is buy football shirts, hats and everything that goes with it. Because they have a shop where only Fenerbahçe fans buy things. You can buy key chains, shoes, slippers, bed clothes, everything and we really spend a lot of money

> there, yes. (Ayla and Nina laugh). But not my whole family is included of course. My mum for example she often tells us off when we spend so much money.[15]

Ayla likes the thought of continuing the family history of Fenerbahçe fans and thereby emphasises the family aspect of her fandom. Using the expression that fandom can be 'passed down' she identifies herself with this constructed family history. It is a strategy of doing kinship to continue a constructed family history and nostalgia about a former home. This also includes current practices such as buying Fenerbahçe merchandise when in Turkey. For Ayla, it is a way to connect to the former home of the father and grandfather. Before, this 'passing down' happened only from one male family member to another male family member and is now also 'passed down' to female family members. Regarding gender, football fandom is changing with the current generation from a male-dominated environment to a place that women inhabit more and more. In this matter, Turkish football is comparable to many other European leagues that become more and more attractive for women. But, it is still a male-dominated environment where women are confronted with manifold problems of male hegemony (Erhart 2011; Dietze 2012; Rapoport and Regev 2016, see also Chap. 5).

4.3 Narratives of Negotiating Europe

Whereas the second subchapter dealt particularly with the construction of loyalties in the narratives of doing home and doing kinship, in this subsection I will further look at the construction and performance of loyalties and rivalries. The rivalry between football clubs is a central element to the excitement of being a football fan. As Almut Sülzle puts it in a nutshell: 'This rivalry is eventually based on the mutual agreement simply to be rivals' (2011, p. 231, [author's translation]).[16] However, this rivalry is part of complex contexts, strategies and self-presentations of a

[15] Interview Ayla, 25 years old, female, Fenerbahçe fan, 30 April 2015, her work place, Vienna, afternoon.

[16] 'Diese Rivalität basiert letztendlich auf einer gemeinsamen Übereinkunft, eben Rivalen zu sein.'

fan. Richard Giulianotti and Gary Armstrong, who analyse football rivalries from a structuralist approach, emphasise:

> We do require to be highly cognizant of the classificatory practices and binary oppositions that shape football rivalries; but we need to allow for the possibilities that these oppositions contain relatively unique cultural properties, and are understood in complex terms by the social actors themselves. (Giulianotti and Armstrong 2001, p. 269)

The excitement of being a supporter of either Galatasaray or Fenerbahçe is strongly connected to the celebration of antagonism between these two clubs. The 'quest for excitement' (Elias and Dunning 1986) in the Süper Lig is determined by the performance of the traditionalised rivalry between Galatasaray and Fenerbahçe (Erhart 2014, p. 1735). Beşiktaş, the 'little brother' in the nexus of the *üç büyükler*, the big three from Istanbul, also plays an important part in this rivalry but games between Galatasaray and Fenerbahçe are seen by many fans as the most important matches of the year (Dmowski 2013). The respective opposite club can be considered as a 'self-defining counter-pole' (Baumann 2004, p. 31) in this relationship. This means that Galatasaray fans do need Fenerbahçe fans to define what they themselves are and what they are not. The same applies for Fenerbahçe fans: Only because they can distinguish themselves from Galatasaray fans, can Fenerbahçe fans define what they are or rather: what they want to be like/not to be like. This can be seen as central practice of orientalism in football fandom (cf. Alpan and Schwell 2015). In this subchapter, I will analyse different performances of rivalries and loyalties with a special regard to orientalising practices and the construction of Turkey and Europe in the narratives of Galatasaray and Fenerbahçe fans in Vienna.

4.3.1 Playing Love and Hate

The choice of words to describe the loyalties and rivalries is sometimes dramatic and sometimes comparable to those used in a romantic relationship. Words such as 'love' and 'hate' are central terms in the interviews

for the description of the game in general, and especially for their own club and the opponent club respectively.[17] Metin, a Galatasaray fan, explains it in the interview like this:

> I have worn the Galatasaray shirt since I was about six years old. I've worn it since then. And I love it a lot. Like a sweetheart.[18]

This is also mirrored in fan songs about football clubs. During the interview with Ayla, she was translating some of her favourite Fenerbahçe songs for me:

> It was our anniversary song. For our hundredth birthday and people are still singing it a lot. A famous, popular Turkish singer wrote and sang it especially for Fenerbahçe. How can I translate it? "You are everywhere where I breathe, you are the only thing my heart screams and yearns for. Nobody will understand the love like you. You are like the child, the smiling child in my heart."[19]

Here again, Fenerbahçe can be compared to a love affair or a lover that gets 'serenaded'. The opposite feeling to this is hatred. The Galatasaray fan Sinan emphasised his hatred towards Fenerbahçe in every single meeting, interview and during matches, often comparing it to his acceptance of Beşiktaş who, after all, he also considers a rival, but not an enemy.

> But yes, this hatred that I have against Fenerbahçe, I don't have it towards Beşiktaş, I have a Beşiktaş t-shirt at home.[20]

Sinan invited me to his work place to show me YouTube videos. He told me that these videos are really important to understand Turkish football and therefore they would be necessary for me to watch. These videos showed

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[17] In the German football context the example of Borussia Dortmund illustrates how the 'love' can also become part of a marketing strategy with their slogan: 'Echte Liebe' (true love).

[18] Interview Metin, 45 years old, male, Galatasaray fan, Metin and his family's apartment, Viennese suburb, afternoon; together with his daughter Derya, 15 years old, Galatasaray fan and his wife Nevin, in her forties.

[19] Interview Ayla, 25 years old, female, Fenerbahçe fan, 30 April 2013, her work place, Vienna, afternoon.

[20] Interview Sinan, 24 years old, male, Galatasaray fan, 23 November 2012, atelier at his university, Vienna, afternoon.

how Fenerbahçe fans were demolishing the stadium and streets in Istanbul after Galatasaray won the championship in 2012. The final match of the season took place in the Fenerbahçe stadium (*Şükrü Saracoğlu Stadyumu*) and because of the 'derby ban' Galatasaray fans were not allowed.[21]

The videos he showed me were predominantly about Fenerbahçe fans rioting in the streets of Istanbul, in the Fenerbahçe stadium, and setting cars alight in Istanbul. Thereby, he intended to paint a colourful picture of 'the rude, violent, uncivilised Fenerbahçe fan' that he could contrast with himself, the 'civilised' Galatasaray fan. These othering practices were very common in all interviews with both Galatasaray and Fenerbahçe fans alike. Sinan did show me these videos so I could understand how 'barbaric' Fenerbahçe fans act (and to make sure that I write about it in my book), but at the same time, he was fascinated by these videos and the amount of trouble only Fenerbahçe fans (in his view) caused. This included a video where Fenerbahçe fans turned a police car upside down.[22] When showing this video, the last, it becomes clear that the video session is a playful and situative practice of boundary making. In the end, Sinan concluded that, after all, the worst enemy is not Fenerbahçe but the police and therefore he approved of the actions towards the police shown in the videos to some extent.

Discussing the better team by degrading the opposite team is a central part of the rivalry construction among Galatasaray and Fenerbahçe fans. Othering the opposite team in an orientalising manner by attributing, in the fans' opinion, negative characteristics to it, is crucial for the distinction and therefore for the performative creation of the antagonism. In the next example we will see how these selfing and othering narratives are used in a discussion between a Galatasaray fan and a Fenerbahçe fan.

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[21] The derby ban prohibits fans of the opposite team from attending Istanbul derbies out of 'safety reasons'. For more information please see: Hürriyet Daily News [Yılmaz, Ç. C.] (2012): Despite protests, derby ban on visiting fans is here to stay, http://www.hurriyetdailynews.com/despite-protests-derby-ban-on-visiting-fans-is-here-to-stay.aspx?pageID=238andnID=36555andNewsCatID=44, (published 11 December 2012, accessed 28 November 2013).

For more information about the incidents on that match day please see: Sueddeutsche.de (2012): Schwere Krawalle nach Titelgewinn von Galatasaray. http://www.sueddeutsche.de/sport/sport-kompakt-schwere-krawalle-nach-titelgewinn-von-galatasaray-1.1356127, (published 13 May 2012, accessed 1 September 2015).

[22] YouTube.com (2012) Fenerbahçe – Galatasaray Maçı Sonrası Çıkan Olaylar Şampiyonluk Maçı, https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=YDXczSQh2ps, (published 12 May 2012, accessed 15 October 2013).

4.3.2 Negotiating Europe

In March 2013, I interviewed the owner and the main bartender of the Fenerbahçe Pub. The owner, Emre (29), is a dedicated Fenerbahçe fan and the main bartender, Alper (23), is a passionate Galatasaray supporter. The interview situation got rather heated at some point due to the fact that both interview partners were enthusiastically arguing why their respective team is the better one. The following section is an example of this discussion.

Emre: Galatasaray is a great team. Beşiktaş likewise. But at Fenerbahçe you notice quality, I would say. How they behave, what they do. No, it is really like this. […] Galatasaray is a great team, Fenerbahçe too, but if you look in terms of quality Fenerbahçe is a bit better, for the whole of Turkey. Fenerbahçe is more European.

Alper: No, no, it has nothing to do with that, in my opinion, because Galatasaray is more European. The problem is that Galatasaray has more Kurdish fans. That's the bad thing.

Emre: More Anatolian fans. Let's put it this way.

Alper: But you know that we have this problem: Turkish – Kurdish. And Gala has more Kurdish fans and that's the ugly thing about it.

Emre: They are not as civilised as Fenerbahçe fans. Well, not as a fan, there are Kurds that are Fenerbahçe fans. In Urfa [city in the southeast of Turkey], for example, there are more Fenerbahçe fans than Galatasaray fans. If you really look at regions you can really measure it up. […] But, what he is saying and what I am saying is totally different. Galatasaray is better in European football than we are. But I am not talking about football. I'm saying that Fenerbahçe has been managed in a more European way than Galatasaray. Until now.

Nina: Okay, what do you mean exactly?

Emre: I am trying to say that we… how can I say that? You simply notice quality. For example, if you go to the Fenerbahçe stadium and you look around, there are probably 50.000 people of whom 40.000 came with an original jersey. And for sure it was bought in the Fenerium, the official Fenerbahçe shop. If you look around in the Galatasaray stadium, though, it's just less. Why? Because fans of Galatasaray are a little poorer…

Alper: They are coming from poverty…
Emre: Exactly.
Alper: The poverty line…
Emre: The richest fans are Fenerbahçe fans.[23]

Emre's and interestingly also Alper's lines of argument – Alper is a Galatasaray fan himself – to underline Galatasaray's inferiority reveal the inclusion and exclusion practices of how they define a legitimate fan. In their view a 'legitimate' or 'good' fan is definitely not Kurdish or Anatolian. Via the practice of othering, by using the ethnicised concepts of 'Turkish vs. Kurdish', which implies dichotomies based on 'good vs. bad' and 'wealthy vs. poor', they find a way to bond even though they are fans of antagonist teams. The bonding in the discussion is especially important for Alper because of the social hierarchy in this interview situation: Emre is, after all, Alper's boss, and Alper is additionally one of the few Galatasaray fans in this pub.

In their discussion, both Emre and Alper refer to one main category in this interview section: Europe. It is true that Galatasaray is located in Istanbul's European side whereas Fenerbahçe is located in the Anatolian side of the city, which might implicate notions of what is considered European and not European. However, both Emre and Alper are claiming that their club is 'more' European. Thereby, they are referring to imagined or cultural geographies, which shape their symbolic meaning. Alper links Europe to European championships such as the Champions League and the Europa League whereas Emre links it to a specific way of management, meaning having a good marketing concept and fans that buy expensive jerseys. It becomes clear that Europe is a vague construct that is contested. Başak Alpan and Alexandra Schwell summarise:

> There are many ways to "think Europe", but no matter how you look at it Europe is a relevant category to order, categorise and "think" the social world and to locate self and other. Likewise, the Europes of the European Union, the Eurovision Song Contest and the Champions League are not identical. […] Throughout history the very concept of "Europe" has proved

[23] Interview Emre and Alper, 29 and 23 years old, both male, Fenerbahçe fan and Galatasaray fan, 20 March 2013, Fenerbahçe Pub, Vienna, afternoon.

> very resistant to concise definitions, which is why it has very often defined in negation: Europe is not Asia, is not the Islamic world, is not the US, and so on. (Alpan and Schwell 2015, pp. 10–11)

In the interviews that I conducted, Europe often represents modernity, freedom and (financial) progress. Interview partners who are eager to identify with those categories used Europe as a reference point while talking about their fandom. Nevertheless, Europe is a vague term that can refer to a number of different political, social and cultural concepts such as the European Union, UEFA – as mentioned above – or a place of yearning, financial stability, a way of life and so on.[24] Consequently, it provokes various images and interpretations. In the interview section, Emre and Alper refer to different definitions of Europe and consequently argue about what Europe and European means to them.

Europe is often an important point of reference for Turkish football (cf. Alpan and Şenyuva 2015). One reason is that while Turkish football teams can gain recognition in Europe as an accepted member of UEFA, politically Turkey has long fought for membership in the European Union. Tanıl Bora and Özgehan Şenyuva summarise:

> [G]ames against other European national and club teams allow for revenge against the Europeans for what is traditionally perceived cunning and historical efforts to exclude Turkey and Turks, culturally, politically and economically. (Bora and Şenyuva 2011, p. 38)

Still, even though Turkey has been affiliated with UEFA since 1962,[25] it does not mean that all members of UEFA are equal partners (Dietschy et al. 2009, p. 130, p. 137). Paul Dietschy et al. emphasise that Turkey in the past was willing to undergo 'a long, often humiliating process of recognition' (ibid., p. 131) to prove its 'Europeanness' in the football context and beyond.

Europe was a point of reference mentioned on several occasions throughout the interviews. In the football context, it received an entirely positive

[24] See for example the negotiation of Europe in Schwell (2008).

[25] Official homepage of UEFA http://www.uefa.com/memberassociations/association=tur/index.html, (accessed 15 October 2014).

connotation *if* mentioned. The Galatasaray fan Cem, for example, uses the category Europe to distinguish himself from Fenerbahçe fans, as well:

> Cem: I really see a difference when- well, I have good friends who are Fenerbahçe fans. Yes. Two of my five best friends are Fenerbahçe fans. But when you talk to them about football, it's a dead end. They always have arguments that they do not get beaten under normal circumstances but because of this and that and because of the referee. They always have a pretext. Well, in my opinion. If you asked a Fenerbahçe fan he might say the same about Galatasaray fans. But there are some who wouldn't. […] For me, Galatasaray is the part of Turkey that could become part of the European Union with a good conscience.
>
> Nina: Aha.
>
> Cem: Fenerbahçe symbolises ploy [List] and (takes a deep breath) the newly rich who are doing everything for money and with money. Yes. They are not interested in manners, they are not considerate [Rücksicht nehmen]. But, as I said before, I do also have friends, good friends, whom I get along with very well in other parts of life. If they win they always make fun of us. I rare- I don't do that. Maybe there are other Galatasaray fans who like doing that but I don't.[26]

Cem also constructs the Fenerbahçe-Galatasaray antagonism by applying orientalising arguments. He starts with describing Fenerbahçe fans as unfair and lousy losers. He emphasises his arguments by saying that he is (even) friends with some Fenerbahçe fans. In this way his narrative becomes less fanatical. He tries to add a self-critical notion by saying that Fenerbahçe fans might use the same arguments against Galatasaray fans. In the end, however, he returns to generalising all Fenerbahçe fans using more degrading and orientalising arguments to emphasise Galatasaray's superiority and Fenerbahçe's inferiority. He describes Fenerbahçe fans as disrespectful and dishonest. Furthermore, he links this kind of behaviour to the newly rich. By attributing all these characteristics to Fenerbahçe, he expresses not only what he considers to be negative traits, he also

[26] Interview Cem, 34 years old, male, Galatasaray fan, 21 August 2012, Turkish restaurant, Vienna, late afternoon.

makes clear that he considers himself, the Galatasaray fan, honest and respectful. Similarly to Emre and Alper, he links his arguments to a concept of Europe, in this case very specifically to the European Union.

Cem's definition of Europe differs from Emre's and Alper's definition. It differs particularly from Alper's argument as to why Galatasaray is the better club. Both Alper and Cem assign positive connotations to 'Europe', however Alper understands Europe as a category of success whereas Cem attaches a culturalised political meaning to it. Via the football club, Cem defines what values and ideas, in his opinion, constitute the European Union. Especially in Cem's case, the football club becomes part of a cultural geography: Galatasaray can obviously never become part of the European Union as it is a football club. Nevertheless, he uses it as symbol for the part of Turkey that he considers fit to be part of the European Union. Thereby, he claims that Fenerbahçe is not ready to join the European Union because of its 'bad manners', implying that characteristics that fit the European Union include good manners, consideration and respect.

Cem opposes the classic orientalising categories of 'civilised' and 'primitive' to make his point of distinction. This strongly contradicts the argument that Alper and Emre had finally agreed upon: that Galatasaray does not have as 'civilised' fans as Fenerbahçe does because of a possible bigger Kurdish and poorer fan base. Cem includes social class to his distinction. By underlining that, in his opinion, Galatasaray fans are more 'cultivated' (*kultiviert*) and Fenerbahçe fans in contrast have 'bad manners' and are newly-rich, he makes clear that for him Galatasaray fans belong to a better educated social class. Here, he reproduces the myth of the well-educated and elite Galatasaray fan (cf. Dmowski 2013). This is in stark contrast to all of Emre's and Alper's arguments about Galatasaray.

Referring to Sandvoss's semantic and psychoanalytical approach to fandom, which I introduced at the beginning of this chapter, the contradicting arguments of Cem, Alper and Emre make clear how a fan constructs or reads his or her club in a nexus to his or her image of self. This construction sometimes fits pre-existing discursive strategies, like in the case of the elite Galatasaray fan, and sometimes it does not. To underline how arbitrary these respective readings of clubs can be, I will shortly refer to a statement by the Fenerbahçe fan Ayla that is again in stark contrast to the arguments that Emre and Alper used.

Ayla is very dedicated to helping other people in her everyday life and is eager to talk about charity events that are organised by Fenerbahçe or its fan clubs. She emphasises that she likes Fenerbahçe and Turkish football in general because all kinds of people come together to play. She explains that it does not matter where you are from or what colour your skin, whether you are an Arab, in her words a 'gypsy', a Kurd or from the Balkans, whether you are rich or poor. She sums up:

> In the stadium, all are united.[27]

She projects what is important to her onto Fenerbahçe in the same way as Emre and Alper do, only in her argument football does not divide but unify. Sandvoss writes that 'opposing readings also emerge among fans of the same team' (2003, p. 27). Hall's concept of representation is also helpful to understand the antagonist descriptions and interpretations of the very same fan object:

> In any culture, there is always a great diversity of meanings about any topic, and more than one way of interpreting or representing it. (Hall 1997, p. 2)

Sibel has a similar background to Cem and belongs to the same group of students from Istanbul. Accordingly, she uses similar arguments when describing what she likes about Galatasaray:

Sibel: Well, yes, for me it [Galatasaray] is always this, this less oriental, you know, a little more European regarding the mentality, that everybody has to be somehow an individual. You know, still a group, a team but it is more about sport, you know, human achievements and it is not always these tricks and not these power plays, you know, "I have the money, I am like this". You know? It's more about other things, well for me and for most other people as well. […] But sometimes I think that Turkish football is really awful.

Nina: Why?

Sibel: Because it is somehow the opposite to what's happening here in Europe. Everything is corrupt and there are scandals happening

[27] Interview Ayla, 25 years old, female, Fenerbahçe fan, 30 April 2013, her work place, Vienna, afternoon.

every day. […] You know, Galatasaray for me is a counterpoise to all this rubbish [Brei], you know. Because you know about all these stories about fraud, you know, what do you call it? At betting, not betting?

Nina: Match fixing?

Sibel: Yes, match fixing and manipulation and so on. It [Galatasaray] was the only team that wasn't part of it.[28]

Sibel distances herself from those parts about Turkish football that she does not like. But, she manages to maintain a positive image about her club, Galatasaray, and counterpoises it to all the 'bad things' in football such as corruption and scandals. Sibel's argument is about attitudes or as she calls it 'mentalities'. Similarly to Cem, she links what she considers to be 'good' categories such as 'individuality' and 'human achievements' to the football club Galatasaray. In her opinion, achievements must happen without cheating and without making too much use of money. She opposes being European (Galatasaray) to being oriental (Turkish football in general and Fenerbahçe in particular) and thereby, not only on a meta-level but literally, uses an orientalising narrative to other Fenerbahçe fans and to self herself as a Galatasaray fan that is superior. In this narrative Galatasaray symbolises Europe and all the characteristics she links to her concept of Europe. At the same time, she links Fenerbahçe and Turkish football to her degrading concept of the 'orient'. In this example we see how Sibel (re)produces the construct 'orient' and how she reproduces prejudices about this construct in the very sense of Edward Said (1978).

In contrast, Mesut, the student from Berlin, who decided to study at the University of Vienna, describes Fenerbahçe like this:

Mesut: In Turkey, there are many rumours. Every club is accused by everyone. Everybody has different reasons. At Fenerbahçe one could have the feeling, well the Turkish government is strictly Islamist, and it could be possible that Fenerbahçe fans are just too modern or that the whole club is just too modern, too Western-oriented. That therefore the government and the association want

[28] Interview Sibel, 26 years old, female, Galatasaray fan, 3 December 2012, hipster café, Vienna, late afternoon/evening.

> to harm the club. I, myself, do believe that, too, and yes, it is generally the problem with the government.[29]

For the Fenerbahçe fan Mesut, Fenerbahçe represents all the characteristics that Sibel and Cem claim to be represented by Galatasaray. Mesut does not symbolically use 'Europe' to do so but uses the terms 'modernity' and 'West'. He also directly criticises the Turkish government which he calls 'Islamist' and opposes it to an assumed Western 'modernity'. It is striking that narratives about the two clubs can contradict, overlap, intersect or synchronise. They are an assemblage that can change depending on the situation, context, and person who is talking. They are always relational constructions.

4.4 Narratives of Distance and Protest

In the previous subchapter orientalising practices were particularly important to understand the othering processes among Galatasaray and Fenerbahçe fans in Vienna. We have seen how for some interview partners, in the context and the time of the interview, fan objects served well to express their affiliations. In the following examples I will discuss how a fan object cannot arbitrarily be adapted to one's own loyalty constructions. This subchapter focuses again on the narratives about the football clubs and this time also the national team but with regard to failures of representations and self-reflections.

Even if Galatasaray and Fenerbahçe fans narrate, produce and construct their fan loyalty and rivalry as an inflexible, rigid life-and-death issue, both remain situationally and contextually flexible. This means that in specific contexts, it can become crucial to distance oneself from the fan object, for example, because of the (new) hegemonic readings of its image as we will see in the case of Selin. Distancing oneself does not only happen in drastic cases. For many fans, it is part of regular and daily

[29] Interview Mesut, 27 years old, male, Fenerbahçe fan and Hertha Berlin fan, 7 Februar 2013, traditional Viennese coffee house, afternoon.

fandom practices and narratives to question one's loyalty to the fan object and fandom in general (Sandvoss 2003, pp. 163–5). Especially for the ones that migrated to Vienna as adults or teenagers, the meaning they attribute to their football fandom sometimes changes. This case will be exemplarily discussed by the Galatasaray fan Sibel in this chapter. Here, the construction of a fan biography is retrospectively interpreted and narrated as a complex form of protest.

4.4.1 The Gezi Protests and Narratives of Distance

In late spring 2013, the Gezi protests were sparked in Turkey and consequently the concepts of loyalty were in frequent discussion among some of the Galatasaray and Fenerbahçe fans in Vienna.

People in Istanbul started protesting when plans were adopted to build a shopping mall in Gezi Park. Gezi Park, one of the few remaining parks in Istanbul's European centre, is located right next to Taksim Square, probably the most important public space in Istanbul. Thousands of people gathered to protest against the neoliberal policy of commodification of urban space by the government. Soon the protests became part of a broader movement against President Erdoğan's conservative, repressive, authoritarian and neoliberal politics (Yıldırım 2013; Navaro-Yashin 2013). A crucial aspect of the protests was that members of all different parts of society, such as 'feminists and football fans, secularists and anti-capitalist Muslims, members of Istanbul's bourgeoisie and the working classes, LGBT activists and professional lawyers, Kurds and Jews' (Navaro-Yashin 2013) were now fighting for a mutual cause. The protests were soon met with extraordinary police violence such as beating, tear gas and water guns. Some football fans and ultra groups played an important role during the Gezi protests. Some fan groups of Fenerbahçe, Galatasaray and Beşiktaş gathered and formed 'Istanbul United',[30] a unification that was perceived as symbolically powerful among the protesters. Erhart puts it in a nutshell:

[30] The mystification of this collaboration is also pushed by the film 'Istanbul United' (Eslam F. and O. Waldhauer (2014) *Istanbul United*. Film/Documentary, 87 min (Germany; Czech Republic; Turkey; Switzerland: Port au Prince Pictures)).

> Eternal rivals seemed to have united against the riot police and the government. (2014, p. 1725)

It was perceived as powerful because the fans were usually understood as 'arch enemies', famous for fighting each other rather than for a mutual cause. It was additionally perceived as important because many football fans had been involved in clashes with the police before and were considered somewhat 'experts' in fighting the police.[31] In the quote, Erhart, nevertheless, keeps a sceptic tone, because not all fans or fan groups were participating in the protests and this unification, as symbolically powerful as it was, should not be mythicised and overemphasised. This became very clear when I attended two Süper Lig matches in Istanbul in August 2013.[32] In one part of the stadium, people were yelling '*Her Yer Taksim, Her Yer Direniş*' (Everywhere Taksim, Everywhere Resistance) while in another part, they were booing.

Football fans were as divided as the whole of Turkish society was. Yağmur Nuhrat explains in an interview conducted by Nicole Selmer in the Austrian football magazine *Ballesterer* (2013) that it is not surprising that among fans, also among Beşiktaş fans although the club is often idealised of predominantly having anarchistic and left-wing fans, there are people that are against the protests. After all, about 50 per cent of the votes in the Turkish elections were for the *Adalet ve Kalkınma Partisi* (AKP, Justice and Development Party), Nuhrat explains. Whereas I agree with Nuhrat, I would nevertheless emphasise that the symbolic meaning of Beşiktaş, the third party of the Istanbul big three (*üç büyükler*), is still important. Beşiktaş' ultra group *Çarşı* is famous for being leftist and anarchistic (McManus 2013) and the majority of Beşiktaş fans, especially seen through the dominant readings of the club, have been associated with a working class culture (Erhart 2011, p. 93). Therefore, Beşiktaş and particularly *Çarşı* are read in this nexus of attributions and became powerful political images in the discourses about the Gezi protests.

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[31] The football researcher Yağmur Nuhrat (2013b) emphasises that football fans are not the only victims of police violence in Turkey as the police is using violent repressions on many other occasions, like the May 1st demonstrations.

[32] Fieldnote from 19 August 2013, Türk Telekom Arena, Istanbul, with fans from Vienna, Galatasaray vs. Gaziantepspor (Süper Lig), afternoon and evening; fieldnote from 24 August 2013, Şükrü Saracoğlu Stadyumu, Istanbul, in collaboration with fans from Vienna, Fenerbahçe vs. Eskişehirspor (Süper Lig), evening.

For some of my interviewees, the changing situation in Turkey had an immense impact on how they perceived their everyday lives in Vienna and also on how they performed their football fandom. It strongly depended on how much they identified with the protestors as well as on their interest in Turkish politics. Everybody at least had an opinion about the events in Turkey but not everybody took action. The group of students from Istanbul was strongly politicised and some of them started to coordinate solidarity events in Vienna. Also, some fans that grew up in Vienna participated in the protests in Vienna to show their solidarity.

For some fans in Vienna the Gezi protests even had an impact on their football loyalties as we will see exemplified in Selin's case. Selin is in her late twenties, grew up in Vienna and travels quite often to Istanbul where friends and close relatives live. She is a Fenerbahçe fan, politically active, leftist, and an artist. I met her in Istanbul in summer 2013 at a protest art event against the recent political developments in Turkey. In the following interview section, we were first talking about Fenerbahçe and Beşiktaş being excluded from the European championships on the grounds of match fixing accusations[33] that summer which Selin then linked to a more general discussion about football loyalties and club images and finally to the Gezi protests.

Nina: What do you think about Fenerbahçe getting disqualified from the European matches?

Selin: Well, I guess there are lots of teams that did *şike* [match fixing] it's called, but they weren't punished so hard. I think that's pretty mean (laughs). I am sad, yes, it was a moment when I said to myself that Fenerbahçe is less existent for me now in some ways. It's not that present anymore, it's a bit phoney in this sense. But then I started thinking, shouldn't I change to Beşiktaş? Because I like their philosophy much better and Fenerbahçe is totally elitist and totally out now. But then I get the feeling again, no, I have always been there for them, so to speak, I cannot give up just like that now. And then I get the feeling again and I am still Fenerbahçe,

[33] For more information: theGuardian.com (2013): Fenerbahce given two-year European ban after losing match fixing case. http://www.theguardian.com/football/2013/aug/28/fenerbahce-expelled-europe-match-fixing, (published 28 August 2013, accessed 31 October 2013).

> unfortunately. […] Well, it did not surprise me that Beşiktaş were there [at the protests] and participated because Beşiktaş always had this image: we are the ones, we are working class in quotation marks, we are anarchists, we are always opposing. That's always the slogan, we are not only a football team but also political, right? It's less the case at Fenerbahçe. Fenerbahçe is more, well I am simplifying this now, Fenerbahçe is capitalism. Beşiktaş rather communist, socialist, also very much simplified.[34]

In the first part of the interview section, Selin refers mainly to the dichotomy: elite culture vs. working class culture. In the second part she starts discussing the political situation in Turkey. She argues that she sometimes questions her loyalty to Fenerbahçe because she does not feel represented by this club and its image anymore. She claims that she can identify more with the working class culture of Beşiktaş. The representations of Fenerbahçe became too (a)political in terms of the Gezi park protests. Fenerbahçe, for her, started to represent the exact opposite of what the Gezi protests were about: Fenerbahçe's allegedly capitalist and corrupt structure.

For many football fans it is a common discourse and practice to distance oneself from the club and to criticise one's fan object in certain contexts. This particularly applies when representations change (Sandvoss 2003, pp. 163–5). In the interview, it appears as if Selin's loyalty to Fenerbahçe is part of difficult internal negotiations. She feels the need to explain her loyalty and even to justify that she is 'still' a Fenerbahçe fan.

In qualitative interviews, the need to justify parts of one's life often comes up to explain actions or decisions that in this specific moment are understood as inconsistencies (Lucius-Hoene and Deppermann 2004b, p. 87). In Selin's case, it is the identification with Fenerbahçe and the identification with the motives of the Gezi protests that generate a conflict. Selin discusses why she still is a Fenerbahçe fan when Beşiktaş would fit her much better or rather: to the way she wants to present herself in this interview situation. This 'social positioning' (Lucius-Hoene and Deppermann 2004b, pp. 59–60) is part of qualitative interviews and a fluid process between the interviewer and the interviewee, because Selin

[34] Interview Selin, 28 years old, female, Fenerbahçe fan, 3 October 2013, hipster café, Vienna, afternoon.

does not really attempt to change clubs, which she considers an illegitimate way to act for a fan.

Selin perceives and constructs Beşiktaş in general, and not only its ultra group *Çarşı*, as the ones who fight for justice and equality. In comparison to Fenerbahçe, she describes Beşiktaş fans as much more committed to the protests. In this context, it is not possible anymore to create her fan object, Fenerbahçe, as an 'extension of oneself'. Gezi becomes part of a hegemonic discourse which for Selin is more important than football and that is at the same time positioned right in the middle of football. In Selin's case the limits of the 'narcissistic self-reflection' (Sandvoss 2012, p. 82) are visible. Other dominant readings question the performances of loyalties and rivalries. To solve this conflict in the interview situation, she chooses to express her political views via her identification with Beşiktaş and via emphasising her struggle towards her loyalty to Fenerbahçe. Applying this narration strategy of 'social positioning', she does not even have to give up her loyalty to Fenerbahçe.

4.4.2 Experiences of Disrespect[35] and Narratives of Protest

The following example also deals with the self-positioning or social positioning in narratives about football fandom. In this case these narratives focus on the reconstruction of one's fan biography which the Galatasaray fan Sibel retrospectively links to experiences of disrespect that occurred when she moved from Istanbul to Vienna.

'[T]he growing negative undertone in public, medial and political discourses on Turkish immigrants' (Sievers et al. 2014, p. 267) was in some aspects decisively relevant to the everyday lives of Galatasaray and Fenerbahçe fans in Vienna. Discriminating and racist campaigns against migrants in general and Turks in particular (more on this later in this section) launched by the populist right-wing party *Freiheitliche Partei Österreichs* (FPÖ, Freedom Party of Austria) are only one part of the complex ways of discriminating against Turkish migrants and postmigrants in Austria.

These processes of discrimination are also visible in the football context. One example of this degradation is that Turkish football and its fans,

[35] Honneth (1996).

although being a visible part of the Viennese public space (fans in jerseys, celebrations of Turkish championships in the city centre et cetera), are frequently ignored in many German speaking media in Austria. Exceptions include a Turkish team playing an Austrian team, high level Champions League matches, or pitch invasions.[36] This means that Turkish football only concerns most of Austrian media when it is linked to teams of the Austrian football league or European championships, or when it has a sensational, often negative connotation.[37] Consequently, the fan loyalty can become a sensitive topic and can receive a political attribution due to possible failures of recognition and disrespect being directly connected to it.

Axel Honneth originally developed the 'Theory of Recognition' to explain the emergence and formation of social movements (1990, 1992, 1996). The central terms of his theory are the concepts of recognition (*Anerkennung*) and disrespect (*Missachtung*). Honneth explains that individuals and groups depend on experiences of recognition to maintain full integrity. They struggle for recognition appears on three different shifting and intersecting levels:

1. love in primary relationships,
2. rights in legal relations,
3. and solidarity in a community of value.

Individuals and groups attempt to overcome attacks on one or on several of these levels to avoid experiences of disrespect (*Missachtungserfahrungen*). Experiences of disrespect can threaten a person's or group's:

1. physical integrity by abuse and rape,
2. social integrity by denial of rights and exclusion,
3. dignity or 'honour' by degradation or insult of a person (Honneth 1996, p. 129).

[36] There are exceptions such as the Austrian football magazine *Ballesterer* that reports regularly on Turkish football from various angles (cf. Ballesterer [N. Selmer] 2013; ballesterer.at [K. Federmair] 2013a) or heute.at which has the online section 'Leserreporter' (reader reporter) where fans have reported about celebrations of Galatasaray or Fenerbahçe winning the championship that were celebrated in public places in Vienna (cf. Heute.at [Geyik, E. L.] 2013; Heute.at [Vfb, Ö.] 2014).

[37] For example the pitch invasion of Beşiktaş fans in 2013: (Krone.at 2013) or the discussion of UEFA punishing Fenerbahçe because its fans used pyrotechnics in the stadium in 2013 (derStandard.at 2013).

To maintain the integrity of a person or a group people have to overcome experiences of disrespect. Sibel, the protagonist of this section, experienced disrespect in a non-football context and tried to tackle this experience via the football context. In her example experiences of disrespect did not result in a social movement, like it happened, for example, in the Gezi protests. But in the interview situation fandom respectively becomes a strategy to tackle experiences of disrespect. In the following, narrating about her football biography is less a story about becoming a fan but more about how Sibel uses this narration as a strategy to express conflicts or turning points in her life. Sibel retrospectively links her fan biography to the political environment at the time she was (re)socialised into football and the time that she considered to be most important not only for her fan biography but for her biography in general.

Sibel grew up in Istanbul and came to Vienna in 2005 to study at the Viennese Art Academy. She is a student, 26 years old and part of the Viennese art scene. In the following interview section, we were discussing how she became a regular football enthusiast and particularly why she only later became a Galatasaray fan. Retrospectively, she describes that she started to be interested in football relatively late and that her interest lay predominantly in national football. In the following interview section Sibel describes how, when she first came to Austria, she missed her family and friends and felt alone.

At the same time, political campaigns against Turkey and Turkish migrants became more and more popular and successful in the Austrian public sphere. When Sibel arrived in Vienna in 2005, the election for the municipal council was taking place. The right-wing populist party FPÖ launched an election campaign that was directed against Turkish migrants in Austria as well as against Turkey becoming a member of the European Union. The slogans included 'Vienna mustn't become Istanbul' ['*Wien darf nicht Istanbul werden*'] (Sievers et al. 2014, p. 264). In the interview, she told that she felt more than unwelcome and discriminated against and as result acted nationalistically in the football context and beyond. She retrospectively constructs her fandom as a result of xenophobic and discriminating experiences in Austria.

Nina: Okay, and you came here [to Vienna] in 2005 and-
Sibel: Exactly, and I wasn't such a fan back then (laughs).
Nina: What happened then?
Sibel: Ugh, I think it was 2006 or so there were in Europe these European Championships, or so, they were in Vienna, weren't they?
Nina: No, it was 2008.
Sibel: It was already 2008? [… I]t was the first time that I was really alone. I was suddenly living abroad. Because until then I had always been with my family, many friends, a community I had always known and suddenly: the Art Academy and an apartment to myself. I had friends here too, always. And I always had the feeling that I had to, how can I put it, show Turkey at its best and I always had these questions. And back then Turks were really not popular, you know it was in the newspaper, when there were these election posters against Turkey and that Turks should all leave-
Nina: Where were-?
Sibel: These election posters everywhere.
Nina: Okay in Austria, I see.
Sibel: Yes, yes it was 2006 or so, and these [posters] and I always felt ashamed that I was a Turk, you know, at the university everything was always okay of course. They of course didn't act like that. But the other people didn't know or were mostly afraid or thought it was stupid, people from the Third World (laughs) um, exactly, I was always like, how can I put it, not military but I felt like a soldier for Turkey, you know?
Nina: Okay, yes.
Sibel: I never had that in my life and for the first three years or so [in Austria] I was a fan of the Turkish national team and I was really hard-core. Everybody asked me why I wasn't wearing a headscarf, you know, all these clichéd questions and it was like: okay, then I would rather be like that. I have never been nationalistic but I was at my limits, you know, it was embarrassing (both laugh). Well, when I look back now, because I had to defend myself all the time and everything became, not suddenly, everything became personal.[38]

[38] Interview Sibel, 26 years old, female, Galatasaray fan, 3 December 2012, hipster café, Vienna, late afternoon/evening.

Sibel considers herself a modern, cosmopolitan young woman and being asked all these prejudicial questions especially about Turkish women, for example regarding wearing a headscarf, for her equalled a personal offence. Her case reminds strongly of the one of Gezer (Spiegel Online [Gezer, Ö.] 2013) that was discussed in the introduction to this book. Sibel describes that she more or less felt obliged to defend Turkey and considered herself a 'soldier' for Turkey. The logical consequence, in her retrospective view, then was to support the Turkish national team. Applying Honneth's concept to Sibel's case, she experienced disrespect because her 'traits and abilities' were discriminated against. Sticking to Honneth's terminology, by degrading and insulting where she comes from her 'dignity and her self-esteem' were threatened. This includes personal offences to her self-perception of a modern cosmopolitan woman.

More importantly, Sibel felt directly addressed by the campaigns of right-wing political parties and directly offended by questions like the ones concerning headscarves. This is because somewhat she felt as a part of this constructed community that people ascribed to her. She felt 'shame' and 'anger' at being considered a part of, for example, the generalised prejudicial picture of 'those conservative Turks in Vienna'. This can be explained by Michael Herzfeld's concept of 'cultural intimacy' (1997).

For Herzfeld it is particularly the feeling of 'embarrassment' that shows the belonging to a collective identity. It is

> the recognition of those aspects of a cultural identity that are considered a source of external embarrassment but that nevertheless provide insiders with their assurance of common sociality. (Herzfeld 1997, p. 3)

The embarrassment that Sibel experienced ethnicises her and consequently she feels even more a part of a constructed Turkish community.

> Embarrassment, rueful self-recognition: these are the key markers of what cultural intimacy is all about. They are not solely personal feelings, but describe the collective representation of intimacy. (Herzfeld 1997, p. 6)

Getting back to Honneth, the feeling of shame and embarrassment were triggered by the experiences of disrespect towards the collective identity

to which Sibel felt that she belonged to. In order to overcome these experiences of disrespect she narrates that she used football to express an even stronger affiliation to the country and nationalised community that was degraded. By emphasising her belonging to the Turkish 'community of value' she sought to overcome the experiences of disrespect on the same level. At that moment, she could not gain additional recognition from other levels such as primary relations or legal relations to overcome the experiences of disrespect. Only via self-Turkifying and self-nationalising practices did she see a possibility of subversion against discriminating experiences. In the sense of: Now more than ever!

But there are two levels of embarrassment in this interview. The other level of embarrassment is the one that she experiences today for her behaviour in the past. From today's perspective Sibel cannot identify with her actions back then anymore. Especially after the Gezi protests sparked off, Sibel became highly critical about the Turkish government and helped to organise solidarity events in Vienna.[39] Her feelings of belonging towards a Turkish community do not necessarily exclude being critical about a government. But in her leftist critique she also includes a rejection of Turkish nationalism. As a result, she describes the experiences of disrespect in Austria as a trigger for her strong support of the Turkish national team. In this way she constructs her role in this process on the one hand as rather passive but at the same time as a subversive action of protest. She only later started to support Galatasaray:

Nina: Galatasaray or the national team?

Sibel: Only the national team, I rarely watched Galatasaray matches, even though my friends always invited me, but always the national games, and I was fierce [heftig], you know. And for example, since I am a Galatasaray fan I am not that nationalistic anymore, I never watch- well I was anti Turkey sometimes then. It is such a strange-…[40]

[39] Fieldnote from 31 May and 1 June 2013, solidarity events for the Gezi protests, Vienna, with student group from Istanbul, afternoon/evening.

[40] Interview Sibel, 26 years old, female, Galatasaray fan, 3 December 2012, hipster café, Vienna, late afternoon/evening.

From today's perspective her nationalistic self in the past contradicts with her leftist, cosmopolitan self in the present. Referring to Werner Fuchs-Heinritz's discussion on the (re)constructive notion of biographical narratives in qualitative interviews, Ove Sutter emphasises that the past is narrated as directly related to the current problems and the general living situation of a person (2013, pp. 110–11). This means that, to keep her self-image as an anti-nationalist cosmopolitan person alive, she needs to reconstruct her past decisions so that inconsistencies from a present perspective become a logical consequence, in this case, of experiences of disrespect (cf. Sandvoss 2005; Lucius-Hoene and Deppermann 2004b, p. 87). Similar to Selin's case, this is a strategy of 'social positioning' (Lucius-Hoene and Deppermann 2004b, pp. 59–60) as part of an exchange between the interviewer and the interviewee in this specific context of the interview situation.

4.5 Practices of Embodiment

Whereas most parts of this chapter deal predominantly with narrative strategies in football fandom regarding selfing and othering practices, the last part focuses on practices of embodiment in the nexus of performances of loyalties and rivalries. This subsection discusses the role of merchandising in football fandom practices of Fenerbahçe and Galatasaray fans in Vienna. Here, I will focus on the use of the fan shirt to show how the intersecting strategies and motives that were discussed in the previous subchapters are reflected in symbolically charged items. Ayla summarises the role of the football shirt in football fandom quite picturesquely:

> Going to the stadium without a football shirt is like swimming in the nude.[41]

Metin's case (Sect. 4.2) illustrated the important and symbolic role that merchandising obtains in loyalty and rivalry constructions. The embodiment or incorporation or even the shifting between constructed loyalties can be expressed by wearing (different) football fan products. This

[41] Interview Ayla, 25 years old, female, Fenerbahçe fan, 30 April 2013, her work place, Vienna, afternoon.

particularly but not only applies to football shirts. The importance of the ritual of putting on a football shirt is the '*rite de passage*' (Gennep 1981 [1909], p. 14; Turner 1979) that is part of this process.

In football fandom, fan clothing can be considered an important item for 'rites of passage'. Wearing a Galatasaray or Fenerbahçe shirt does symbolically 'transform' a person into a football fan. The football fan then is recognisable by others not only as a fan in general but as a fan of a certain club in particular. In this new 'state', a different set of rules and norms apply for the fan (Turner 1979, p. 235). In Mikhail Bakhtin's interpretation of carnivalistic gatherings, football shirts can be considered 'costumes' that generate equality among fans. Football is to a certain extent a carnivalistic event where social hierarchies and rules are replaced in this specific context (Bachtin 1998; see also Pearson 2012).

The new rules and norms encourage and require the fan to act differently compared to how he or she behaved in the former state. A Galatasaray fan whom I met in Istanbul put this 'rite of passage' in a metaphoric nutshell when he was talking about his experiences with the clashes between fans and the police:

> My football jersey is a kind of a uniform, I feel wilder with it. It's like Clark Kent and Superman. I need the jersey to fight the police.[42]

He describes how he can 'switch' between two modes or two 'personalities'. Football shirts are an essential instrument to express the belonging to a club's fan culture even beyond the stadium:

> But in addition to the stadium, the football shirt has become a focal point, a signifier and a communicative tool in the social space occupied by football. (Hofmann 2016, p. 178)

Global club merchandising products, which are corporate and uniform designed items, are used in quite diverse ways and trigger different meanings depending on who wears it, where and when. For the following

[42] Interview Tekin, in his late twenties, male, Galatasaray fan, 22 August 2013, his work place, Istanbul, afternoon.

analysis I will refer to Stuart Hall's encoding/decoding model (1980) to underline how global codes are, to a certain extent, decoded in local ways that depend on the time, background, and socio-cultural context of the person that is reading the text. In this case the text is Fenerbahçe and Galatasaray merchandise, specifically football shirts.

In his theoretical concept, which stems from the 1970s, Stuart Hall criticises how the research of media and mass-communications has been far too one-dimensional in assuming that there is a sender, a message, and a receiver who reads the message in the way the sender had intended. He prefers to think of this process as 'production, circulation, distribution/consumption, reproduction' (Hall 1980, p. 117). Hall categorises three positions from which readers can decode the encoded message:

1. The dominant-hegemonic position (the reader takes the meaning as intended),
2. The negotiated position (acceptance of the hegemonic definition and at the same time adaption of code to local context),
3. The oppositional position (full understanding of intention of discourse but contrary decoding) (Hall 1980, pp. 125–7).

The main hypothesis of Hall's concept is that a message, which was encoded to transport a certain meaning, is not necessarily decoded in the way the message was intended. However, he makes it clear that codes or signs that carry dominant-hegemonic discourses and have an accepted meaning in a society rarely leave a chance for an unintended interpretation. Bernd Jürgen Warneken emphasises that this especially applies to newscasts that rarely leave a chance for any oppositional decoding (Warneken 2006, p. 310).

Whereas Hall refers to media, I will apply the encoding/decoding model to football shirts that can be considered signs that carry meaning and therefore a form of communication. The dominant-hegemonic codes that are encoded into a football shirt are, amongst others: loyalty to the club, identifying with the team, showing others that you belong to this club only, and showing others that you are a good fan because you bought official merchandise. The aim is to discuss how and when these codes are

negotiable and what other relevant codes Galatasaray and Fenerbahçe fans add in a locally situated, migrant and postmigrant context in Vienna.

4.5.1 Decoding in the Viennese Context (Negotiated Position)

It has become very common to be a fan abroad in Europe and beyond (cf. King 2000; Sandvoss 2012). Being a Manchester United fan in Berlin or a FC Bayern München fan in Beijing has become a widespread phenomenon in modern football fandom. The popular clubs sell their merchandise in fan shops in many cities around the world (I tried on a Werder Bremen jersey in a shop in Buenos Aires). Even if fans do not have access to merchandising shops, the Internet is a reliable partner when it comes to the purchase of fan products. Almost everywhere in the world fans can wear similar Ronaldo jerseys or fan scarves of their beloved club. The crucial element is that the meaning people attribute to wearing mostly identical products can differ tremendously depending on the socio-cultural background and context of the fan.

Wearing a Manchester United jersey in Vienna is quite uncontroversial, probably not even interesting to people in the city because the sign, what it represents, causes rather few controversial associations. Wearing a Fenerbahçe or Galatasaray jersey on the other hand, carries many layers of signs and codes regarding the discussion of how Turkish migrants or postmigrants should 'assimilate' to an Austrian culture, for example to cheer for an Austrian club instead of a Turkish one. In the following, I will discuss three relevant ways to decode the message 'football shirt' in Vienna. After that, I will shortly refer to the way fans in Vienna can change the message itself.

As we have learned, the biographies of the interviewees are quite different in regards to where they grew up and also how often they travel to Istanbul to attend matches. One aspect many of them have in common is that football constructs a space where strategies of doing home, belonging and kinship are common and therefore legitimate. This also applies for strategies of transnational support. Interestingly, for some Galatasaray

and Fenerbahçe fans in Vienna the antagonism between these two clubs becomes negotiable, but the conditions under which one can shift one's loyalty temporarily are very specific. As we have seen, Metin's central item to handle this is the football shirt. For him, the football shirt becomes an important sign of how much he can alter his support for a certain amount of time. He cheers for the arch enemy Fenerbahçe, because it is a Turkish team. This is when the football shirt becomes important. Metin accepts the dominant-hegemonic code of the Fenerbahçe shirt which is 'loyalty to Fenerbahçe' and consequently he strongly objects to wearing it. He does not identify with Fenerbahçe itself, he identifies with Fenerbahçe being a Turkish club. This is why he wears the jersey of the Turkish national team instead, hoping that other fans will decode the national shirt as he has encoded it: Turkish support/loyalty to Turkish teams.

Metin reported that in Sopron he wore his Galatasaray shirt to a friendly match against Fenerbahçe. Thereby, he underlines that this is acceptable to do so in Austria and Hungary, but would be quite dangerous in the Fenerbahçe stadium in Turkey. Both incidents show how abroad and in a diasporic context, trajectories and rivalries become newly negotiated as other layers of identification can become more relevant. This surely does not apply to all fans but is strongly dependent on a fan's background. Anti-nationalist, leftist fans in Vienna would certainly not shift their club loyalty, even if temporarily, because of a (Turkish) national identification.

4.5.2 Translocal Practices and Changing the Codes

I will refer to one example that is quite common for fans that live abroad: the altering of official merchandise products to the local setting. The new merchandise also embraces the code of the official merchandise (colours, emblems), as well as regional codes to recognise transnational support. Richard Giulianotti and Roland Robertson call these practices 'hybridization' (2007a, pp. 143–4). Most importantly, here, is that practices are always 'hybrid', which is the reason why using the term hybrid only in a migratory context is rather problematic. In the following I will therefore work with the terms contextual and flexible.

In the case of Fenerbahçe and Galatasaray fans in Vienna I will refer to one example of the fan group that call themselves 'Young Fenerbahçe Fans in Vienna' (Young Fenerbahçe Fan Club). They wear the official merchandise just like they wear the merchandise that they have produced themselves with the name of their group. Thereby, they are simultaneously expressing their loyalty to Fenerbahçe in Istanbul, their (Turkish) football loyalty, and likewise a strong connection to their hometown Vienna, as most of the members were born and raised in Vienna. This transnational display of fandom represents multiple layers that are relevant for their fandom practices: identifying with a football club, with Turkey or Turkish football, family and a Turkish diaspora in Vienna, and with the city Vienna as the centre of their lives.

Highlights are moments when the members of the Young Fenerbahçe Fan Club receive recognition for both of their encoded signs, for example when they are mentioned on Turkish or Austrian TV and in newspapers as the Viennese fans of Fenerbahçe displaying customised banners. This 'multi-dimensional atmospheric experience' (Hofmann 2015, p. 182) happens not only when Galatasaray or Fenerbahçe fans travel to the stadium in Istanbul, but also particularly when the clubs come to Austria or a neighbouring country, giving them the possibility to show that they, as the Central European fan base, support their team. Achieving the recognition by official Turkish and Austrian news (sports) channels is considered to be a great success and posted and reposted on Facebook for days.[43]

However, merchandise is not necessarily only important when fans wear it on their bodies. The symbolic effect of the fan product extends to cars, apartments, pubs – spaces of different kinds. When I met Metin in his apartment for our interview he gave me a tour from one Galatasaray fan product to the other.[44] There were little boats, sockets, a variety of clothes at the coat rack, tea-glasses and fridge magnets. In his daughter's room he showed me a huge Galatasaray flag among many other things.

[43] Fieldnote from 31 July 2013, fan bus from Vienna to Salzburg stadium, with Metin and his friends, Fan Club, Young Fenerbahçe Fan Club, more than 14 hours.

[44] Interview Metin, 45 years old, male, Galatasaray fan, Metin and his family's apartment, Viennese suburb, afternoon; together with his daughter Derya, 15 years old, Galatasaray fan and his wife Nevin, in her forties.

His son's room also was dominated by the colours yellow and red. His wife commented smilingly that she is sometimes fed up with the yellow and red colours everywhere.

Probably the utmost embodiment of club loyalty is a tattoo of the club. You literally inscribe your club loyalty onto your body. Emre, the pub owner, has a Fenerbahçe tattoo on his body. He likes to make jokes and exaggerates a lot when he describes his loyalty to Fenerbahçe and also when he talks about his tattoo. The loyalty to the club represents for him a continuity in his life which is never supposed to end or to change, and guarantees him stability, which not even a marriage could provide. This is then symbolised in a tattoo that lasts forever:

> Nina: Oh, you've got a Fenerbahçe tattoo?
> Emre: Exactly. Of the year when we were founded. 1907. Many people said "what's' that?" I said, it's the thing that will never change in my life. Of what else would I have a tattoo…? Not even my wife's name because we could get a divorce. (Nina laughs loudly). It's like that. Why? It can change. I marry, I maybe get a divorce. What will I do with my tattoo then?[45]

Merchandise and the respective colours are important instruments in the Fenerbahçe-Galatasaray antagonism and the related loyalty and rivalry constructions. By displaying them one can easily declare whom he or she belongs to. Throughout my fieldwork activities many of the interviewees tried to convince me to become a fan of their team. All of them were aware that I was interviewing both Galatasaray and Fenerbahçe fans. Therefore some were eager to check every time when we met whether I had 'fallen for the enemy'. All the time I was (half-)jokingly accused of wearing colours of the opposite, wrong, team (nail polish, cardigans and so on).

Playful performances of the rivalry were common practice. Sometimes, though, there were rather serious situations. The day when I had the breakthrough in the Fenerbahçe Pub (Chap. 3) and was finally invited to the seats right in front of the screen, I felt so relieved that I was eager

[45] Fieldnotes after interview with Emre and Alper, 29 and 23 years old, both male, Fenerbahçe fan and Galatasaray fan, 20 March 2013, Fenerbahçe Pub, Vienna, afternoon.

to be polite to everybody.[46] When Emre gave me a Fenerbahçe fan shirt as a present, I felt honoured but also uncomfortable. I knew that 'taking sides' could block my access to other people, in this case to Galatasaray fans. Anyhow, in that specific situation it felt rude to decline putting on the Fenerbahçe shirt. Consequently, I put it on. Shortly after, it became clear how powerful the signs and symbolic effect of a simple t-shirt can be. Alper, the Galatasaray fan, entered the pub and saw me. Usually, he used to welcome me with kisses on the cheeks but this time he just looked at me angrily and I somewhat forced him to say 'hello'. The shirt felt so uncomfortable that I had to pull it off immediately. I had 'put on a sign' that symbolised a certain belonging to a community that I did not fit into.

Merchandise products have agency because '[…] *any thing* that does modify a state of affairs by making a difference is an actor' (Latour 2005, p. 71 [emphasis in the original]). A simple football shirt does modify many 'states of affairs' as we have seen in this subchapter. Merchandise 'might authorise, allow, afford, encourage, permit, suggest, influence, block, render possible, forbid, and so on' (Latour 2005, p. 72). It may express loyalties and the limits of shifting loyalties. It can reflect hegemonic discourses in a society or help to 'take' a researcher on one's side.

4.6 Concluding Remarks on Selfing and Othering Practices

The antagonism between Fenerbahçe and Galatasaray is central to the excitement of following the Turkish football league. In the interviews with Galatasaray and Fenerbahçe fans in Vienna it became clear that it is a central motive to narrate rivalries and loyalties as inflexible and insurmountable even though they require permanent repetition and negotiation. The ongoing negotiation of loyalties and rivalries was a recurring motive in interviews and participant observations. This particularly applied to international competitions such as the Champions League and the Europa League. When fans that consider themselves 'fanatic' construct

[46] See Chap. 3. Fieldnote from 14 April 2013, Fenerbahçe Pub, Vienna, with people in pub, Fenerbahçe vs. Eskişehirspor (Süper Lig), evening.

the opposite club as something bad and 'evil' but then support the other team on a European level, it becomes obvious how contextual, flexible and situated rivalries and loyalties remain.

Many interview partners characterised their respective club as something very special and crucially distinctive from the rival. However, they often loved their club and hated the other club for very similar reasons. Once, Galatasaray was seen as 'so wonderful' because the club is so European and modern, and Fenerbahçe is 'so dreadful' because it is elitist and corrupt. On another occasion, Fenerbahçe fans were using similar arguments only the other way around: Fenerbahçe was so 'lovely' because the club is so European and modern and Galatasaray so elitist and corrupt.

The narratives, motives and images that are part of loyalty and rivalry performances were central to the analysis of this chapter. By applying these selfing and othering practices some interviewees tried to construct the other team as something entirely and fundamentally different and opposite to themselves and their team. In accordance with Sandvoss's psychoanalytical approach (2003, 2005, 2012), it became clear that personally informed characteristics are attributed to a club according to the self-image of a person. Sandvoss's approach to football fandom as a 'self-reflection' is useful to carve out categories that are relevant for my interviewees and are expressed via their fandom.

The narrative constructions of loyalties and rivalries are thus always processes of subjectification. Judith Butler underlines the processual and contextual dimension of 'the subject' or rather, subjectification:

> […] I would suggest that performativity cannot be understood outside a process of iterability, a regularized and constrained repetition of norms. And this repetition is not performed *by* a subject; this repetition is what enables a subject and constitutes the temporal condition for the subject. (Butler 2011 [1993, emphasis in the original], p. 60)

Applied to the case of Galatasaray and Fenerbahçe fans in Vienna, it is not the subject that performs loyalties and rivalries again and again but because people repeat 'a temporal condition for the subject' the (fan) subject is constituted in loyalty and rivalry performances. When the Galatasaray and Fenerbahçe fans in Vienna talk about their club in the

interviews or during participant observations, it is a performative strategy of subjectification.

Among the Viennese fans, the football clubs Galatasaray and Fenerbahçe are considered suitable to reflect oneself on the fan object. Fenerbahçe and Galatasaray have marketing strategies and images that they are eager to sell. However, these are vague and diverse enough to leave the chance for interpretation. This interpretation can then be adapted according to different contexts. This may happen as part of an argument with a colleague or in an interview situation with an anthropologist where narratives about the club can be strategies to represent oneself in this specific interview situation.

Galatasaray and Fenerbahçe form a nexus of discourses that are so manifold that it becomes possible to use them to a certain extent as a canvas for processes of subjectification. However, this is only possible so long as a variety of representations exist. New, dominant discourses such as the ones around Gezi or experiences of disrespect can question these representations and can consequently alter them. The flexibility of loyalty and rivalry constructions is limited when other dominant discourses occur that require distancing practices from the fan. Some representations of clubs are too strong, too powerful to add differing opinions, values, and political affiliations to them. Beşiktaş is a club that represents in a dominant manner a left-wing fan culture so that it is hardly possible to identify with the club outside this given framework. Nevertheless, constructing the image of oneself via the club is not always possible even with Fenerbahçe and Galatasaray and is part of constant negotiations.

For many Fenerbahçe and Galatasaray fans that I interviewed, fandom is a strategy of doing home and belonging and of doing kinship. Via the football experience fans connect to a constructed home and/or (Turkish) community. The fan scene in Vienna is to a certain extent an equal experience and performance of love and loyalty to Galatasaray and Fenerbahçe similar to being a football fan in Istanbul or anywhere else in Turkey. But it is important to note that the meaning people attribute to football fandom and its integration in their everyday lives sometimes differs. The distance and also the diaspora context changes practices and performances of rivalries and loyalties. The discussion about fan biographies in the first part of this chapter has shown that the identification with a club can also

work without explicit othering practices. Interviewees were socialised into being loyal to either Fenerbahçe or Galatasaray via the community experience and to connect to a family member or friend. The othering practices on a club level, national level or further levels happened only later.

4.6.1 Gerd Baumann's Three Grammars: Orientalism, Segmentation, and Encompassment

In the following, I will refer back to Gerd Baumann's 'Three Grammars of Identity/Alterity' (2004) that I introduced at the beginning of this chapter. Thereby, I underline the multi-layered assemblage of selfing and othering processes within the narratives and practices of Fenerbahçe and Galatasaray fans in Vienna.

When the interviewees were talking about the opposite club, the most common othering practice was orientalising the other team and its fans. Emre, Alper and Cem did so by claiming that the other team is less European, less 'civilised' and less 'cultivated'. How arbitrary this can be becomes clear when we look at the many different interpretations of what Europe or even 'civilised' means to the interview partners. The constructed notion of these attributions and ascriptions becomes visible. Sibel even uses the very term 'oriental' to emphasise Fenerbahçe's inferiority. Thereby she relates to hegemonic discourses that construct 'oriental' as a negative attribution (cf. Scheibelhofer 2011).

Apart from these orientalising practices, the other grammars were intersecting and in competition with the orientalising practices. In Alper's and Emre's discussion about which team is more European, the 'us-them-dichotomy' shifts during the interview. First, it is one football club versus the other football club, Galatasaray vs. Fenerbahçe. In an orientalising manner the other team and its fans are narratively degraded respectively. During the discussion, the dichotomy then shifts to 'us Turks' versus 'them Kurds/Anatolians' that are orientalised as 'poor' and also as 'less civilised' and thereby degraded.

In Emre's and Alper's case, two grammars are overlapping: the orientalising grammar and the grammar of segmentation. Even in the grammar

of segmentation orientalising narratives about Kurds and Anatolians are used to other them. At a certain point in the interview situation it becomes more important to identify with a constructed national or ethnicised community than with a football community. Being Turkish or better said not being Kurdish or Anatolian became now decisive for both of them. As stated before, both are work colleagues and need to find a way to bond despite the Galatasaray-Fenerbahçe antagonism. When Alper agrees to his boss's arguments about Kurdish fans, Emre stays the hierarchical superior. In both the orientalising grammar as well as in the grammar of segmentation the third party are 'the Kurds/Anatolians'. They were a category that was left out but then becomes the relevant antagonism in a shifted dichotomy.

However, orientalism in Said's sense (1978) does not only hold negative connotations towards the Other but also positive ones. Particularly, in Sinan's case the fascination about the Other in the orientalising practices became very visible. When he was showing me the chaos that Fenerbahçe fans caused in the YouTube videos he was on the one hand appalled by these incidents and intended to convince me to share the opinion that Fenerbahçe is a club of 'savages' – to put it a bit polemically. On the other hand he was also fascinated by what he showed me. We watched the videos for hours and he meticulously explained to me what was happening in the different videos, translating the Turkish newsfeed for me. The dimensions of this 'riot', particularly when it was directed against the police, attracted him and even triggered his admiration.

Metin's case is a classic example of the grammar of segmentation. The football context changes and so does Metin's loyalty. However, the shifting of his loyalty does not happen entirely as described in Baumann's football example. Metin does indeed shift his loyalty to the opposite club for a certain amount of time and in a specific context. Also, the national background of the club is the important indicator for why Metin supports Fenerbahçe for a short period of time. Nevertheless, Fenerbahçe is not the national team but another football club. The shifting of loyalties does thus not necessarily happen from the local to the regional to the national level but also within the club level itself. It is the whole club level that changes from a national level to a European level.

The processes of Europeanisation in football culture impact loyalty constructions, perhaps particularly among the Galatasaray and Fenerbahçe fans in Vienna. Nevertheless, Fenerbahçe stays the rival. This is why Metin expresses the need to underline the national aspect of his support by wearing the national jersey. The context changes and so does his support and the rules of how to support a team. Usually, one could consider Austrian football as the ternary party in this nexus. Different Austrian teams then become relevant when they are either playing Galatasaray or Fenerbahçe. When Metin shifts his support to Fenerbahçe and against an Austrian club, like Salzburg in this research, the Austrian club becomes the new temporary rival in a shifted dichotomy. Then, othering practices are directed directly against Austrian fans who are generalised as the 'boring Austrian fan'.[47]

In Selin's case, whose support narratively shifts in the sense of segmentation for the time of the interview, the situation is slightly different. Her support does not shift generally, even though contexts have changed. She puts her loyalty into question, but does not really consider changing her club loyalty. She generalises Fenerbahçe and Beşiktaş and thereby orientalises not only Beşiktaş but also her own fan object Fenerbahçe. She describes Fenerbahçe as elitist, capitalist and corrupt and opposes it to what she considers Beşiktaş' anarchist and left-wing club culture. She romanticises and indeed orientalises Beşiktaş fans but not to distance herself from them but to underline that she empathises with their ideas. In this case, she describes them as the ones that have preserved a 'true working class culture' which she admires. Nevertheless, this admiration does not result in changing her club loyalty.

Sibel, however, does indeed shift her football team because contexts change. Initially she narrates that she understood football from a nationalist or even nationalistic perspective, which she now cannot identify with anymore. In her initial level of segmentation, it was the dichotomy Turkey vs. Austria that was important to her selfing and othering practices in the football context and beyond. Football became a vehicle to regain agency after she was discriminated against. It became a strategy of subversion. Only later, she shifts to Galatasaray and uses the club

[47] Fieldnote from 31 July 2013, fan bus from Vienna to Salzburg stadium, with Metin and his friends, Fan Club, Young Fenerbahçe Fan Club, more than 14 hours.

to represent her ideas. This is where, like Cem, Emre and the others, orientalising practices towards the other club become the most important othering practice.

Generally, the ways interviewees talked about the fans of their club are practices of encompassment. All of them talk about their club and its fans as if they were an official spokesperson for the club. By generalising all the fans and putting them into their framework of interpretation they adapt them to their self-image. This way of encompassment is thus an important part and logical consequence of expressing one's self-image via the club. The ternary party in these cases are, for example, other football clubs like Beşiktaş. The Galatasaray-Fenerbahçe-antagonism is strong and dominant in narrations about Turkish football that other football clubs seem to be irrelevant for the Turkish league. Beşiktaş is mentioned several times but only described as in the shadows of Galatasaray and Fenerbahçe.

This chapter focused on the narratives and practices of selfing and othering that are directly connected to a football club or to the national team. The next chapter puts its emphasis on the negotiation of ethnicity, gender and social class in the narratives and practices in the Viennese football environment. This includes analyses of boundary constructions in Viennese football places as well as of transnational discourses and their reading in the Viennese context.

5

The Intersection of Ethnicity, Gender and Social Class in Fan Narratives and Performances

The concept of intersectionality has proven to be helpful to understand fan practices and football culture in general. Gabriele Dietze (2012), for example, follows an intersectional approach. She points out that racism in German stadia can be more easily fought than sexism and homophobia due to the fact that 'race' does not call masculinity into question in football culture (anymore), but gender and sexuality still do. Via the intersectional approach, Dietze showed how sexism and homophobia are central methods to (re)produce hegemonic masculinity in football fan cultures and beyond (Dietze 2012, p. 60). This chapter discusses the intersection of different socially constructed attributions with special regard to the intersection of ethnicity, gender and social class.

This focus does, however, not claim that subcultural belonging or age – amongst other social attributions – are not important in the practices and narratives of Galatasaray and Fenerbahçe fans in Vienna. As we have seen in the last chapter, all these different performances of socially constructed

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affiliations and self-images are expressed via narratives and practices linked to the fan objects Galatasaray and Fenerbahçe. This chapter will particularly focus on gender, class and ethnicity because these are the dominant-hegemonic variables in the following interview and fieldnote sections that I will discuss. They strongly impact social hierarchies and boundaries within groups and in football places. This chapter will discuss their intersection from three different milieus and perspectives on football fandom in Vienna.

The concept of intersectionality has been discussed already in the introductory chapter (Sect. 2.2) of this book including a critical discussion of its advantages and disadvantages. Whereas the concept is generally relevant to all chapters and was crucial to the research approach in general, this chapter focuses on a more detailed intersectional analysis. I will use the intersectional approach in its very basic attempt as an '*integrated analysis of a plurality of objects with a focus on their interaction and co-constitution.*' (Kallenberg et al. 2013, p. 18 [emphasis in the original])

Intersectionality is not an approach without critique, though. I understand that it has been particularly criticised because of the entailed risk of essentialising categories such as gender or class. Part of this critique is that if categories are used, how many of them should we include in our analyses? Should it be race, class, gender or should an analysis also include many other social attributions like age, subculture, and nationality?

> The controversy over the object of "intersectionality" is about the question what objects are specified by interlacing and co-constitution and how to conceptually comprehend them. (Kallenberg et al. 2013, p. 25)

These questions are important and there is no simple or single answer to them. But, in this specific case, the advantages of an intersectional approach outweigh the disadvantages. This is due to the fact that it helps with understanding the co-dependence of ascriptions and self-ascriptions and thus reveals the social hierarchies that they produce. And is it not specifically the motive of an intersectional analysis to deconstruct every kind of category by explicitly emphasising that these socially constructed categories such as gender or class are not one-dimensional and rigid but complex and flexible intersectional constructs?

This chapter will not only make use of the intersectional approach to analyse social hierarchies in the Viennese football setting, it will also use the term 'controlling images', coined by Patricia Hill Collins as part of an intersectional analysis (2000 [1990]). Collins analyses the discrimination and oppression of African American women in the United States:

> Portraying African-American women as stereotypical mammies, matriarchs, welfare recipients, and hot mommas helps justify U.S. Black women's oppression. Challenging these controlling images has long been a core theme in Black feminist thought. […] As part of a generalized ideology of domination, stereotypical images of Black womanhood take on special meaning. Because the authority to define societal values is a major instrument of power, elite groups, in exercising power, manipulate ideas about Black womenhood. (Collins 2000 [1990], p. 69)

The concept of controlling images has proven to be useful to first reveal and then deconstruct the narratives, myths and symbols that people relate to in order to create and maintain social hierarchies, power and oppression.

> Intersecting oppressions of race, class, gender, and sexuality could not continue without powerful ideological justifications for their existence. (Collins 2000 [1990], p. 69)

The important definition of 'controlling images' is that they are part of narrative strategies and social practices in general which create or maintain discriminating power relations and social hierarchies in society.

> These controlling images are designed to make racism, sexism and poverty appear to be natural, normal, and an inevitable part of everyday life. (Collins 2000 [1990], p. 69)

Crucial for the understanding of the impact of 'controlling images' is that they are not only used by the ones that want to subordinate others, but, as Paul Scheibelhofer points out, they may also be used by the ones that are meant to be subordinated (2011, pp. 162–3). Scheibelhofer stresses that the concept of 'controlling images' is not a simple

offender-victim-dichotomy but a complex acquirement of these images by a variety of actors. Consequently, 'controlling images' should not be understood as images that 'somehow' exist in our societies but as images that have a very concrete social impact (Scheibelhofer 2011, p. 171). Generally, 'controlling images' are very similar to the concept of dominant-hegemonic stereotypes. The point about controlling images and the reason why the concept is used for this chapter is that they underline the power that these discursive images inhabit and that they are (initially) constructed by one group to control the other. Thus these images are multi-layered and used by multiple actors. Thereby, they are controlling even when they are not used with the intention to be so.

Scheibelhofer also underlines the intersectionality of controlling images. Very relevant to this book, in his study on the intersectionality of masculinity and migration Scheibelhofer applied the concept of 'controlling images' to the image of the 'Turkish Muslim man' in Austria and Germany. He showed how the constructed image of a 'Turkish Muslim man' that is deeply informed by the presupposition of a sexualised and ethnicised masculinity becomes simultaneously a tool of discrimination and also a chance for identification (Scheibelhofer 2011).

Here the fruitful combination of the concept of intersectionality and 'controlling images' for this book becomes particularly visible. In this chapter, I will discuss discursively constructed controlling images that are dominant in the narratives and practices of everyday lives of Fenerbahçe and Galatasaray fans in Vienna. These images are situative and context-related on the one hand and on the other hand they are formed by and part of widespread (discriminating) hegemonic discourses. They are performed and (re)produced within intersectional categories to subordinate, to superordinate and likewise to subvert.

The first part of this chapter will focus on the construction of conflicting (Turkish) masculinities and its interplay with ethnicity. The chapter illustrates how ethnicisation processes[1] do not 'just happen' detached from other social processes but are strongly interwoven with other practices of selfing and othering such as gender performances. The analysis focuses on the already mentioned bus trip with Fenerbahçe fans and

[1] Please see Sect. 2.2 for the definition and discussion of ethnicity and ethnicising practices.

some Galatasaray supporters to a football match in Salzburg. The section further discusses how the construction of ethnicity and ethnicised stereotypes is negotiated in humoristic narratives among the match visitors and between the match visitors and myself.

In the second part of the chapter, the emotional practice of swearing in football places will be analysed with regard to its meaning in the (re)production of gender roles and ethnicity. These practices and particularly the narratives about swearing practices will be exemplarily analysed referring to interview sections of members of the Fan Club for Young Fenerbahçe Fans in Vienna (Young Fenerbahçe Fan Club) and some visitors of the Fenerbahçe Pub. At the time when I conducted the interviews, the members of the Young Fenerbahçe Fan Club usually met at a café in Vienna until they moved to their own club facilities.

The third part of this chapter will particularly focus on the transnational perceptions and discussions of gender roles and feminism in the transnational context of Turkish football. I will scrutinise how the interviewees create gender inequalities particularly with regard to football places. The last part of this chapter will then disentangle the intersection of social class, ethnicity, and subcultural belonging and its meaning to perceptions of football places. It will use sections of the interviews conducted with members of the student group from Istanbul and the local Viennese friends of that group. My role in these interview situations is crucial to the narratives about and explanations of fan practices.

5.1 Performances of Conflicting Masculinities and Conflicting Ethnicities

On 31 July 2013, I joined a group of Fenerbahçe fans on a fan bus to Salzburg. Fenerbahçe was playing Red Bull Salzburg in the Qualifying Round for the Champions League. The official Fenerbahçe Fan Club in Vienna had organised the trip and the bar owner Emre supported me in contacting them so I could join them. In many terms the bus trip was extraordinary. The whole journey lasted 14 hours. On the bus, strangers were sitting next to each other. It was an extraordinary event within the

cycle of everyday practices of watching football. Nevertheless, in some aspects the trip did not differ from other football events that I observed. This particularly applied to practices regarding the (re)production of gender and ethnicity. These performances are central to the fan practices of Galatasaray and Fenerbahçe fans in Vienna. The bus trip to Salzburg is particularly insightful regarding this matter because different performances of gender and ethnicity amalgamated in just one event. The bus trip thus was one of the key events of the research.

In the following, selected fieldnote sections of this trip will illustrate the negotiation of masculinities and femininities particularly with regard to a constructed 'Turkish masculinity'. Furthermore, I will discuss how differences are negotiated in this group with regard to controlling images. Thereafter, this section will be followed by a further analysis of the bus trip to Salzburg. Those fieldnote sections will offer further insights into the interaction and negotiation of my presence in the bus and also of the football encounter with an Austrian team.

5.1.1 Masculinity Versus Masculinity? Going to Salzburg I

Emre, the owner of the Fenerbahçe Pub, had told some people of the travel group that I would be joining them and assured me that they would be looking out for me. I did not find out whom he had asked to look out for me but one of Emre's contact persons was most likely the official organiser of the trip. He approached me several times during the trip to ask me whether everything was alright. This was important because I thereby received an official legitimisation to join the group. But, already before the first encounter with the official organiser I had been 'adopted' by a group of four very different men whom I had never met before. One of them was in his twenties (Demir), one in his thirties (Birol) and two in their forties (Metin[2] and Ayhan). All four of them either have their own businesses or are employed in a factory or company. Two of them were Fenerbahçe fans (Demir and Ayhan) and two of them were Galatasaray

[2] Metin's fan practices and narratives have already been central to the analysis of Sects. 4.2 and 4.5.

fans (Metin and Birol). Conversations took place mostly in German when I was present. If discussions or announcements in the bus were in Turkish one of the four men almost always translated for me. Two further external conditions are important to contextualise the following fieldnote sections of the trip: it was a very hot Austrian summer day and it was Ramadan.

> I have been excited all day and I had to go back to my office to get my Fenerbahçe shirt that I had forgotten there. Emre had recommended wearing it. I am getting a strange feeling now because I am afraid to be on the road with men only. Indeed, I dress accordingly. Although it is hot summer outside I am wearing long black linen pants and the loose-cut Fenerbahçe shirt. I do not know what I am thinking, why I am I doing that. I probably want to appear as unfeminine as possible in what I assume will be a bus full of men. I start wondering whether I would do the same in a bus full of Dortmund fans. I conclude that I would do the same. The agglomeration of masculinity is what is enforcing my prejudices.

> I leave home in time to be at the meeting point at 1:30 p.m. by tram. Some stops before the meeting point a couple of Fenerbahçe fans with jerseys hop on. I am a little afraid that I will just be standing there on my own all the time. At the stop where I get off I try to take the bull by the horn and approach some people with Fenerbahçe shirts at the intersection who do not seem to know the right direction to go. I ask them whether they want to go to Salzburg, too. Two girls. They just look at me wonderingly. A middle-aged man with grey hair who is not wearing a Fenerbahçe jersey responds instead. He is standing right next to a slightly younger man in a shirt of the Turkish national team. He approaches me and tells me that he is also going to Salzburg and that the fan club should be just around the corner. […] We keep on talking on our way to the fan club. Initially we addressed each other formally [Siezen] but quickly changed to a first-name basis [Duzen].

> We keep on walking. In front of the fan club are many Fenerbahçe fans standing outside. Also girls, women, and kids are there, I am relieved to see. Why am I so keen to not only go with men? […] We enter the fan club building and I am nervous because the last time I have been here I felt unwelcome. The man with the grey hair introduces himself as Metin and

> then he introduces me to the organiser of the whole event who welcomes me in a friendly manner.[3]

The first thing that is important to mention here are my prejudices towards men and football and mostly also, even though I deny it in my fieldnotes, towards *Turkish* male football fans. This is partly due to the dominant discourses in Germany and Austria about Turkish machismo (cf. Scheibelhofer 2011) and also due to my first visit to the fan club a couple of months before this event. Back then I was the only woman in the fan club and I felt very uncomfortable although nobody gave me a 'real' reason to.[4] What happened next again shows my one-sided way of looking at male (Turkish) football fans.

> Birol [Metin's friend in the jersey of the Turkish national team] meets some people that he knows from work and shows them pictures of things that he has been baking. I have to smile a little because this situation is somehow unexpected and does not really fit the picture of football masculinity that I observe elsewhere or that I somehow expect. He tells the group that he has totally discovered that baking is for him and that he cannot cook, but baking is totally easy. He shows more of his delicious creations. I tell him that all of it looks very tasty. Ayhan, whose name I do not yet know at this time, interposes, that Birol is a 'dream man' [Traummann, Mr. Right] – with an ironic undertone.[5]

Meeting a Fenerbahçe fan on a trip to a football match that shows pictures of his pastries to his friend left me stunned. It did not fit my learned code of a 'typical' football fan. Right from the beginning two controlling images accompanied me on my trip to Salzburg and formed my prejudices and presuppositions: 'the male macho football fan' and 'the Turkish macho man'. These two controlling images have a lot in common. Both are sexualised and carry an almost 'barbaric' notion of men and include

[3] Fieldnote from 31 July 2013, fan bus from Vienna to Salzburg stadium, with Metin and his friends, Fan Club, Young Fenerbahçe Fan Club, more than 14 hours.

[4] Fielnote from 14 February 2013, Fan Club and Fenerbahçe Pub, Vienna, with Mesut and people in pub, BATE Borissow vs. Fenerbahçe (Europa League).

[5] Fieldnote from 31 July 2013, fan bus from Vienna to Salzburg stadium, with Metin and his friends, Fan Club, Young Fenerbahçe Fan Club, more than 14 hours.

being disrespectful against women (cf. discussions about masculinities in football and about ethnicised masculinities: Kreisky and Spitaler 2006; Sülzle 2011; Scheibelhofer 2011). These orientalising[6] attributions, in this case, amalgamate to the ethnicised controlling image of the 'Turkish male macho fan'. How powerful this image is was shown to me quite plainly when I sat in the bus with my 'unfeminine' clothes to appear as much as an asexual person as possible and, contrary to my expectations, was warmly welcomed observing those allegedly 'Turkish male macho fans' exchanging recipes. My prejudices and presuppositions could not have become more obvious than in this situation. Most people in this group of men looked at Birol's pictures with fascination, except for Ayhan who did not appreciate that men were baking and that other men were looking at pastries. Consequently, he commented on it ironically. This mismatch of seemingly opposing masculinities almost turned into a bigger conflict later on the bus where we sat in a group of five people, including me:

> We go to the bus. Ayhan lets me go in first and I go upstairs. It is a double-decker bus. I am looking for a corner where our little group would fit. Ayhan sits down next to me. Metin and Birol take the seats directly behind us. Ayhan's friend Demir sits down next to us. He wears a Chicago Bulls cap and is maybe in his early twenties and generally dressed in a very cool way. Fenerbahçe shirt included. He talks nonsense all the time and is unbelievably funny. I like him right from the beginning. […] He asks Birol to show the pictures of the baked goods again. He says that he would like to have them for his Facebook page because everybody is posting pictures of fasting food [Fastenessen] in the evening at the moment. Ayhan quickly adds that it is not appropriate that people do that. He tells me that it is Ramadan and adds that I hopefully know what Ramadan is. I affirm. Demir and Birol continue to show pictures when Ayhan makes fun about the 'pizza baker' [Pizzabäcker, Demir works in a pizzeria] and the 'sugar baker' [Zuckerbäcker] exchanging recipes. He says something in Turkish that I translate in my head as 'why don't you go to the girls in the back of the bus?'. Both Demir and Birol look at him appalled. Birol tells me that it is a good thing that I did not understand that he said we should go to the girls to exchange recipes with them. Both are upset. They say that this was

[6] Regarding the overwhelming use of orientalising practices as part of othering practices in football fandom performances see Chap. 4.

> a total macho statement [Machospruch] made by a typical Turkish macho. The atmosphere stays good anyway and both continue exchanging ideas for recipes about calzone. […][7]

When Birol and Demir again started talking about their culinary creations, Ayhan felt the need to comment deprecatingly. Birol and Demir were both very angry about Ayhan's comment and immediately showed openly that they did not comply with Ayhan's views and behaviour. In this situation, it was very important to them to make sure that I understood that they did not agree with what Ayhan was saying. They knew that I was there to observe and to write about the trip in my research. Accordingly, they were very aware and consequently careful about what kind of picture they wanted me to produce about them. This picture was definitely not the one that Ayhan was generating at that moment in the bus. Birol even translated Ayhan's harsh comment, which Ayhan most probably said in Turkish so I would not understand (most of the time he was speaking German). Birol thereby included me into the discussion and had the chance to show me a diverse picture of masculinities and most importantly could distinguish himself from the 'Turkish macho man'.

As we could see in this example, the 'Turkish macho man' is a powerful recurring discursive controlling image that people refer to and/or try to distance themselves from. More importantly, all of us were aware of this controlling image so we could relate to it. This underlines the hegemony of the discourses that evolve around this image. Another important point about the controlling images of the 'Turkish macho man' and the 'Turkish male macho fan' is that they do not necessarily mean the same thing to different people. Birol can only guess what my interpretation of this image is and I can only guess about what his definition looks like. However, as diverse as their picture of masculinities might be, all of them somehow agreed that to be associated with women in this matter was an insult.

Another important aspect of this conversation was brought up again by Ayhan. He underlined that he did not appreciate the whole discussion about pictures of baked goods because he considers it wrong to

[7] Fieldnote from 31 July 2013, fan bus from Vienna to Salzburg stadium, with Metin and his friends, Fan Club, Young Fenerbahçe Fan Club, more than 14 hours.

put pictures of 'fasting food' on Facebook. Next to the aforementioned controlling image of the 'Turkish male macho fan' a second stereotypical construction and controlling image particularly impacts the conversation between Ayhan and me: the 'ignorant Austrian/German'. By asking me whether I (hopefully!) know what Ramadan is, he was more or less directly 'testing' whether I am one of those 'ignorant people' that do not know anything about important religious holidays in Islam. The interaction between Ayhan and me can be understood as Ayhan testing how I relate to the controlling image of the 'ignorant Austrian/German'. I tried to pass these tests because I did not want to comply with this image. This left me in a defensive position in these interactions. In the next section these tests continue but the focus slightly changes. Interestingly, he kept testing me throughout the whole trip about my knowledge about Turkey and also about Islam but not once about my football fandom or my knowledge about Galatasaray and Fenerbahçe. He mostly perceived me as a non-Turkish/German person/woman.

5.1.2 Ethnicising Practices: Going to Salzburg II

Whereas in the first part of the analysis of the Salzburg trip masculinities and femininities were at the centre of attention, the following section focuses on ethnicising practices during the trip. It pays special attention to the ironic reproduction of ethnic clichés. It was again Ayhan, who was trying to 'teach' me something about 'the Turks':

> Metin, Birol and Ayhan talk about the matches against Austrian teams that they have attended. After a match against Rapid Wien, Ayhan tells, he saw a Fenerbahçe fan that was provoked by Rapid fans and although he was on his own and the police were standing right next to the scene, this Fenerbahçe fan simply ran hell for leather into the group of Rapid fans. Ayhan further tells that people just do not understand that a Turk always does everything "entirely". If you are a friend you can live at his place, if you are an enemy

> he goes all out, he would die for the cause, he is not afraid to get hurt. He continues that people just do not understand that. I am asking myself why he is telling me this story.[8]

Ayhan continues to underline the difference between Turks and the very abstract 'people' which he does not further specify. He creates a picture of a 'wild animal' that is at the mercy of its anger and commitment to a cause. This fits well to the controlling image of the 'Turkish male macho fan' and its orientalised reference to 'barbarism'. In this case Ayhan does not simply refer to the controlling image 'Turkish macho man' but he admires, advertises and defends it. Indeed, he celebrates the staging of the 'Turkish male macho fan'. In his description, it is given a positive connotation. This is because a 'Turkish man', if he was your friend, would do anything for you. He uses the controlling image as an offering that he likes to identify with. Ayhan is very keen to other himself from the three other men in our little group as much as possible. He presents himself to me not only as a man, but constructs himself explicitly as a religious man, a Turkish man and in the following as a conservative man:

> Later we get on to the topic of the political situation in Turkey. It started with Birol offering Ayhan mini croissants and Ayhan then checking very closely whether they contain pork gelatin. Everybody starts discussing how many products contain alcohol although it is not indicated on the packaging and whether it is now obligatory to indicate such things. There is also pork gelatin in Haribo [jelly sweets], Demir adds, but now there is also a version without pork gelatin for Muslims. Demir contributes a word of wisdom from a [female] friend [Freundin]: that if the pig has been processed so much that it is gelatin then it does not count as pig anymore. Ayhan does not really agree with that but starts smiling. This is how we somehow start talking about politics and about Erdoğan. Ayhan is of the opinion that Erdoğan reacted just right when he organised counter-protests against the Gezi movement. He was elected with 56 per cent after all and there are so many people who are pro Erdoğan, Ayhan continues, if Erdoğan had stepped back, the country would have fallen into chaos and,

[8] Fieldnote from 31 July 2013, fan bus from Vienna to Salzburg stadium, with Metin and his friends, Fan Club, Young Fenerbahçe Fan Club, more than 14 hours.

> he continues, what are these few protestors compared to the number of inhabitants of the whole of Turkey. And then there are all these protests against the headscarf. Some people in Austria, he further tells me, say to him that they are thinking that the situation in Turkey is the same as in Iran. It makes him angry that most people do not know that Turkey is a secular state, like France, and that women with headscarves used to not be allowed to go to university. He vehemently asks whether I know that. I affirm. He adds that Erdoğan has changed some things about that now.[9]

Ayhan was the first person in my research field who talked entirely positively about Turkey's President Erdoğan. On the one hand, he was again 'testing' my knowledge about Turkey and Turkish politics. On the other hand, he was also eager to find out about my reactions to the rather conservative comments he made, particularly with regard to the (politically exhausted) topic about headscarves. Here, he referred to the discriminating practice against women in Turkey who used to be not allowed to study at a university while wearing a headscarf (cf. Vakulenko 2007). He presented himself as a man who follows religious rituals and rules, a Turkish man who takes Turkish and Muslim holidays seriously.

But this is only one side of the conversation. When he complained about the ignorant behaviour of many people in Austria who do not know much about Turkey but reproduce discriminating prejudices, he made clear that he wanted to know how I position myself regarding these discourses. This furthermore explained his eagerness to emphasise his religious and national belonging. But, this is also where Ayhan is in conflict with himself: on the one hand, he underlines that he appreciates President Erdoğans conservative-religious agenda but on the other hand, when he feels offended when people compare Turkey to Iran, his argument is that nobody knows that Turkey is a secular state. Here, only his intonation suggests that he on the one hand wants to emphasise that Turkey is definitely not like Iran because it is a secular state but at the same time he agrees with Erdoğan's religious-conservative politics. Two controlling images interact in this conversation. In the first section,

[9] Fieldnote from 31 July 2013, fan bus from Vienna to Salzburg stadium, with Metin and his friends, Fan Club, Young Fenerbahçe Fan Club, more than 14 hours.

Ayhan referred positively to the 'Turkish male macho fan' or very generally to the 'Turkish macho man'. By doing so he was testing how I related to this or these images and how I positioned myself to the controlling image 'ignorant German/Austrian'. I tried to distance myself as much as possible from the latter and as a result I simply nodded at everything Ayhan said even though I often disagreed with him.

After talking about serious matters such as Turkish politics and ignorance about Turkey in Austria, the group dynamic changed to something more joyful. The four men, Metin, Ayhan, Birol, Demir – and I did not have much in common except for a great interest in Turkish football. And we also did not actually have that in common because we were following Turkish football for totally different reasons. Moreover, we were different ages, genders and nationalities, and we also did not share a similar social class, political or subcultural background. This is why the following comical situations were so important to create a community feeling in our small group. An initially serious discussion about Turkish politics and prejudices about Turks turned finally into a play with prejudices that was informed by heavy irony. Thereby, we were constantly referring to clichés about Turks, about Austrians and about Germans. In this way, we were able to underline our possible differences and also a potential sameness to strengthen the community feeling (cf. Klingenberg 2013).

> On the autobahn Metin, Birol, Ayhan and Demir are puzzling about whether the bus driver is a Turk. They agree that we will find out about that if he starts overtaking a regular car in the left lane. When this actually happens, we all start laughing. (Only much later would we find out that the bus driver was actually not Turkish.) A similar situation occurs right afterwards when we open Google maps on our mobile phones. We want to check how much longer the trip will take. Birol's mobile phone repeatedly says that it will take another one and a half hours. This is impossible because we are still not very close to Salzburg. He jokes that his mobile phone is probably adjusted to the fact that the bus driver is Turkish. All of us start laughing again. When my mobile phone then says that we will need another two hours, the joking continues at my expense because now, they say, it is very clear that I am a German, a Piefke [mocking Austrian term for Germans]. We again laugh from our bellies.

Ironising the allegedly Turkish bus driver and his possible *violations* of traffic regulations and the allegedly German *compliance* with traffic regulations can be understood as a negotiation of clichés and stereotypes and their adaption and new interpretation. The humorous negotiation of attributions and prejudices is often a helpful strategy to subvert experiences of disrespect but also to produce community. Darja Klingenberg (2013) summarises the role of humour in contexts of migration and also beyond:

> The comical discourse creates an interspace that reveals fractions and contradictions of hegemonic discourses, enables (re)interpretations of experiences of depreciation and impotence as well as the expression of ambivalences, contradictions and (im)possibilities. (Klingenberg 2013, p. 210 [author's translation][10])

Partly, the topics that are discussed in the fieldnote sections must be understood as a direct reaction to my presence in the bus. But, they can also be understood as a response to a Turkish team playing an Austrian team which enforces selfing and othering practices to construct oneself as 'Turkish'. Nevertheless, by joking about stereotypes we were on the one hand subverting their power but on the other hand we were also reproducing them. Additionally, the conversation made clear that all of us were indeed strongly perceiving these differences and also that we were all aware of these exact prejudices. Consequently, the need to joke about them was also a sign of how powerful these stereotypes are.

Ironising and likewise ethnicising practices of clichés and stereotypes of 'being Turkish' and 'being German' were recurring during the trip. After Ayhan's frequent tests about whether I was familiar with Turkey and with religious holidays and so on, the both of us and also the whole group found a common ground by mocking each other in a friendly way.

[10] Original: ‚Der komische Diskurs schafft einen Zwischenraum, der Brüche und Widersprüche hegemonialer Diskurse offenlegt, (Um-)Deutungen von erfahrenen Abwertungen und Ohnmachtserfahrungen ermöglicht und Ambivalenzen, Unvereinbarkeiten und (Un-)Möglichkeiten artikulierbar macht.'

5.2 Gender and Ethnicity: Swearing and Coffee Houses

Similar to the subchapter before, the following part of this book will also deal with masculinities, femininities and ethnicising practices. In the following the focus will shift to ethnicising practices with regard to the construction of gender roles in Viennese football places, particularly pubs, and the role of the emotional practice of swearing in this construction. I will look into the practices of producing and maintaining gender inequalities in narratives about swearing. I will then discuss how these narratives also produce and maintain spatial boundaries in a Viennese football environment. In the following interview sections, controlling images from the chapter before will reoccur and will be supplemented by new ones. In this subchapter I will mainly focus on the two organisers, Mehmet and Sedat, of the Young Fenerbahçe Fan Club and its former member and co-organiser Merve.

The 'Fan Club for Young Fenerbahçe Fans in Vienna' addresses, as its name suggests, predominantly younger Fenerbahçe fans in Vienna. The club understands itself as an organisation that obtains a social commitment to include children, teenagers and young adults in a safe and family-like environment. The organisers are eager to provide a welcoming and supportive community via the football experience. The people from the fan club do interact with the people from the Fenerbahçe Pub. I had contacted the club via Ayla, who had strongly recommended that I meet with the organisers of the Young Fenerbahçe Fan Club for my research. Also, Emre, the pub owner, knew the club and its members very well. At that time I was not only strongly dependent on Ayla and Emre in terms of access to the field, I also appreciated them (and still do) for their sociability and openness. Therefore, when I met with Mehmet and Sedat for an interview I was a little surprised about their quite different opinion on how men and women should interact in general and in a football environment particularly. At that time I had met them twice before at fan club events and they agreed to meet for an interview. In the following, I will mainly refer to the interaction of Mehmet, Sedat and Merve. In a second step, I will then discuss how the fan club is perceived and discussed in the environment of the Fenerbahçe Pub.

5.2.1 Sedat and Mehmet: Constructing Gender Differences via Swearing Policies

The fan club organisers and members take their social agenda beyond the local Viennese setting very seriously. They collect money for poor regions in Turkey and support disadvantaged children that have illnesses which require costly treatments and travel. The first times when I met with the group I immediately felt welcome and included. This was due to their strong belief in the club's policy to provide a family-like environment for all members and visitors, old and new. This establishment of a family-like environment becomes very explicit when they talk about members of the club and indeed refer to them as sisters, brothers, fathers, or mothers.

Mehmet is 27 years old, has been living in Vienna for more than ten years and was the main initiator of the fan club. Sedat is 18 years old, grew up in Vienna and is very active in the club's organising team. When Mehmet talked about the fan club he emphasised its social commitment and its regular charity activities. Furthermore, he underlined his own democratic worldview. In the interview he claimed that he adopted this attitude for the club's structure too, implementing a rejection of hierarchies. He further explained that in the fan club every opinion was important. At the same time, in participant observations and also in the interview, it became clear the Mehmet remained a leading role model that people asked for help and advice. Sedat, for example, called him Mehmet *abi* (short form for *ağabey*, elder brother), the respectful way to address a non-related person.

In the following section I will focus on an interview section with Mehmet and Sedat where we discussed the club's family policy. As a consequence, we also started to talk about the role of women in the club. Both had mentioned their rejection of swear words [Schimpfwörter] at a previous meeting[11] and again at the beginning of the interview without exactly explaining why they think swearing and women are mutually exclusive. This is why I asked them directly why it is so crucial to them that people do not swear.

[11] Fieldnote from 2 May 2015, Fenerbahçe Pub and Fan Club, Vienna, with people in pub and people from fan club, Benfica Lissbon vs. Fenerbahçe (Europa League), evening.

Nina: Why is it so important for you that people don't swear?
Sedat: It is, one feels more comfortable, I mean when I-
Mehmet: It doesn't matter for us, for men it doesn't matter at all, but we respect women. Women do not feel so good when men swear, women don't join to watch matches then. It is about the culture, I guess.
Sedat: Yes, I guess no woman likes if there is swearing right next to her. It's like that, isn't it?
Mehmet: And we don't swear like: Shit! You are a pig! Or something like that. We swear about the whole family, the whole country. Everything.
[…]
Sedat: I can go there [to football places] with my girlfriend but if there is swearing my girlfriend wouldn't feel comfortable there either. Or my little brother, for example. There are also eight- or nine-year-old kids [in the club]. They learn those swear words and then they go and tell that they learned swear words here. It's not a good advertisement for us [if we swore]. Because when people know that there is no swearing then they come, also families, and you can bring your wife. But I was, for example, in a café, nobody, I guess, nobody can go there with his wife. But to us, they can easily join because they see it's a family situation and they are simply happy about that.
Mehmet: Yes, and a woman thinks that if I go somewhere and there are hundreds of men there then I cannot go there because I am the only woman and they will always look at what I am doing. That's the problem. But with us, there are many women and that's that. They sit right in front and always have our respect, nobody swears, everybody must respect the women. Everybody! This is our first rule.[12]

Mehmet and Sedat discuss the role of women neither as unwelcome nor as entirely passive. On the contrary, women and girls were explicitly invited to join and to take an active part in the organising process of club

[12] Interview Mehmet and Sedat, 27 years old and 18 years old, male and male, Fenerbahçe fan and Fenerbahçe fan, 3 June 2013, Mehmet's house, Vienna, afternoon/evening.

events. They underline that the club was particularly suitable for women and children and that they both 'respect women'. This is why, in their view, the use of swear words is strongly prohibited in the club. In their case, 'respect' is not necessarily an attitude of a person but something people *show* to other people.

Their approach to creating a 'safe' and family-like environment is successful in the way that the group consists of nearly as many women and girls as men and boys. Similar to other groups of football fans, the family structure of the community includes both men and women (cf. Sülzle 2011, p. 239). Nonetheless, their attributions of how men, women and children should behave, particularly the non-swearing policy, belong to powerful discourses that (re)produce gender hierarchies. In Sedat's and Mehmet's narration, women are declined the right to speak for themselves regarding whether they care about swearing or maybe even want to swear themselves. Both of them simply claim that women do not like to swear and more importantly: they need to be protected from swearing (men). Thereby, they put women and kids on the same rather passive level.

These discourses about gender and swearing are quite common in Turkey, particularly in the football context. Swearing has been and is often still considered as a male privilege and likewise the proof of male power:

> In Turkey, a deeply engrained ideology about the language of swearing is that it is men's talk. Not only is it considered inappropriate for women to swear, but some men might also consider it rude to swear in the presence of women. (Nuhrat 2013b, p. 5)

An important part of the emotional practice of swearing is the maintenance of gender duality. Like our bodies, emotional practices are subjects to gender construction. Fan practices are strongly influenced and sometimes divided by the normative constructs of our bodies and the rules and regulations that allow certain practices only for one gender in a constructed gender duality. Particularly, because emotions are often perceived

as 'natural' due to the fact that they are perceived as a part of our bodies, it is necessary to underline the cultural construct of our bodies:

> And there will be no way to understand "gender" as a cultural construct which is imposed upon the surface of matter, understood either as "the body" or its given sex. Rather, once "sex" itself is understood in its normativity, the materiality of the body will not be thinkable apart from the materialisation of that regulatory norm. "Sex" is, thus, not simply what one has, or a static description of what one is: it will be one of the norms by which the "one" becomes viable at all, that which qualifies a body for life within the domain of cultural intelligibility. (Butler 2011 [1993], p. xii)

Monique Scheer, who analyses emotions from a 'Bourdieuian Approach', emphasises 'the mutual embeddedness of minds, bodies, and social relations in order to historicize the body and its contributions to the learned experience of emotion.' (Scheer 2012a, p. 199) Due to their connections to the body, emotions, like gender, are often perceived as 'natural' or 'authentic'. Scheer points out:

> Emotional norms are informed and authorized by orders of knowledge, to use Foucault's term, such as that which constitutes emotion and reason as opposites. This fundamental dichotomy correlates with a series of other homologous dualisms, such as female–male, nature–culture, savage–civilized, childish–mature, animal–human, exterior–interior, private–public, and so on, which provide mutual overlap and support. They inform the sense of what is "proper" feeling in the performance and reading of emotional expression. (Scheer 2012a, p. 216)

Emotional practices that are legitimate for men are not necessarily also appropriate for women and the other way around. In the interviews of the underlying example, swearing is narrated as the most symbolic boundary between men and women. However, these boundaries do not only draw on gender constructions but intersect also with age and other social dispositions depending on the perspective. Mehmet and Sedat draw the line between men and women/female children/male children. Others, as we will see later in this chapter, draw the line between grown-ups and children.

Another important point of swearing, also in football fan cultures, is that it is often extensively sexist and homophobic (Nuhrat 2013b, p. 2). This explains to a certain extent a critical view and debate on it in general. Erhart summarises:

> Football and sex share a common vocabulary. The phrases which mean to score a goal are "to enter", "to insert", and "to penetrate". When a team scores a goal fans oftentimes start singing about anal rape or insult the goalkeeper for his "weak performance". Similarly, men use the phrase "score a goal" to denote successful sexual conquests. When a sexual liaison is made impossible, it is said that the "match" was "cancelled" or "postponed". (Erhart 2011, p. 90)

Also elsewhere in the research field people broached the issue of swearing. When I told Alper, the main bartender in the Fenerbahçe Pub, that I was taking Turkish lessons to better understand the fan chants, he was not very happy about it. He said that I should not do it because 90 per cent of the fan chants are 'below the belt' (*unter der Gürtellinie*), meaning sexualised swearing.[13]

It is necessary to look to which controlling images Sedat and Mehmet referred to and how they positioned themselves in this nexus. Both tried to paint a certain counter image to two controlling images. On the one hand they referred to the image of the 'Turkish macho man' and on the other hand to the controlling image of the 'oppressed Turkish woman'. These two strongly gendered and ethnicised controlling images are part of the most dominant hegemonic discriminating discourses against Turkish migrants in Germany and Austria (cf. Scheibelhofer 2011; cf. Spiegel Online [Gezer, Ö.] 2013).

In the interview Mehmet and Sedat tried to create a gentlemanly image of themselves to prove that they are just the opposite of the 'Turkish macho man' which I, from my socio-cultural background, unluckily perceived as degrading towards women. This led in some parts to a mutual misunderstanding in the interview situation. With Stuart Hall's vocabulary one could say that I decoded the message they were trying to send

[13] Fieldnote from 15 May 2013, Fenerbahçe Pub, Vienna, with people in pub, FC Chelsea vs. Benfica Lissabon (Europa League final), evening.

me differently to the way it was encoded (Hall 1980). In his article on the limits of ethnological understanding, Werner Schiffauer argues that even if two people might talk about the same matter their interpretation of the same narrative can differ immensely (2002, p. 236). The researcher always interprets and represents the research results from her or his context that is not the same context as that of the researched.

Mehmet and Sedat tried to represent themselves as open-minded men and I decoded their narratives as male patronising behaviour. The situatedness of narrations and interviews becomes very obvious. Interviews can only be interpreted as 'positioned truths' (Abu-Lughod 1991, p. 147) and as part of certain techniques of social positioning (Lucius-Hoene 2004b, S. 61; Sutter 2013, pp. 110–6). This does not mean that the narratives are less significant for research. On the contrary, in this example we can see how the analysis of certain contexts such as the relationship between the interviewer and the interviewee can reveal different understandings of the empowerment of women in a society or in this case very specifically in a football context.

In Sedat's and Mehmet's description of the club, it is women and children that need male protection from swearing. This protection is not necessarily meant in a physical way but refers to men building a 'safe' environment for women and children. The crucial thing about these narratives is, however, that interactions in the club were quite different. Men and women, boys and girls spoke up and took part in decision-making processes. This is why it is important to add other perspectives to the ones of Mehmet and Sedat and to further contextualise their arguments and the other motives in the interview section.

5.2.2 Merve: Reproducing and Breaking the Code

In order to discuss another person's perspective on the swearing practices, I will look at one of the women in this group and how she responded to narratives and discourses like these. Merve is 21 years old and works at a child-care centre. She is a Fenerbahçe fan, was born and raised in Vienna, and has a younger brother and a younger sister who are also Fenerbahçe fans. She lives with her parents and takes their opinion seriously even

though she sometimes has to argue to do things like going out to football pubs. When I met her, she was still a member of the then recently established 'Fan Club for Young Fenerbahçe fans in Vienna' (Young Fenerbahçe Fan Club). The first time I met Merve was at a meeting point for the fan club when I was invited to join them for a charity event for sick children.[14] Mehmet and Sedat considered Merve to be an important part of the organising team and a central person in the club though again from a gendered perspective:

> Sedat: [Merve] is part of it right from the beginning. She is, one could say, the boss of the girls. She is the one who looks after the girls. She is simply what Mehmet abi is for us, Merve abla is for the girls. Well, she is just Mehmet abla for the girls. She is exactly like Mehmet abi, she does everything for the club. She is available 24 hours. For the girls she is like a sister, for some even a mother. That's not only for the girls, also for me, for example. I can talk to her for 24 hours if I want to.[15]

Sedat describes Merve as a selflessly caring 'mother figure' which is part of the strong family narrative in the club. When I had joined the group for the trip to the charity event, I experienced her as the one who was looking after the younger girls and boys and who was co-organising the whole trip. Several months after the interview with Mehmet and Sedat, I accidentally ran into Merve in the Fenerbahçe Pub when Fenerbahçe was playing Galatasaray.[16] I was surprised to see her there because the most important derby for a Fenerbahçe fan was taking place and it was probably wildly celebrated in the Young Fenerbahçe Fan Club. So I went to her table and asked her where the fan club for young Fenerbahçe fans was watching the match today. She simply responded: 'Never again!' I was stunned and asked her whether she was willing to meet and talk about what had happened, to which she agreed.

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[14] Fieldnote from 1 June 2013, charity event, Vienna, with people of the Young Fenerbahçe Fan Club, during the day.

[15] Interview Mehmet and Sedat, 27 years old and 18 years old, male and male, Fenerbahçe fan and Fenerbahçe fan, 3 June 2013, Mehmet's house, Vienna, afternoon/evening.

[16] Fieldnote from 20 November, Fenerbahçe Pub, Vienna, with Ayla and her friends and people in pub.

For the interview, Merve and I met at the Fenerbahçe Pub shortly after. She feels comfortable in that place because she goes there often and knows Emre, the owner, very well. In the interview, when we started talking about the fan club, Merve told me that she was really hurt and disappointed about what had happened. She reported an immense group pressure in the Young Fenerbahçe Fan Club. After a while members of the club got angry when she met with some of her other friends without inviting the people of the fan club. She did not mention names at the beginning but later referred to Mehmet and Sedat when expressing her disappointment about the recent events. Merve told me that the conflict culminated in the exclusion of her by disabling various communication possibilities such as 'defriending' her on Facebook.

> Merve: He deleted me [on Facebook]. Sedat. I talked to him for 24 hours on the phone. Well, not call- texting and such things. I told him everything about me, so did he. And just recently I noticed that he blocked me on the phone as well.[17]

It is not important whether her version of the conflict is the 'right' version. There is usually no such thing as one true perspective of a conflict. The crucial thing about the breaking with the club is that Merve links it to her own empowerment. In her narration about the conflict, she is on the one hand the victim because she underlines how unfairly they treated her. On the other hand, although she is hurt that she is now avoided by people she considered to be her friends, she was not willing to blindly follow all the rules of the club organisers. This is how she shows what makes her a powerful person who knows where her limits are. She loved that the club was 'like a real family', but not for the price of her freedom.

> Merve: Yes, it's sad. Really, I used to go there for a year or so, since last summer until a couple of months ago I went there often. I had fights with my mother. She said, "No, you won't go there because there are many boys. Girls, what are girls doing watching matches?" I said, "Mum, yes, I don't go there for the boys, I go to watch the

[17] Interview Merve, 21 years old, female, Fenerbahçe fan, 13 November 2013, Fenerbahçe Pub, Vienna, afternoon.

match, I go for Fenerbahçe." She responded that I could also go to the Fenerbahçe Pub and watch there. I said, "Yes, I will do that, too, but."

Nina: What does your mother think is better about the Fenerbahçe Pub? There are boys here as well.

Merve: Yes, there are boys here as well, but she knows Emre [bar owner], knows his mother, father and so on. This is why she says "I trust Emre, you can go there, you can do everything", she always says. Because he is like a brother.[18]

Merve explains that it is also sad that she quit the fan club because she had to fight to be able to participate in it at the beginning. Arguments with her mother also included questions of why she, as a girl, wanted to watch football in the first place. Her mother accepts the Fenerbahçe Pub, though, because she knows the owner. This is how Merve explained a pre-conflict with the fan club to underline how much she had fought to be able to be part of the club and to highlight her worse disappointment about how it ended. At the same time, different perceptions about football places in Vienna become visible. These perceptions became even more obvious when we started talking about other football places in Vienna and its clientele.

Nina: Your father, did he watch [the matches] somewhere in Vienna?

Merve: Yes, he goes to coffee houses, where everywhere, where mostly men are and I can't go there either because there are only men.

Nina: Yes, why not?

Merve: Well, for us Turks it is not possible, when there is a girl and grown-up men, that's not possible. It's also, how can I tell you – it's somehow traditional. Yes. You can go with your friends, he doesn't say anything, when I go with my boy-friends [*Jungs-Freunde*],[19] or with girl-friends [*Mädchen-Freunde*] somewhere or here [in the Fenerbahçe Pub], he doesn't say anything. But

[18] Interview Merve, 21 years old, female, Fenerbahçe fan, 13 November 2013, Fenerbahçe Pub, Vienna, afternoon.

[19] Merve does not mean boyfriends but friends that she considers to be still boys and not grown-up men yet.

when there are men, then he says, better don't go there. Well, when I am the only girl, I should rather not.

Nina: What would happen if you went there? Because I am thinking about going there.

Merve: No, I would say, no. You should rather not go, no don't go.

Nina: No? Okay.

Merve: Well, with Turkish men it's like, they are very, how can I put it, they immediately want, they immediately think badly. They would say, Turks, they could do everything with you.

Nina: Ah okay. So they wouldn't respect me?

Merve: They wouldn't respect me either, no matter if they knew my father, they wouldn't. And then [there are] always these comments, why girls watch matches and that they should rather sit at home, cook, and if they go to school, they should go to school.[20]

Merve's description of men who think they could do 'everything' to a woman is at the same time very unspecific *and* paints a powerful, terrifying picture. Strikingly, in her narrations Merve differentiates between men and boys and between women and girls. The people she communicates with and regularly watches football with, including herself, are 'boys' and 'girls' although many of them are in their twenties. When she talks about men or grown-ups, she refers mostly to the men that sit in coffee houses. Boys are connoted positively and thus stand for openness to women in general and particularly to female fans. Men on the other hand are connoted very negatively. In her description, men are the ones that act in a degrading way towards women and girls and do not accept their interest in football. Even worse: in Merve's narration men are described as dangerous to women, as an actual threat to a woman's integrity. The crucial thing about this distinction is also that men are explicitly ethnicised whereas boys are not, at least not directly. In her narration, the controlling image of the 'Turkish macho man' becomes very specific. Here, this highly essentialising narrative particularly also (re)produces gendered boundaries regarding football places in Vienna.

[20] Interview Merve, 21 years old, female, Fenerbahçe fan, 13 November 2013, Fenerbahçe Pub, Vienna, afternoon.

The 'old-fashioned coffee house' is part of the controlling image of the 'Turkish macho man'. It is the spatial incarnation of it. Narratives about these places are powerful as we have seen in Merve's description about the men that would think they could 'do everything' to a woman if she went there. Ayla, who is 25 years old and a regular visitor of the Fenerbahçe Pub, experiences many Viennese Turkish football places – similarly to Merve – as male-dominated environments. This results, however, in somewhat different actions and opinions.

> Ayla: It is Turkish coffee houses, I may say, there are lots in Vienna, but more those coffee houses where men can be among themselves. Of course, there are by now enough cafés where girls can sit together with boys. But these are most of the times cafés where they don't show much football. Well, there have been, for example, lots of hookah cafés in the last four or five years maybe. They show football, but only the important matches.[21]

In her narration, Ayla also experiences certain coffee houses as places that are not open to women. She, however, frames it more positively as 'where men can be among themselves'. In her view, these places offer freedom to men from women. But later she heavily criticises them when she refers to her younger brother. This is also when, in her case, the symbol of the 'old-fashioned coffee houses' becomes relevant. In the following interview section, she compares the Fenerbahçe Pub to men-only coffee houses.

> Ayla: Well, we go there to watch the matches in Y. district where the two of us met in the X. street, because I like the atmosphere there, it's nice there it's a coffee house where boys and girls sit together. […] There is the owner [Emre], for example, yes. He is also a great Fenerbahçe fan, he shows for example Galatasaray and Beşiktaş matches, too. He also shows games of the national team, he is not only a Fenerbahçe specialist. And that again is a sign for us [herself and her friends] that they are no hooligans. We can go there. Because there are some cafés where only the matches of specific clubs are shown. It depends on the owner and when only young people are going there and they are, my brother he is just 19 and [he

[21] Interview Ayla, 25 years old, female, Fenerbahçe fan, 30 April 2013, her work place, Vienna, afternoon.

> was] 17, 18 when he went to this café, where only Fenerbahçe matches were shown, it was one of these hookah places, a small one, he started talking in a different way about the others and I really didn't like that. It's simply these coffee houses that make you look at things one-sidedly and I don't like that. For example, there are kids in puberty, they are growing up right now and are of an age when you learn a lot of new things, I don't like to send my brother there, I prefer taking him with me and that he watches with me.[22]

In the Fenerbahçe Pub she appreciates not only that it is an open place for men and women but especially that it is not a 'fanatic' place. She defines a 'non-fanatic place' by its openness to all different fan groups and the owners' policy of showing all different kinds of matches, also the ones of the rival. She was afraid that her brother would become a fanatic as well. The main difference from Merve's, Sedat's and Mehmet's arguments is that she does not directly culturalise and ethnicise people, practices or places in her arguments. She does, however, indirectly relate to the 'Turkish macho man' in her critique of 'old-fashioned coffee houses' but mostly she relates to a broader picture of intolerant football fanatics that take the game too seriously.

When I told Emre, the bar owner of the Fenerbahçe Pub, about my experiences at another Fenerbahçe fan club in Vienna, I was mentioning that there were only men in the fan club and that I did not feel very comfortable at the beginning. Emre then explained to me that there are two kinds of coffee houses in Vienna: the ones where only men go who then also swear and coffee houses like his. Traditionally men would go to the former to play, for example, backgammon. He further explained that women would not like if there was swearing and therefore they go to coffee houses like his where women are explicitly welcome. Coffee houses like his are rarer, though. When I responded that women do swear, too, he did not really answer to it. He said that in a coffee house like his he can say that people should be quiet and that they should not swear, but an owner of a men's coffee house with hookahs would be looked at and asked 'what do you mean, no swearing?' He further told me that in Istanbul there

[22] Interview Ayla, 25 years old, female, Fenerbahçe fan, 30 April 2013, her work place, Vienna, afternoon.

are many coffee houses that are mixed gender-wise and that in Istanbul everything is different and Turks there are not like the ones in Vienna.[23]

Merve, Emre and also Mehmet, Sedat and Ayla perceive football places in Vienna as an extremely gendered environment. When Merve talks about football places, she seems to accept the limitations that come along with them. This includes an extremely negative and somewhat terrifying image of Turkish men. The 'Turkish macho man' is a controlling image that maintains boundaries to which not only men but women likewise feel the need to refer to. The crucial thing about Merve's narrative is that it is part of a sexist discourse towards both women *and* men that co-creates a dichotomy of the 'Turkish macho man' and the 'in-need-of-protection woman'. Whereas the former is heavily ethnicised by being directed at Turkish men only, in Merve's narration the latter applies for all women. The controlling image of the 'Turkish macho man' is part of a powerful discourse that manifests male dominance and keeps up spatial boundaries for women and for men. Ironically, the discourse is reproduced by women such as Merve as well. As Paul Scheibelhofer underlined, controlling images are not only used and reproduced by the ones that want to oppress (2011, pp. 162–3).

5.2.3 'Self-Turkified'

The gendered discourses that maintain spatial boundaries are not specific to Galatasaray and Fenerbahçe fans in Vienna. Almut Sülzle, for example, emphasises that women in football fan cultures are often the constructionists as well as the victims in maintaining male dominance (2011, p. 357). Sexism in football is still a widespread issue in most countries (cf. for Germany: Dietze 2012; Behn and Schwenzer 2006; Hagel et al. 2005; cf. for Turkey: Erhart 2011). The crucial thing about Merve's narration is, however, that in this case, sexist incidents are seen as specific to a 'Turkish culture'.

Also, Mehmet's, Sedat's and Merve's further lines of argument reveal that the problems they encounter are very similar to the ones of other football fans around the world regarding the question of how fans want

[23] Fieldnote from 30 July 2013, Fenerbahçe Pub, Vienna, meeting with Emre, afternoon.

to create football spaces: Yes or no to drinking? Yes or no to swearing? Yes or no to wearing national emblems? Being inclusive or exclusive et cetera? Likewise, Merve sometimes struggles to find her place in a male-dominated popular culture, as many female fans do elsewhere (cf. Sülzle 2011; Regev and Rapoport 2013; Nuhrat 2013b).

However, all three of them use essentialising and culturalising stereotypes to underline their arguments. Mehmet and Sedat, for example, said that women felt uncomfortable when there was swearing because it 'has to do with culture'. Arguing with the help of terms like 'culture' is easy and complicated at the same time. Firstly, if one argues using 'culture' one does not have to specify what one means by it. Also, both Mehmet and Sedat make it clear that I cannot understand because I am not part of the same 'culture'. Via this othering practice between them and me, they can rest their case without further discussion and I mutely agreed to it. Instead of asking what they meant by 'culture' I simply did not say anything and thereby co-constructed and supported this kind of 'self-Turkifying' practice.

Merve also used culturalising narratives to underline her argument of why women cannot go to certain pubs and coffee places. Her image of Turkish men as reckless and disrespectful towards women creates and maintains gender roles without any further necessary discussion because, as she claimed, 'Turkish men are like that'. The crucial thing about what Merve tells, though, is that she acts in a different way. She knows and has heard all these comments about coffee houses before and what behaviour or response from women is expected and reproduces these arguments but, in fact, she acts differently. In line with this, she gives a different perspective on Sedat's and Mehmet's arguments about swearing. When I ask her about the 'no-swearing-policy' in the fan club she responds in a surprised manner:

Nina: Okay. Do you use swear words?
Merve: No.
Nina: No?
Merve: Not at all, no.
Nina: You're very strict about that?

Merve: (laughs) Exactly, I hold back [ich halte mich zurück immer]. Yes, it comes, but- no I don't say- […]
Nina: I understand, because swearing is forbidden in the fan club, right?
Merve: Aha. But it's not.
Nina: It's not like that?
Merve: No. (laughs)
Nina: No? (laughs)
Merve: No, it's not. Well, he [Sedat or Mehmet] said that, he left it up to me, he said, Merve should we, should the girls and boys swear [schimpfen] or not? Should it be allowed to drink beer or not? I said, no, no swearing and so on. For a couple of times it was okay. After the third time everybody started swearing. There are also small children like my brother and my sister. The small kids of my [female] friends are also there. There are some people that do not like swearing at all. Yes.[24]

Merve did not regard her role in the club as a passive in-need-of-protection woman. On the contrary, she considered herself as someone who Mehmet and Sedat turned to for advice and for important fan club decisions. Also, the 'no-swearing-policy' does not seem as strict as Mehmet and Sedat explained it to me. Consequently, the prohibition to swear is most likely part of a social expectation but can differ much from reality. None of the three explicitly said '*I* do not want to swear.' It is either the children or the women that are used as a 'pretext' to follow a social expectation – a third actor is implied. Mehmet and Sedat in particular, could not say that they themselves do not want to swear (regardless of whether they meant it or not) because swearing is an important part of the construction of masculinity. And since this football space also follows a 'male grammar' (Sülzle 2011, p. 349), keeping up masculinities is central to the fan practices.

In her narration Merve mirrors what is probably socially expected of her but her actions are not congruent with that. What she tells me does strongly refer to what we can call the controlling image of the 'civilised woman' (cf. Nuhrat 2013b). A 'civilised woman' is the ideal picture or the

[24] Interview Merve, 21 years old, female, Fenerbahçe fan, 13 November 2013, Fenerbahçe Pub, Vienna, afternoon.

'ideal type'[25] of a woman who, contrary to the less civilised man, does not swear. A 'civilised woman' would usually not watch football, either. Here, the image has already been stretched. Merve does not follow the gender roles that she co-creates. She watches football, she most probably swears and she fights paternalisms on different levels in different ways – sometimes less, sometimes more. She has strongly internalised her father's (and probably her mother's) discourses about Turkish men that determine her narratives about football places in Vienna. She argues, however, with her mother about the places she wants to go to and goes anyway. Her strongest objection against paternalism is when she leaves the fan club because Mehmet and Sedat try to interfere with other parts of her life.

Furthermore, Merve has a strong commitment towards the empowerment of women in society and especially in the football context. At the end of the interview, when I asked her if she wants to add something about herself and football, she responded:

Merve: Well, not about me, but I want girls to watch matches, so they don't stay at home. If they say, yes, I am a real fan, then they should watch. They shouldn't give up.
Nina: Because they are not allowed-
Merve: By their parents, by their mother or father.
Nina: Okay, maybe we can talk about this again. I observe, for example, a lot of girls that watch football in the fan pub wearing their Fenerbahçe shirts-
Merve: That's great, yes. […] It's happening more and more. In some pubs, like this one, it's public and girls can come and boys come. But in the real coffee houses, just boys go there, only men go there, women cannot, girls cannot watch there. And it also depends on the parents. If they say no, you won't go there, there are many men, there are many boys, you cannot go there. But it has changed lately anyway. I see many girls.
Nina: Is it a recent development?

[25] Max Weber originally developed the concept of ideal types to facilitate sociological analysis. By emphasising its constructive and constructed character, he understands ideal types as a central sociological method to understand, interpret and explain social action. The researcher constructs an ideal type to illustrate 'general rules' of human action in a society or field he or she researches. An ideal type can be 'rational' and 'irrational'. It mirrors the ideal construct of how actions should be. It is not intended to reflect the average picture of reality (Weber 1980 [1921], pp. 1–11).

Merve: Yes, exactly.
Nina: What do you think, why it's happening?
Merve: It's because some girls become free. They are not always forced to stay at home all the time. Yes. And some parents realise then, okay, you can go there. Or when they accompany their daughter or their son once, then they see what it's like here and say, okay, you can go there to watch the match.[26]

The interview section does not only reveal her wish for female agency in the Viennese Turkish football space and beyond, it also reflects on the way in which she dealt with the conflicts and what she had to go through to be able to become a football fan. She perceives the limitations and boundaries also for other women and girls quite strongly but at the same time she takes her younger sister, and younger female friends to different football places in Vienna. On the one hand, she perpetuates boundaries and limitations by her narrations but on the other hand she crosses these borders on a daily basis and likewise empowers and enhances the agency of other women and girls.

5.3 Differing Perceptions of Gender Roles and Feminism: Transnational Discourses

Both Merve and Ayla are examples of young women in a football environment that has been a male domain for a long time and has only recently become a place that is more open for women. Ayla therefore often related to football discourses about female fans in Turkey. I experienced Ayla as a person with an expressive personality who openly says what she thinks and wants. She often watched matches in the Fenerbahçe Pub with her younger brother (19 years old) and male and female friends. Ayla is a good friend of one of the younger bartenders in the Fenerbahçe Pub. When Emre (owner) and Alper (main bartender) found out that I was asking her for an interview, they started yelling across the bar that I should

[26] Interview Merve, 21 years old, female, Fenerbahçe fan, 13 November 2013, Fenerbahçe Pub, Vienna, afternoon.

not interview her because she is a hooligan. When they started laughing about their joke, Ayla responded simply and with a hint of irony:

> You see how popular I'm here. I am always here.[27]

She is well-known in the pub and has a high social capital. She was introduced to me by the young bartender as the 'right' interview partner because she 'has a lot to say'. When Ayla talks about her interests and her life she describes herself as an active, feminist woman who fights for women's rights. Ayla takes her younger siblings to football places in Vienna and other places in Europe and encourages them to be fans.[28] The empowerment of women is at the top of her agenda.

The definition of feminism and women's rights, however, as well as of gender roles can be diverse and sometimes contradictory. This became very clear when Ayla discussed a controversial incident in the Turkish football league. It has been common practice in Turkey to ban away fans from Istanbul Derbies due to 'safety reasons'.[29] In 2011, the Turkish Football Federation (TFF) even started to ban male fans from the stadium for certain matches.[30] They introduced a women-and-children-only-policy as 'punishment' for those fans that 'misbehaved'. This was a response to incidents where fans had been swearing and violent – and assuming those were only men. Yağmur Nuhrat emphasises the sexist rigour of this 'punishment'. By introducing women-and-children-only matches, the TFF implied that women do not use swear words and have better manners than men do and therefore they are 'naturalizing societal expectations from women's language and behavior' (Nuhrat 2013b, p. 3). Nuhrat further points out that:

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[27] Interview Ayla, 25 years old, female, Fenerbahçe fan, 30 April 2013, her work place, Vienna, afternoon.

[28] Interview Ayla, 25 years old, female, Fenerbahçe fan, 30 April 2013, her work place, Vienna, afternoon.

[29] For more information: Hürriyet Daily News [Yılmaz, Ç. C.] (2012).

[30] Taylor (2011): http://www.theguardian.com/football/blog/2011/sep/21/women-children-men-fenerbahce-ban.

> Not only does it assume that football is naturally and normally a site for men and that men are the "real" fans in football, it also frustratingly relegates women to the spheres of the home and the family by calling upon the much outdated and offensive images of essentially peaceful women likened to innocent children and colorful flowers. (Nuhrat 2013b, pp. 6–7)

Whereas this sexist 'punishment' has been very critically received, also by other scholars and in the media (cf. Regev and Rapoport 2013) with critiques similar to Nuhrat's, Ayla has an overwhelmingly positive opinion about it:

> Ayla: At Fenerbahçe, there are often times when men are not allowed in the stadium (Nina laughs). Really, when the audience consists of women only. I can show you many videos and pictures of that. My aunt in Istanbul and my uncle, they have, I don't know what it's called in German, they have VIP seats and pay something monthly. They attend every match in Istanbul and when only women are allowed to go and men are not allowed to go, then my uncle looks after the children and my aunt attends the match with her girlfriends. […] There are so many pictures (laughs) where, for example two girls, when only women are in the audience, yes where two girls, let's say there are about 17, 18 [years old]. They had a poster, people took a picture of it and it was shown on TV, it said: "Dad, food is in the fridge, today it's our turn!" (Both laugh). There are many of these kinds of slogans. It is fun for women to leave their men at home when the husband is maybe totally crazy about the match. But women are allowed to attend and not men. Yes, it's fun. I know it also from my aunt, my uncle cannot go and she makes fun of him, saying: "Well, it's an important match, but your uncle is not allowed to go so I will go." Deliberately. "So he has to stay at home with the children and I can enjoy myself." Women really make use of this.[31]

In Ayla's view the policy of the Turkish Football Federation is a method to empower women and to provide an escape away from women's everyday

[31] Interview Ayla, 25 years old, female, Fenerbahçe fan, 30 April 2013, her work place, Vienna, afternoon.

lives. She particularly likes it that traditional gender roles are reversed (husband looks after children, wife goes to the match). Ayla has an entirely subversive reading of the 'punishment'. Even if Fenerbahçe might have partly had the intention to empower women, they still wanted to underline that women 'naturally' behave 'better' or are more 'civilised' than men, which Ayla also subversively ignores when she proudly talks about her aunt losing her voice because of yelling too much in the stadium:

> Ayla: […] well, my aunt, when she talks about it [being only women in the stadium], she is all smiles. She says it's just different when you are among women only and you can cheer, scream out loud and let all your stress out and at the same time you can be happy and rant. It's a totally different atmosphere; women really get going then after having so much in their everyday lives: kids, school, meals, job. It's a totally different atmosphere where you can unwind, where you can feel adrenaline after a long time, where you can cheer loudly. I remember calling my aunt two days after the match and she still had no voice because of cheering so loudly (both start laughing).[32]

These stadium experiences, Ayla was telling, were stress releases for her aunt because of her busy life. She even interpreted Fenerbahçe's punishment as a direct support of female fans and women in society and links it to Fenerbahçe's charity work for women.

> Ayla: Fenerbahçe does look after its female fans a lot. Well, they donate a lot to shelters where they care for children and women.[33]

Although, these interview sections do not address the issue of swearing directly, Ayla also reproduces gender stereotypes to a certain extent: women need external help to be active fans. Ayla, however, does emphasise how loud her aunt and other women were screaming and celebrating in the stadium, which is in contrast to the controlling image of the

[32] Interview Ayla, 25 years old, female, Fenerbahçe fan, 30 April 2013, her work place, Vienna, afternoon.

[33] Interview Ayla, 25 years old, female, Fenerbahçe fan, 30 April 2013, her work place, Vienna, afternoon.

'civilised woman'. In her narration, her aunt and other women become the very incarnation of the protest against expected behaviours of women by showing men that women can scream as loud as men can and thus are at least as good fans as they are.

The controlling image of the 'civilised woman' is a recurring type in conversations and interviews. It is also often used in othering practices to underline differences between the two teams. When Fenerbahçe was playing Eskişehirspor[34] Emre pointed at the screen, explaining to me that Fenerbahçe fans are much more 'civilised' than Galatasaray fans or supporters of the other teams because, as I could see on the screen, there were many women and children in the stadium, whereas there were many more men there for the other team. These discourses are not specific to Turkey. Attempts to 'civilise' fans in football stadia are widespread in Europe. This includes all-seater stadia, alcohol bans and campaigns that specifically try to invite families, the very stereotype of peacefulness, into football stadia (cf. Selmer and Sülzle 2010).

In the different examples, it became clear how ethnicising practices and discourses about swearing and societal expectations are used to produce and reproduce gender hierarchies in terms of concrete access to places and also to fan activities in general. The next subchapter will focus on intersecting negotiations of social class, ethnicity and also subculture.

5.4 Performances of Social Class and Ethnicity

An analysis of the intersection of social class, ethnicity, and subcultural milieus is crucial to reflect on the narratives of the student group from Istanbul and other fans from Vienna who consider themselves as intellectuals. Beate Binder and Sabine Hess, who have criticised the negligence of social class differences in present studies, particularly plead to solve this omission by using the concept of intersectionality (2011, pp. 34–5). This

[34] Fieldnote from 14 April 2013, Fenerbahçe Pub, Vienna, with people in pub, Fenerbahçe vs. Eskişehirspor (Süper Lig), evening.

subchapter will show how the intersection of social class and migration is decisive to the fan practices of some of my interview partners.

The following interview sections will illustrate how class distinctions are narrated and reproduced. A recurring image or symbol in this regard is the 'white table cloth'. In these performances of class, interview partners of the student group not only refer to other Turks in Vienna but also to stereotypes and prejudices towards other football fans in general. For some fans of this group it was very important to underline their intellectual approach to football fandom. Most of them have reflected extensively about why they are football fans and about what football means to them:

> Cem: Yes, because it's escapism like anything else basically. Like alcohol, like drugs. It's basically, basically it's true, when he, was it Camus or an Argentinean, who said that football is opium for the peoples, for the masses?[35]

For Cem, it is very important to connect football to his life and self-perception as a philosopher. He often links football to sophisticated theoretical frameworks in order to underline his intellectual and elite approach to football. His worst-case scenario would be to be mixed up with the cliché of an uneducated working-class football fan. This however does not only apply to the student group from Istanbul but also to highly educated people that grew up in Vienna.[36] Selin, a 26-year-old student of architecture, hints in the same direction with her description of what she likes about football.

> Selin: But it is not identification for me. Well, I think it is rather like this [for others] but not at all for me. It is more this obliviousness in the moment. It is less the identification with all of that, like "now I'm part of it", but more like "now we are all here, watch it live and I can unwind for 90 minutes". And when I am betting it is even more fun and I have never won, always lost (Nina laughs), always lost. But retrospectively it doesn't matter because if you bet again, it is happi-

[35] Interview Cem, 34 years old, male, Galatasaray fan, 21 August 2012, Turkish restaurant, Vienna, late afternoon.

[36] Also, this does not only apply to fans of Turkish football. The German football magazine *11 Freunde* is the incarnation in the media of intellectual football talk and practices of class distinction.

> ness again. You sort of pay for your happiness and then you have extreme adrenaline and who knows what for 90 minutes.[37]

Selin loves philosophy and has thought a lot about why football is so fascinating for her. Throughout the interview she emphasised that she has a problem with the so-called 'football identity' and further describes her doubts that something like identity in general exists. She very much objects to when fans emphasise their football or club 'identity'. In her opinion, football is about emotions and escaping one's everyday life, but here she nevertheless links it to the concept of identity: in the sense of escaping one's 'actual' identity. This 'intellectualisation' of football and football fandom only occurred among the highly educated fans. But, whereas the first two examples are quite abstract, the main example of this subchapter illustrates concrete othering practices towards other (lower class, Turkish) football fans in Vienna. Here, class categories strongly intersect with attributions of ethnicity or 'Turkishness'.

In the interview with Sinan from the student group practices of class distinction became particularly visible. Sinan is a 24-year-old design student and musician. At the time of the interview he had been living in Vienna for five years. In the following interview section, we were talking about how he used to watch matches in Istanbul and how he watches them now in Vienna.

Nina: What did it look like in Turkey?

Sinan: Yes, in Turkey you go to a normal bar like a normal bar in Vienna. But there is a TV and you can watch the match. Or simply at home.

Nina: Yes.

Sinan: Yes, I mean in Istanbul it is totally different. When there is a football match then it is everywhere, you notice that, it is in every shop, well everybody watches football, it is quite different. There, you don't have to go into a location you don't wanna go [to]. You can choose. What did I want to say? (Thinks) Oh yes, then we found out that you can watch the matches online. It's this Digiturk, this Turkish, how can I explain it, like Sky, and they

[37] Interview Selin, 28 years old, female, Fenerbahçe fan, 3 October 2013, hipster café, Vienna, afternoon.

started online streaming. […] Now we have the chance to comfortably sit at home and watch football. Because football for most fans is about meeting with a group for a match and this is what happens here too in a Turkish location. When you go there you somehow definitely talk to them. But we [he and his best friend] didn't want that necessarily. We just wanted to watch football. Or cheering together it's not special for me because for me it's about football. But, I mean, in the stadium it is totally different, the atmosphere is great, you can somehow talk to everybody but to meet in a restaurant with thirty football fans, it's just not special.

Nina: But sometimes you go anyway [to a bar], for example next Tuesday for the Champions League.

Sinan: Well, we have to because Digiturk does not broadcast Champions League matches.

Nina: Ah. Okay!

Sinan: And yes, I guess I would prefer watching at home.

Nina: So the [Football Restaurant] is just a compromise for you and not a-

Sinan: Yes, yes. I don't like being there. You have seen the interior design of the place. All these fucking [*scheiß*] tables with white table cloths. In the corner there are strange colourful things. The room is a wedding room, I think that is really strange. […T]here are no Turkish bars in Vienna at all, there are only Turkish restaurants and so on. Maybe it has to do with religion, because the Turks in Vienna, I guess, most of them are religious. This is maybe why they do not want to open a bar.[38]

Sinan is unhappy about the football locations in Vienna much like other people in his group of friends. When comparing football locations in Istanbul and Vienna, he criticises that there are no 'normal' football bars where he and his friends could watch Turkish football in Vienna. The 'non-normal' football pubs are to him the places that he considers from and for the 'other' Turks in Vienna. He is referring to an abstract image of Turkish migrants in Austria. He simply generalises them to 'Turks in

[38] Interview Sinan, 24 years old, male, Galatasaray fan, 23 November 2012, atelier at his university, Vienna, afternoon.

Vienna', whereby he does not include himself. On the contrary he explicitly distinguishes himself from them. Also, he uses one of the dominant-hegemonic stereotypes about Turkish migrants in Vienna, claiming that they are supposedly all religious, old-fashioned and therefore do not drink alcohol. Therefore, in his opinion, there is no need or wish for them to open a pub. Riem Spielhaus has written about this othering practice against migrants from Turkey: migrants from Turkey are not simply ethnicised anymore but they are particularly also 'muslimised' (Spielhaus 2011).

When Sinan uses these dominant prejudices to distinguish himself from 'those' Turks, he declares himself as a secular, cosmopolitan and modern person. His narration is in many terms very similar to Sibel's narration from Sect. 4.4. Also here, the narration is not about football but the practice of talking about football fandom becomes a strategy to make serious distinctions from 'those other Turks'. Likewise, the concept of 'cultural intimacy' by Herzfeld (1997) works here, too: Sinan feels ashamed and embarrassed by the sheer idea of being associated with the 'other Turks'. To some extent he indeed feels as part of this constructed community which immediately leads to discriminating othering practices. Here again, talking about his football fandom is a strategy of 'social positioning' (Lucius-Hoene and Deppermann 2004b, pp. 59–60) as a counter pole to other Turkish migrants in Vienna. In Sinan's case, however, the dominant way to do so is by using intersecting narrative constructions of ethnicity and class. Sinan ethnicises class differences. This intersection of class and ethnicity becomes particularly relevant in his description of football places. The image of the 'white table cloth' becomes the very symbol for distinction.

The symbol of the 'white table cloth' is not only used by Sinan but also by other members of that group. After watching a match in the 'Football Restaurant' with different people of the student group from Istanbul and some of their local friends, we had decided to have another drink when Cem insisted on going somewhere else to do so, 'somewhere without white table cloths'.[39] Comparing Istanbul to Vienna was

[39] Fieldnote from 5 November 2013, Turkish restaurant (Football Restaurant), Vienna, with the student group, FC Copenhagen vs. Galatasaray (Champions League), evening.

a recurring narrative in my interviews and fieldnotes. This group usually frequents locations in subcultural milieus such as alternative art places, concerts and so on. The important thing about those places is that they are not connected to the construction of ethnicity. In those places social class and subcultural belonging dominate the construction of places and belonging.

This spatialisation of subcultural affiliations of the student group is in great conflict regarding football places for Turkish football in Vienna. In the football context the fans of the student group are dependent on ethnicised places, such as Turkish or 'Turkified' bars and restaurants, because they are the only places where matches of the Turkish League are shown. But, the students do not want to be identified with 'these other Turks' that they perceive as and generalise to one homogenous group similarly to the dominant practice in an Austrian society (Römhild 2014, p. 260). They want to distinguish themselves from the prejudices and stereotypes about Turks in Vienna. Very much like the dominant-hegemonic stereotypes about 'migrant Turks' they perceive social class and subcultural differences through the ethnic lens. The Turkish restaurants are not in compliance with their elite and cosmopolitan habitus. As Pierre Bourdieu famously stated:

> The conditionings associated with a particular class of conditions of existence produce *habitus*, systems of durable, transposable dispositions, structured structures predisposed to function as structuring structures, that is, as principles which generate and organize practices and representations that can be objectively adapted to their outcomes without presupposing a conscious aiming at ends or an express mastery of the operations necessary in order to attain them. (Bourdieu 1990, p. 53 [emphasis in the original])

In a nutshell: Sinan's habitus and his self-perception differ from the constructed group of Turkish migrants in Vienna that he is always associated with by others. This is when differences in class and thus in habitus result in negotiations about 'proper Turkishness'. Sinan even goes a step further when he specifies how he feels judged by the 'other Turks':

Sinan: Because we don't get along so well. Because for example, there is this bakery around the corner from where I live. It's open 24 hours. That's the only Turkish place that I like but it's because it sometimes saves my life on Sundays when I don't have anything left to eat (Nina laughs). I go there to get some bread. But the problem is that they do it quite badly, Börek for example. These things are very easy [to prepare] even at home. I can make better ones and this bakery has a huge oven and so on. I don't understand how they can do it badly. But it doesn't matter. The problem is that I go there when I am drunk. Around five in the morning. This is why we have very bad communication and seemingly they don't like it when a Turk goes there totally drunk to get something to eat. They are still friendly but you can see somehow how they keep their distance. Or I go there when I have a hangover. At Sundays at 2 p.m. to get some breakfast and they notice that, too. Somehow I see there a lot of other Turks that don't go there as regularly as I do but these Turks are friends [with the employees of the bakery]. Either I am unfriendly or they kind of keep a distance from me. But I never tried to become friends because I have friends. I do not necessarily need new Turkish friends.[40]

In this interview section, it becomes clear that Sinan did not solely judge and generalise about a Turkish migrant community in Vienna. On the one hand, he distinguishes himself from other Turkish migrants in Vienna, on the other hand, however, he feels excluded and awkward when he is afraid of not meeting their expectations of the behaviour of a young Turkish man. This is when the concept of 'cultural intimacy' becomes relevant again. Exactly because he feels ashamed, it becomes clear that he also identifies with the people in the bakery on some level which is also the reason why he can feel judged or not accepted by them. Otherwise, why should he care if he did not experience any connection? He projects the social expectations that he thinks other Turks might have towards him on the situations in the bakery. When it is clear that he cannot meet these possible expectations he feels the need to other himself even more. He degrades them by criticising their ability to bake Turkish

[40] Interview Sinan, 24 years old, male, Galatasaray fan, 23 November 2012, atelier at his university, Vienna, afternoon.

food and thereby makes himself superior. This finally culminates when he denies that the people from the bakery are 'proper Turks' because they are allegedly not able to prepare 'proper Turkish food'.

The intersection of social class and ethnicity in this subchapter is particularly visible in terms of the perception of social class through an ethnic lens. The students from Istanbul do not consider the Turkish football places as appropriate for their subcultural and social class needs. The crucial thing is that they do not directly recognise the class differences as class differences but instead they interpret them in an ethnicising manner and link them explicitly to a 'Viennese Turkishness'. This again is strongly informed by attributions by social class and subculture and leads to discriminating othering practices against an 'imagined' (other) Turkish community (Anderson 1983).

5.5 Concluding Remarks on Ethnicising Practices and Its Intersection with Gender and Class

Narratives and practices of Galatasaray and Fenerbahçe fans in Vienna were often strongly ethnicised. This chapter used the intersectional approach to make clear that particularly discourses about gender and about class do intersect with these ethnicising practices. The main concern of this chapter was to reveal how these ethnicising practices (re)produce gender hierarchies and class distinctions. All the more, these narratives generate and maintain boundaries of a constructed (Turkish) us and (non-Turkish) them.

The approach of intersectionality turned out to be particularly helpful to understand practices of doing gender and doing class by Galatasaray and Fenerbahçe fans in Vienna. Both constructions are not stand-alone social phenomena but strongly intersect particularly with the construction of ethnicity. In fact class and gender are part of ethnicising practices and the other way around. Central to all the gender constructions in the exemplary cases was that they were always binary and thus did not question the gender dichotomy. Often they worked in pairs: There is the image of the 'Turkish macho man' and the image of the 'oppressed Turkish woman'. Both are ethnicised.

The analysis followed the concept of controlling images (Collins 2000 [1990]) which underlined the impact of discursive, often intersecting, constructions of dominant-hegemonic stereotypes on the everyday lives of Fenerbahçe and Galatasaray fans in Vienna. The two main controlling images relevant to the narratives and the analysis of this chapter in particular are:

(a) the 'Turkish male macho fan' and its spatial equivalent 'the Turkish coffee house',
(b) the 'civilised woman'.

In the case of the protagonists of the trip to Salzburg in the Fenerbahçe fan bus, except for one person, people in our group were eager to distance themselves from the controlling image of the 'Turkish male macho fan' or in this particular case from the 'Turkish macho man'. But it became also clear that this controlling image also offers possibilities of identification. To some extent this image had different meanings and different connotations for all five of us on the bus. In some areas, however, all of us agreed on the same attributions of the 'Turkish macho man': referring to the discussion about how manly or not manly baking can be, for all of us it was without question that the 'Turkish male macho fan' or the 'Turkish macho man' would never bake but would condemn men who do so instead. During the Salzburg trip it became clear that these different interpretations and performances of masculinities are to a certain extent flexible and therefore in need of constant negotiation like all constructions of social attributions in subjectification processes. In this case, relating to the controlling image of the 'Turkish male macho football fan' was particularly relevant, also because I was with them on the bus – a constant reminder of dominant-hegemonic stereotypes about Turkish men.

The Salzburg trip was also an insightful example of how ethnicising practices and perceived differences can be humorously subverted. When we started ironising common ethnicised stereotypes it became clear that everybody was aware of the dominant clichés and prejudices about Turks, Germans, and Austrians and also that everybody was somehow aware of its constructed notion. We subverted these images humorously but we

also reinforced them. Community building was the goal of the humorous endeavour. Despite of all our perceived differences this is how we found common ground.

Central to the construction of gender duality in the interview sections in this chapter was the emotional practice of swearing. It became clear that emotional practices can be extremely gendered and that even the discourses about them create not only social boundaries but do have a concrete impact on gender hierarchies in football places. They co-determine for whom certain football places are considered to be open and for whom they are closed. Although swearing is considered inappropriate for everybody (gentlemen do not swear!), *if* somebody does swear, it is only men and particularly the 'Turkish macho man' or 'Turkish male macho fan'. The 'civilised woman' is discursively constructed not only as someone who does not want to swear but even more as someone who simply *cannot* swear. When I questioned these swearing policies all interview partners reacted in the same way. They made clear that I simply could not understand because I am not a part of 'Turkish culture'. Because of this ethnicised othering practice no further explanation was needed. Particularly in these interview sections, the mutual misunderstanding between my interview partners and me revealed that an anthropological analysis can always only be a 'positioned truth' (Abu-Lughod 1991).

Merve's case was particularly insightful in terms of the two aforementioned controlling images because their discursive power became visible. The analysis of her narratives and practices resulted in the opposition of saying vs. doing. Merve narratively reproduced and even reinforced the controlling images of the 'Turkish male macho fan' and the 'civilised woman' without really questioning them. When she talked about men in Turkish coffee houses, she painted a horrifying picture about Turkish men. She ethnicised men but she did not ethnicise women, because all women have to 'fear' the 'Turkish male macho fan' or simply the 'Turkish macho man'. However, in her fan practices she subverted the very rules and boundaries that she co-constructed herself. In her everyday life the chance of subversion of discursively constructed gender roles is possible.

Discourses about the 'civilised women' are not only present in Turkish football stadia and Viennese pubs but in European football in general. Almut Sülzle underlines that in stadia or football fan cultures, women

can participate in fan practices only up to a certain point and this point can only be crossed by men. In her study, this applies especially to acts of violence from which women are excluded (Sülzle 2011, p. 350) – regardless of whether they would want to be violent or not. In the underlying case, this exclusion applies to swearing. Both men and women argued that women neither want to swear themselves nor do they want to listen to swearing. The fact that women do swear anyway in Istanbul as well as in Vienna has not (yet) changed the hegemonic discourse about gender-related appropriate behaviour.

Ayla and Merve can be considered as 'stakeholders for women's rights' in the way that they recruit new female fans and fight for their right to be independent fans *within* a male-dominated fan community. Emre is also a 'stakeholder for women's rights' in the way that he explicitly opens his bar for women. To a certain extent, all of them reproduce gender stereotypes via the swearing policies, thereby producing a self-image of a 'gentleman' and the 'civilised woman'. Mehmet and Sedat construct themselves as gentlemen. They reproduce gender hierarchies by constructing the male gender as the stronger one and the female gender as always in need for male protection.

Interestingly, Ayla also perceives football and football places as strongly gendered entities. She, however, referred to transnational discourses about women and football rather than to 'justify' gender inequality via ethnicising practices. In her case, it is not because 'us Turks are like this and that' but predominantly she talked about 'us Fenerbahçe fans' and 'us women' in her narrations about her football fandom. This became very obvious when she talked about (Turkish) men-only coffee houses. In the end, she criticised them strongly but did not explicitly construct them as 'Turkish' but criticised the football fanaticism in these places.

The student fans from Istanbul, on the other hand, are more concerned about class distinctions and their self-image. Men and women alike go to mixed places only, places that people of both genders frequent. Nonetheless, they are not happy with the bars that Vienna offers. Most of the time they consider Turkish pubs to be too old-fashioned, which they express and negotiate via the symbol of the 'white table cloth'. Issues like gender inequality are also present in this group. However, the othering practices especially towards the 'other' Turkish migrants in Vienna is

the most dominant concern in their narratives. Subcultural affiliations and class distinctions (including religion!) which are important for the othering practices of this group intersect with ethnicised attributions to a constructed Turkish community in an Austrian society from which it is crucially important to distance oneself.

6

Conclusion and Outlook: The Intersection of Football Fandom and Migration

The respective chapters have already provided detailed conclusions about the results answering the research questions of these specific chapters. In the following I will discuss these results regarding their relevance to migration discourses. This includes a reflection on the approach of intersectionality in migration research. The discussion will be complemented by an outlook for future research on football fandom and migration.

This book has a strong focus on migration and migration discourses. Past migration research has often been only 'studying down' (Nader 1972 [1969]) and particularly neglected the social attributions of class and subculture (cf. Römhild 2014, p. 260; Binder and Hess 2011). This book looked beyond the rim of the teacup of 'usual' migration research and explicitly included the analysis of performances of milieu, gender, subculture, ethnicity and class following the intersectional approach. Researching football fandom and migration from the perspective of intersectionality enables the researcher to particularly respect the heterogeneity of people in the research field in terms of gender, social class, educational

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and political background, and also people's subcultural belonging. The intersections of all these different layers of attributions, ascriptions, representations, self-images and self-representations and thus subjectifications is reflected in football fandom practices and also particularly in the different, diverse and sometimes even contrasting narrations about the fan object, the football club.

6.1 Self-Images and Self-Representations

The heterogeneity of the research field is mirrored in the different descriptions and narrations about the football clubs Fenerbahçe and Galatasaray. All fans that I interviewed used the practice of talking about their fandom as a strategy of self-representation. For all of them talking about fandom was a strategy to convey something about themselves. Depending on their backgrounds, fans especially attributed those categories and images to the club that they themselves could identify with. Thereby, Galatasaray and Fenerbahçe fans that deemed themselves arch enemies actually used similar arguments to stress the distinctiveness of their respective club. The attributions and ascriptions to the two clubs were to a large extent arbitrary and therefore often contradicting. Fans of opposite teams appreciated their club and disliked the other club for very similar *and* totally different reasons.

The interview situations were processes of subjectification that happened via talking about the football biography, the fan object and everyday fan practices. In the interview situation Fenerbahçe and Galatasaray supporters wanted to tell me something about their own self, how they distinguish themselves from others and how they wanted to represent themselves in this specific interview situation. This 'social positioning' (Lucius-Hoene 2004b, S. 61; Sutter 2013, pp. 110–6) (re)established boundaries between those that were present in the interview situation and also went beyond the interview situation. This means when interview partners were talking about their fan biographies they engaged in a retrospective self-positioning that was linked to the present. Due to this situatedness of narrations and interviews they can only be interpreted as 'positioned truths' (Abu-Lughod 1991, p. 147) and as part of

certain techniques of subjectification. Also, the narrative constructions of loyalties and rivalries are always processes of subjectification that underline the contextual dimension of the subject (cf. Butler 2011 [1993], p. 60).

Similar to many other football fans, the central aspects of practices of Fenerbahçe and Galatasaray fans were the different performances of loyalties and rivalries. The relational antagonism between Fenerbahçe and Galatasaray is crucial to the excitement of watching the Süper Lig. Nonetheless, rivalries and loyalties are situational and contextual constructs that can shift. Loyalties and rivalries require permanent negotiation in narrations and practices to be perpetuated and also to be secured. The shifting of loyalties depends on different situations and contexts. In a European context, national loyalties can become more important than club loyalties – and the other way around.

When fans shift their loyalty, this process is linked to practices that legitimise this action. Using nationalised merchandise products to express one's (limited) loyalty is only one way to circumvent the antagonism for a certain amount of time. Therefore, club affiliations and national affiliations or questions regarding the construction of ethnicity are strongly interwoven. In many aspects, such as the consumption of transnational media or travelling, Galatasaray and Fenerbahçe fans are like many other fans that follow a team abroad. However, almost all supporters that I met during my fieldwork were migrants and postmigrants from Turkey. Here, football fandom can become a strategy to link oneself to a (constructed) family history of Turkish migration and thus football fandom can be performatively ethnicised.

6.2 Ethnicising Football Fandom

These ethnicising practices are particularly dominant when fans perceive and use football as a link to their (former) home country and to their family and friends. It is necessary to differentiate between fans that grew up in Turkey and had their first fan experiences there and those that became fans in Vienna. For the first group the nostalgia about a former home is often connected to a positive imagination and a constructed emotional

bond to homelike places. Fandom can become a strategy of doing home. For both this group and for the second group, whose members did not grow up in Turkey, being a fan can become a strategy of doing kinship. Some use their football fandom to create and maintain links to family members and also to these family members' country of origin.

The identification with the Gezi protests is significant in this nexus of ethnicisation and (Turkish) community building. Even fans who were not (directly) touched by the protests identified with them or disapproved with them strongly. This interest was often a result of understanding Turkey as a homelike place and therefore of being concerned (and informed!) about events in the country. However, self-ethnicisation is always also a result of ethnicisation by others. The students from Istanbul started to perceive themselves as Turkish to such a great extent only after having moved to Vienna. In Vienna, they are attributed to a generalised Turkish (or more accurately, Turkified) diaspora by others. Consequently, discriminating incidents such as a campaign against Turkish inhabitants in Vienna launched by right-wing parties can result in a strong self-ethnicisation and nationalisation, as was retrospectively reflected in the fandom narratives.

6.3 Ethnicising Class and Gender

By applying the intersectional approach it became clear that particularly discourses about gender and about class do intersect with ethnicising practices. Doing gender and doing class among Galatasaray and Fenerbahçe fans in Vienna are not stand-alone practices but strongly intersect particularly with the construction of ethnicity. The social constructs of class and gender are part of ethnicising practices and the other way around. These ethnicising practices (re)produce gender hierarchies and performances of class distinction. Furthermore, these narratives construct and strengthen the boundaries between a performative (Turkish) us and a performative (non-Turkish) them.

Gender and class hierarchies are particularly visible in the places where football fandom is practiced on a daily basis such as Viennese pubs, streets, fan clubs, and apartments. It is important to note that these places are not always inclusive places. Depending on gender, socio-cultural backgrounds

and age, different places are perceived as 'open' places by different groups of Galatasaray and Fenerbahçe fans. Places that mostly men frequent are often perceived (by men and women) as places where women do not 'like' to go. The emotional and discursive practice of swearing and in fact the very discussion about this practice is one of the main discourses that maintains and reproduces these boundaries. Powerful culturalised discourses and narratives about gender roles perpetuate these patterns.

Social class and subcultural distinctions are also spatially negotiated. Many bars are not perceived as appropriately 'hip' by fans that see themselves as young, cosmopolitan Istanbulers. For them, football places become part of othering practices to distinguish oneself from the 'other Turks'. In this case, the 'other Turks' are a generalised and essentialised image of postmigrants and migrants from Turkey intersecting with working class attributions. These practices of class distinction are at the same time also a strategy to distance oneself from the prejudices migrants and postmigrants from Turkey are confronted with in Austria.

Here, the limits of the uniting factor of club affiliations become very tangible. Gender and class distinctions are particularly significant social constructions that generate and maintain social boundaries. These boundaries are (re)produced by narratives that refer to intersectional symbols and 'controlling images' (Collins 2000 [1990]). Fenerbahçe and Galatasaray fandom is a field where various dominant prejudices, stereotypes and clichés about Turks, gender roles and football fans come together and intersect. One amalgamation of these images is the 'Turkish male macho fan' – a negative type that everybody, men and women, feel the need to discursively relate to. For many it is a figure that people want to strongly distance themselves from. For some this constructed image also provides a chance for identification.

To sum up, even those fans that did not directly link their football fandom to a constructed 'Turkishness' deem it necessary in different not only diaspora-related contexts. Unsurprisingly, Fenerbahçe and Galatasaray fans in Vienna deal with similar conflicts as football fans elsewhere. In contrast, however, these conflicts are very often culturalised and perceived as specific to a constructed 'Turkish culture' by the fans themselves. In the diasporic context, ethnicisation is a dominant factor of community building, also in football fandom. 'Doing Turkish' is

part of the fan performances of Fenerbahçe and Galatasaray supporters in Vienna. In a nutshell, whereas Fenerbahçe and Galatasaray fans deal with similar discourses and issues as fans do elsewhere in Europe (for example gender and class inequalities), the migratory context changes the practices and performances in the way that they are perceived and discussed as culturalised and ethnicised problems within the Fenerbahçe and Galatasaray fan culture(s) in Vienna.

6.4 Ethnicisation of the Research Field

Whereas the research meticulously paid attention to including the diverse backgrounds of the interview partners into the analysis and to deconstruct particularly ethnisicing processes, the research was itself part of ethnicising processes. I chose to focus on Galatasaray and Fenerbahçe for my research project because these two clubs were the most compelling ones due to their significant fan base in Vienna and their sometimes intense rivalry performances that were celebrated and performed in pubs and on the streets. Even if the approach to the research field was intended to avoid ethnicisation by focusing on club affiliations to Fenerbahçe and Galatasaray, it nevertheless resulted in an approach via a constructed Turkish community. Thus, the constructed research field became ethnicised in the sense that the one thing that all the diverse interview partners had in common was exactly their love of *Turkish* football.

The researcher does not only construct a research field in terms of approach, choice of interview partners, selection of what to write down in which way in the fieldnotes and so on (cf. Knecht 2013), a researcher also strongly influences the dynamics in a field and the answers in an interview. Sometimes it was important that I was a woman, sometimes it was crucial that I had a similar, higher or lower educational background, and sometimes my German nationality was most important to my interview partners. All these attributions immensely impacted the way people behaved around me and also decided how they responded to the questions that I asked them in interviews – and the other way around. The controlling image that has been particularly relevant for the role of the researcher was the one of the 'ignorant German'. During the whole

research this controlling image strongly influenced my behaviour in the research field. I wanted to distance myself as much as possible from this image which is why, for instance, some questions were left unasked.

My different affiliations (woman, German, academic and so on) decided upon the places and people I had access to and generally they strongly impacted which people and places I chose to research – thus they impacted upon the very construction of the research field and also about its ethnicisation. This ethnography, like every ethnography, is a constructed representation and othering practice towards the 'researched' (Schiffauer 2002). It becomes clear how strong and dominant ethnicising practices are not only in the everyday lives of Fenerbahçe and Galatasaray fans in Vienna but also among football and migration researchers. This does not necessarily mean that these processes need to be 'avoided' by all means, because their dominant-hegemonic discursive power would not allow that anyway. But, these processes need to be disclosed where they are hidden and therefore seem 'natural' and they need to be critically reflected on to reveal their social construction and hierarchies.

I agree with Regina Römhild (2014) that we need to include questions of migration into all our (ethnographic) studies because migration is a regular part of society. Conducting research on migration aspects 'only' cannot reflect social processes but can only be a limited one-dimensional perspective on our everyday lives. Therefore, the intersectionality of different social factors such as gender, class, subculture, sexuality or age needs to be included in the research to emphasise the multi-dimensionality of people's lives. Very much like the fields of female fandom or queer fandom, it is the future task of football researchers to include aspects of migration in the research arena about football fan cultures. Thereby, these aspects of fandom ideally have to be analysed as regular parts of football fandom and not as random phenomena because these different actors have long also claimed the football field for them.

Appendix

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Research Overview

Qualitative Interviews

No.	Interview	Date of interview	Place of interview	Gender	Age at time of interview	Club	Became a fan in	Lives in
1	Cem	21 August 2012	Turkish restaurant, Vienna	Male	34	Galatasaray	Istanbul	Vienna
2	Orhan	09 November 2012	Random café, Vienna	Male	Late 40s	Galatasaray	Istanbul	Vienna
3	Sinan	23 November 2012	Atelier at his university, Vienna	Male	24	Galatasaray	Istanbul	Vienna
4	Sibel	03 December 2012	Hipster café, Vienna	Female	26	Galatasaray	Istanbul	Vienna
5	Sinan (see 3)	07 December 2012	Atelier at his university, Vienna					
6	Ilkay	11 January 2013	Hipster café, Vienna	Male	Mid 20s	Beşiktaş	Istanbul	Vienna
7	Ilkay (see 6) and Onur (see 8)	25 January 2013	Onur's apartment, Vienna	Male, male				Vienna; Vienna
8	Onur	25 January 2013	Onur's apartment, Vienna	Male	Mid 20s	Beşiktaş	Istanbul	Vienna

9	Mesut	07 February 2013	Traditional posh Viennese coffee house, Vienna	Male	27	Fenerbahçe, Hertha Berlin	Berlin	Vienna
10	Emre and Alper	20 March 2013	Emre's pub (the Fenerbahçe Pub), Vienna	Male; male	29; 23	Fenerbahçe; Galatasaray	Vienna/ Istanbul; Vienna	Vienna; Vienna
11	Ayla	30 April 2013	Her work place, Vienna	Female	25	Fenerbahçe	Vienna	Vienna
12	Mehmet and Sedat	03 June 2013	Mehmet's apartment, Vienna	Male; male	27; 18	Fenerbahçe; Fenerbahçe	South-East Turkey; Vienna	Vienna; Vienna
13	Tekin	22 August 2013	His work place, Istanbul	Male	Late 20s	Galatasaray	Istanbul	Istanbul
14	Selin	03 October 2013	Hipster café, Vienna	Female	28	Fenerbahçe	Vienna	Vienna
15	Metin and his family (Derya, daughter; Nevin, wife)	09 October 2013	Metin's apartment	Male; female; female	45; 15; 40s	Galatasaray; Galatasaray; –	Istanbul; Vienna (daughter); – (wife)	Viennese suburb
16	Merve	13 November 2013	Fenerbahçe Pub, Vienna	Female	21	Fenerbahçe	Vienna	Vienna

Participant Observations

No.	Place/occasion	City (country)	Date	Match	Group
1	Ernst-Happel-Stadion	Vienna (Austria)	15 August 2012	Austria vs. Turkey	–
2	Private apartment	Vienna (Austria)	26 August 2012	Beşiktaş vs. Galatasaray	Students from Istanbul
3	Fenerbahçe Pub	Vienna (Austria)	08 November 2012	Fenerbahçe vs. AEL Limassol	–
4	Football Restaurant	Vienna (Austria)	16 November 2012	Galatasaray vs. Kardemir Karabükspor	Pub people
5	Football Restaurant	Vienna (Austria)	20 November 2012	Galatasaray vs. Manchester United	Students from Istanbul
6	Fenerbahçe Pub	Vienna (Austria)	22 November 2012	Fenerbahçe vs. Olympique Marseille	Pub people
7	Football Restaurant	Vienna (Austria)	05 December 2012	Sporting Braga vs. Galatasaray	Students from Istanbul
8	Fenerbahçe Pub, Fan Club	Vienna (Austria)	14 February 2013	BATE Borissow vs. Fenerbahçe	Pub people, Mesut
9	Fenerbahçe Pub	Vienna (Austria)	20 February 2013	Galatasaray vs. FC Schalke 04	Pub people
10	Veltins-Arena (FC Schalke 04)	Gelsenkirchen (Germany)	12 March 2013	FC Schalke 04 vs. Galatasaray	Recommended by students from Istanbul and pub people
11	Fenerbahçe Pub	Vienna (Austria)	17 March 2013	Antalyaspor vs. Fenerbahçe	Pub people
12	Football Restaurant	Vienna (Austria)	03 April 2013	Real Madrid vs. Galatasaray	Students from Istanbul
13	Fenerbahçe Pub	Vienna (Austria)	12 April 2013	Lazio Rom vs. Fenerbahçe	Pub people

14	Private apartment	Vienna (Austria)	13 April 2013	Kardemir Karabükspor vs. Galatasaray	Students from Istanbul
15	Fenerbahçe Pub	Vienna (Austria)	14 April 2013	Fenerbahçe vs. Eskişehirspor	Pub people
16	Fenerbahçe Pub	Vienna (Austria)	26 April 2013	Fenerbahçe vs. Benfica Lissabon	Pub people
17	Fenerbahçe Pub	Vienna (Austria)	30 April 2013	Real Madrid vs. Borussia Dortmund	Pub people
18	Young Fenerbahçe Fan Club and Fenerbahçe Pub	Vienna (Austria)	02 May 2013	Benfica Lissabon vs. Fenerbahçe	Young Fenerbahçe Fan Club, pub people
19	Private event and Fenerbahçe Pub	Vienna (Austria)	10 + 12 May 2013	Fenerbahçe vs. Galatasaray	Students from Istanbul and pub people
20	Fenerbahçe Pub	Vienna (Austria)	15 May 2013	FC Chelsea vs. Benfica Lissabon	Pub people
21	Old-fashioned Viennese coffee house	Vienna (Austria)	25 May 2013	FC Bayern München vs. Borussia Dortmund	Friends, colleagues, students from Istanbul
22	Solidarity protests Vienna	Vienna (Austria)	31 May + 01 June 2013	–	Students from Istanbul
23	Charity Event	Vienna (Austria)	01 June 2013	–	Young Fenerbahçe Fan Club
24	Fenerbahçe Pub	Vienna (Austria)	24 July 2013	Fenerbahçe vs. PSV Eindhoven	Pub people
25	Fenerbahçe Pub, ticket meeting	Vienna (Austria)	30 July 2013	–	Emre
26	Red Bull Arena	Vienna (Austria), Salzburg (Austria)	31 July 2013	FC Red Bull Salzburg vs. Fenerbahçe	Fan Club, Young Fenerbahçe Fan Club, Metin and his friends

(*continued*)

(continued)

No.	Place/occasion	City (country)	Date	Match	Group
27	Atatürk Olimpiyat Stadı (Atatürk Olympic Stadium), Istanbul	Istanbul (Turkey)	18 August 2013	Beşiktaş vs. Trabzonspor	Recommended by Cem
28	Türk Telekom Arena (Galatasaray), Istanbul	Istanbul (Turkey)	19 August 2013	Galatasaray vs. Gaziantepspor	Metin and his son and daughter; Cem
29	Şükrü Saraçoğlu Stadyumu (Fenerbahçe), Istanbul	Istanbul (Turkey)	24 August 2013	Fenerbahçe vs. Eskişehirspor	Recommended by Emre
30	Meeting with football fan organization	Istanbul (Turkey)	September 2013	–	Diverse football fans from Istanbul
31	Football Restaurant	Vienna (Austria)	05 November 2013	FC Copenhagen vs. Galatasaray	Students from Istanbul
32	Fenerbahçe Pub	Vienna (Austria)	10 November 2013	Fenerbahçe vs. Galatasaray	Pub people
33	Fenerbahçe Pub	Vienna (Austria)	30 November 2013	Fenerbahçe vs. Beşiktaş	Pub people
34	Private apartment	Vienna (Austria)	10 December 2013	Galatasaray vs. Juventus Turin	Students from Istanbul

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