Fair Enough? Negotiating Ethics in Turkish Football

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“After many years in which the world has afforded me many experiences, what I know most surely in the long run about morality and obligations, I owe to football.”

Albert Camus, *France Football,* 1957

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INTRODUCTION

In January 2013, at the time of completing this dissertation, an ethically controversial event unfolded during the Australian Open tennis tournament. The women's semi-finals included a match between Victoria Azarenka and Sloane Stephens and ended with Azarenka's victory who would later win the title for the whole tournament. During the semi-finals, Azarenka requested two consecutive timeouts, amounting a total of nearly 10 minutes, which are granted in tennis only for medical emergencies. Her requests came at a time when her rival was displaying a better performance and when Azarenka herself seemed to be flailing. Azarenka returned from the timeouts with an ostensibly regained composure and proceeded to beat her rival. The end of this match saw various parties in the international tennis community debating whether or not Azarenka's actions of taking two timeouts were ethical.

At the end of the match, Azarenka gave an on-court interview where she explained she had gotten too overwhelmed and nervous to continue. Later in her press declaration, she complained about a rib injury and expressed that she had understood the on-court interview question wrongly. Her rival Sloane said that Azarenka had done what was "trendy," or the "in thing" while Sloane's coach declared that Azarenka had engaged in "unfair play" by bending the rules. He added, "I think those rules need to be looked at because I think there's a gray area there." While some TV commentators called it a "travesty" that she had bent the rules this way, others expressed that it was completely acceptable since every player is known to act similarly. Through these discussions rose a

seeming tension between wanting to win at all costs versus preserving one's character or sportsmanship. A reflection of this tension in turn, was created between being a good athlete (which may require cheating the rules) and being a good person.

Another controversial side to this issue had to do with the role of the medical personnel on court. In tennis, the medical personnel is instructed to attend to any claims of physical injury so as to ensure athletes' safety. Therefore, it is only "medical" and not "psychological" problems that may be granted timeouts. As such, the international tennis community used the Azarenka case to debate what constitutes a "real injury" in tennis: medical (i.e. physical) or psychological concerns? Moreover, the authority of the medical personnel to affirm a condition as an injury seemed to validate an athlete's demand for a timeout making these doctors responsible for cementing the ethical verdict about timeouts as well. Ultimately, Azarenka's timeout pointed to multiple factors and contingencies that different tennis actors drew on to express what was or would have been the fair course of action in this situation (Clarey and Zinser, 2013).

It is not only in tennis, not just in sports or in Australia that we confront daily events that call for ethical judgment. As the above example shows, these events may engender discussions that revolve around concepts of fairness, bending rules, gray areas, cheating, costs, responsibilities, customs, authority, validation or character. My dissertation will use ethnography to document how these and other ethics-related notions are conceptualized and utilized in Turkish football (soccer). My goal is to offer as many voices in as many contingencies as possible to demonstrate a pluralistic understanding of fairness so that when we are confronted with daily instances of ethical controversy we may begin to move away from asking a normative question with a single potentially

accurate ethical verdict towards seeking multiple ethical justifications that social actors deploy. This way, even though my dissertation focuses exclusively on Turkish football, I contend that the insights I provide about fairness will be instrumental in theorizing and practically engaging with ethical controversies in other social spheres.

This dissertation is born out of a desire to think twice about a term one hears quite often in football: fair play. Moreover in Turkey, people are accustomed to hearing this phrase in English as I will explain below. A footballer helps an injured rival up to his feet and the match commentator praises this as an act of fair play. Home team fans applaud a victorious visiting team and this receives publicity as a display of fair play. One team's coach is caught on camera consoling a defeated rival footballer and this is portrayed as a demonstration of fair play. Almost every week of a football season in Turkey, the media find an opportunity to invoke fair play, at least in passing, when referring to such incidents. Fair play always seems to be in the background like a constant drum beat as the cacophony of football unfolds.

At times however, there is also a drum solo. A fight breaks out between fans of opposing teams, leaving some injured and others in jail and club administrators plead with fans to act more in line with: fair play. The Turkish football federation (TFF) releases statements inviting members of the football community to respect rules of fair play. In doing so, TFF reinforces the guidelines of fair play published by the Fédération Internationale de Football Association (FIFA) and the Union of European Football Associations (UEFA). The drums are beating loud; TFF's legal advisors are trying to push the parliament to pass a state law to combat violence in football in the name of: fair play.

Fair play is the official term with which the notion of fairness is represented in football. Why does the notion of fairness need to be represented at all? Because the competitive nature of contemporary football ties financial, emotional and visceral fates to victories and defeats and it becomes significant to judge whether those victories were won fairly or not. The most available official terminology to carry out this judgment in Turkish football is by reference to the term "fair play". Who does the judging and who is being judged? Most often it is footballers, coaches and fans that are being judged by the federation and club administrators, the media and referees. In other words, those who are structurally disposed to "side" with a team are judged on grounds of fair play by those who are supposedly objective. Footballers, fans and coaches all have *explicit* team affiliations; administrators, the media and referees do not. In thus evaluating the actions of those who have a side, the team-less football actors find most available to them a formalization of fairness under the term "fair play".

The combination of siding with a party and desiring victory might be thought of as a hindrance to seeking fairness especially if we equate impartiality and objectivity to sound ethical judgment. In fact, a stereotype about football fans that also holds in Turkey is that they lack the conception of fairness because their subjectivity and lust for winning blinds them to this notion. The prevalent assumption in this stereotype is that if fans (or other subjective actors of the football community, such as footballers and coaches) do not act according to the guidelines of fair play, then they must be devoid of *any* notion of fairness. Since the term "fair play" has come to represent fairness in the official rulebooks of football associations and federations, its lack is presumed to directly point to a lack of fairness altogether.

I invite the reader to interrogate the notion of fair play. How much of fairness can fair play cover, how well can it represent fairness? Even though it is the formal way to invoke the concept of fairness in football and despite its widespread use by football's governing bodies and the media (in Turkey and abroad), I argue that this term does not exhaust the entirety of notions of fairness in Turkish football. One clue we might get from its English usage in Turkey is its imposing character, with a rigid set of rules, that escapes translation. Even though there are instances when members of the Turkish football community will refer to "*adil oyun*" (just game) to mean fair play, the term is overwhelmingly used without translation.

This dissertation is thus a maneuver to reach a more holistic understanding of fairness, both as a concept and as an emergence in practically concrete cases. I see fairness not as a set standard according to which verdicts are cemented but as a continually evolving notion that acquires its changeable definitions based on people's experiences of it. The assumption about universalizing rules of fair play is that they can be context-free. I wish to point to the very contexts which prove how and how much fairness in football is shaped by its immediate social situation. I have conducted research on Turkish football in Istanbul towards reinforcing this anthropological view on considering ethically relevant issues and this dissertation brings together the multiple voices implicated in these fairness negotiations.

I contend that fair play represents the institutionalization of fairness and that alternative fairness negotiations represent what runs counter to this kind of institutionalized standardization of ethics and ethical rules in football. I locate the institutionalization of fairness under fair play within a pattern of increased formalization

and institutional regulation in sports and other social sites in Turkey in the past decade. Scholars specializing on Turkish politics (for example, (Akkoyunlu, Nikolaïdis and Öktem 2013, Şen 2010, Keyman 2010) have written both about the transformation of state-society relations under the neoliberal polices of the Justice and Development Party (Adalet ve Kalkınma Partisi, AKP) and also about the particular ways in which AKP has sought to formalize and induce higher levels of institutional regulation in various social spheres including but not limited to, demography (Çavlin-Bozbeyoğlu 2011), city planning (Karaman 2012) and gender (Acar and Altunok 2013). Football is among the social fields in Turkey that has received its share of regulation and ordering through AKP policies. This is evident foremost from the 2011 "Law to Prevent Violence and Disorder in Sport" (see Chapter 2) as well as from endless stadium and training ground building projects and aggressive political and commercial efforts to promote Turkish football (and sports in general) internationally.

I argue that the moves towards institutionalization and regulation in Turkish football have also contributed to producing and promoting a formal discourse on what is fair. As such, we find TFF and club administrators, referees and media representatives use the term "fair play" to invoke fairness in football. However, not all football actors embrace the formalized notion of fairness under the rhetoric of fair play nor are they fully comfortable with the ways in which the site of football is reconfigured as a part of AKP's attempts to expand control and formal regulation to all facets of society. Therefore, the tension I underline between fair play and alternative formations of fairness is, as I argue, a tension between formality and informality in defining fairness in Turkish football. Sometimes this tension will manifest itself in outright discourses of nostalgia for less

formality in football (as in Chapter 4), other times we will be able to trace it through reactions to legal reform (as in Chapter 2). Ultimately, each chapter of this dissertation will contribute to enlightening different aspects of this tension which is significantly informed by AKP's politics in the past decade. To clarify, I do not argue here that the AKP government directly endorses formal fair play in football. I argue that they have implemented various projects and policies (as I will discuss in a later section) that have culminated in raised levels of institutional control and formal regulation in Turkish society and that in football, this has translated to a tension between formal fair play and informal fairness definitions.

Theoretical background

a) An Anthropological Approach to Studying Ethics

Ethics has conventionally been the sandbox of philosophers where centuries-worth of scholarship has produced myriad ways of understanding ethics, ethical obligations, morality and fairness (Furrow 2005). In this dissertation, it has been most significant for me to think about ways in which the social sciences and particularly anthropology might study ethics. The most important distinction between the philosophical and the anthropological approach to ethics is the type of question we ask about ethically relevant situations. While philosophers are predominantly concerned with the normative question, I argue that a sound anthropology of ethics must concentrate on the descriptive question. While philosophers recognize the messiness of social life and resulting difficulties in the identification of the ethical, their scholarship skips the analysis of this messiness to move quickly into the quest to identify the ethical ideal. For

anthropology however, the main bulk of intellectual labor lies in the disentanglement of the messiness of social life with much less emphasis on producing a final verdict as to how people "should" behave (save perhaps for activist anthropology which I mention below). My goal in research is not to produce a prescription. This might be a stance that is hard to justify given the subject matter of ethics but I have been determined to stick to it. So much of ethical conversation is focused on what one "ought" to do that we skip how people legitimize what they actually do as fair. My interest lies in describing those moments of legitimization. In that sense, this study can also be considered a close look at combating discourses of ethics where discursive legitimization moments lead to the construction and making of what is fair. All of those moments are points of negotiation as multiple "oughts" come together in the continual making of fairness. The analytical and critical task of the anthropologist is thus to enable a conversation between multiple "oughts" (the normative) by describing their social rationales.

I have been most inspired by Michael Lambek's (2010) notion of "ordinary ethics" in formulating my approach to ethics. Lambek identifies a lack of interest in studying the ethical in anthropology (except for when we discuss research ethics) until a relatively recent "ethical turn" in the discipline whereby the last decade saw anthropologists beginning to "theorize and document the centrality of ethics for human life" (5). He cautions however that this turn need not entail an "objectification" of ethics as a separate discipline or discrete category of social life. Rather, anthropologists initiating this turn (among them Faubion 2001 and 2011, Laidlow 2002 and Robbins 2007) opted to see ethics as a "modality" (10) of social action whereby we understand ethics to be a "part of the human condition" (1) His reference to "ordinary" ethics serves

to fulfill this goal. He argues that "ethical practice, judgment, reasoning, responsibility, cultivation and questioning" are central to social life and that all humans "[speak] or [act] with ethical consequences," being subject to ethical evaluation all the time (1). He highlights the presence of the ethical in social life as a comportment of the everyday and does not divorce it analytically from the rest of sociality. As such, Lambek draws attention precisely to the ordinariness, the mundane quality or the everyday relevance of ethics. Similarly, Fassin's (2012) discussion of "moral anthropology" highlights how the moral is "embedded in the substance of the social" rather than being composed of discrete "moralities" (4). This is an understanding of ethics that does not see it emerge only in religion or legality but is able to locate it in the regular unfolding of social life.

In conversing with philosophy, Lambek embraces an Aristotelian, action-based approach to ethics rather than a deontological or Kantian, reason-based approach to the subject. Kant bases ethics on reason. According to Kant (1997), a rational human-being will automatically realize her obligation in a given scenario, define it as such (as an obligation or duty) and act in line with what she "ought" to do. For him, a rational person is compelled by his reason to act morally. This is the one moral imperative, the categorical imperative to act as if the "maxim" of your actions "would become a universal law" (31). Lambek, on the other hand, argues that ethics is "…tacit, grounded in agreement rather than rule, in practice rather than knowledge or belief…" He finds philosophical ground for this approach in Aristotelian ethics where ethics is located in practice and action rather than reason. Aristotle (1999) said "…we become just by doing just actions…" (22) thus positing "virtue" as continually cultivated by acts that are virtuous. Following this, Lambek argues that ethics is based on precedent and that ethical

obligation and ethically relevant social relations are built by reference to memory, history and prior actions. Precedent creates “ethical criteria” and “conditions” through “promises…debts,” concerns for “social status…honor” or loyalty (18-19).

This precedent-based approach to understanding the ethical comportment of social life is not foreign to anthropology at all. Lambek points to Mauss’ (1990) theorization on gift-exchange and reciprocity to clarify what this means. Just as receiving a gift may socially oblige one to reciprocate with a gift, Lambek gives the example of learning not to lie or being honest by reference to prior actions of received honesty. You learn not to lie based on set precedent in any given social situation, not because a Kantian *a priori* moral imperative compels you to do so. Also, this action-based stance towards understanding ethics allows one to see practice as a cultivator of virtue as opposed to a final verdict or testimony to virtue posited as a mental project. Saba Mahmood (2005) explicitly embraces the Aristotelian notion of ethics for this reason. In her ethnography where she describes women’s pietistic movement in Egypt, she posits mosque attendance as a practice towards cultivating piety or virtue, not as proof to an already-reached state of piousness. Seeing a set of practices as a process which contributes to an ever-developing notion of ethics allows us to shift our gaze from finished verdicts and judgments to seeing ethics as always in process, as always within the movement of formation.

In my work, I talk about “fairness in the making.” This phrasing is based on the tradition of anthropological approach to ethics which sees it derived not from sole reason or *ratio* but from practice, in negotiation. Lambek argues that qualitatively, ethics is characterized by a notion of uncertainty. This uncertainty or ambivalence is due to the

fact that it is always in the social making. When I talk about how football fans *make* fairness as they ground it in the discourse of love in football (in chapter 4) or when I talk about how their adherence to the unwritten rules of football in fact *makes* fairness (in chapter 1), this is what I mean. In this anthropological viewpoint on ethics, we strive to see ethics in the making rather than judging action based on some pre-determined moral reasoning.

In this descriptive and non-normative approach to ethics, the question of relativism presents itself immediately – mainly because cultural and ethical relativism have occupied agendas in anthropology and philosophy, respectively. Although cultural relativism and ethical relativism are not one and the same, the form of cultural relativism in an anthropology of ethics very easily shifts to something resembling ethical relativism, as Lambek too explains, which is why I treat them together here.

Fassin (2012) calls his endeavor "moral anthropology" and says that "a moral anthropology…does not support particular values or promote certain judgments more than political anthropology would favor a given partisan position or recommend a specific policy." For him, moral anthropology "takes moral tensions and debates as its objects of study and considers seriously the moral positions of all sides." Finally he states, "A moral anthropology has no moralizing project" (2-3) Calling his project thus non-Kantian in its lack of normative fervor, Fassin establishes that most anthropologists would hesitate to claim a Kantian position in studying ethics anyway. At the same, he is quick to admit that these Kantian "normative postures" are enshrined in the discipline (2). He talks about how historically "anthropologists have often acted like moral agents. They have adopted moral views and defended moral causes (3). Although they profess cultural

relativism, they "have not been exempt from various forms of moral universalism." His conclusion is that "We are not neutral agents when we deal with social problems" (5) like human suffering, social injustice or violence and that "moral anthropology" should thus be reflexive towards its own agendas in choosing to conduct engaged or activist anthropology with specific moral concerns. First establishing a possibly relativist, descriptive or objective stance with which to carry out moral anthropology, Fassin quickly identifies the normative moralisms of anthropology itself. His mission is for anthropology to turn inwards and identify its own moral positions with this introspective gaze, using a moral anthropology which does not set out to judge.

I have found that ethical relativism presents itself to the non-normative anthropologist as a problem when she is faced with ethical legitimizations that fall short of being conventional. Finding myself amidst football fans who said it was worth it to go to prison due to having injured someone in a physical brawl before a game because this was an act to "correct a wrong" (see chapter 4), it would be easy for me to fall into ethically evaluating the legitimization of this story or to pass a final judgment after hearing the narrative of the fan. But I resisted this move. As Lambek says, "…to recognize something as ethical for someone or to see how it fits into a particular context need not entail advocating it" (13). In furthering this argument, Lambek refers to Geertz's (2000) notion of "anti-anti relativism" whereby we, as anthropologists, stop fearing the specter of relativism without necessarily endorsing relativism per se. In addition Lambek pushes the reader to think relatively about relativism. He reminds us that "…relativism can never be either fully consistent or complete" and that this is a "part of its own self-understanding (rather than a devastating critique)…" (13). Therefore instead of critiquing

relativism for what it does not do (judge), we must understand that it sets out not to judge in the first place.

I think that anthropology of all disciplines in the social sciences allows for this non-normative and essentially non-judgmental stance to ethics. Our preoccupation with multiple meanings attached to social facts, our concern to appreciate local nuances of seemingly universal phenomena and our discomfort with rigid *a priori* categories come in handy when we are studying ethics. Using this inclination of our discipline to refrain from judging, I invite the reader to consider the possibility of multiple oughts, that is, the attitude of ethical pluralism. This attitude does not *excuse* action or discourse that is 'unethical.' It rejects the framing of this sort of question altogether.

b) Anthropology of Sport

Similar to the anthropological study of ethics, the anthropology of sport has grown into a burgeoning field. Philosophy, sociology and history and have contributed more to building a literature on sport, including football. The anthropology of sport is a latecomer to this field where the other disciplines mentioned already have well-established scholarly associations and academic journals. For example, where the International Association for the Philosophy of Sport[1] was established in 1972 and organized its 40th annual conference in 2012, the American Anthropological Association did not even list "sport" as a keyword for panel submissions in 2011.[2] Similarly, the

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[1] IAPS website: http://iaps.net/

[2] I argue this based on my personal experience of submitting a piece for the 2011 meetings in Montreal.

International Sociology of Sport Association[3] was founded in 1965 which was followed by the 1978 foundation of the North American Society for the Sociology of Sport.[4] Unlike these disciplines which have produced decades of literature, the anthropology of sport or sports anthropology has yet to establish itself as an institutionalized section of our discipline. That said, anthropology has produced significant insight into sport, over the years, which has been illuminating for my study and which works smoothly in intellectual relation to the approach of other disciplines to this field.

In their *Annual Review of Anthropology* article, "Sport, Modernity and the Body," Besnier and Brownell (2012) identify a distinct paradigmatic shift in the study of sports coinciding with the postmodern turn of the 1980s. Before the '80s, the human body was treated as a purely biological entity by both British and North American anthropology, a stance which resulted in the dominance of a biological paradigm in looking at sports. Since sport was allocated a role in supposed cultural transitions from "savage" to "civilized," or as instrumental in the "civilizing process" (Elias 1978, see also Jarvie and Maguire 1994), there was an interest in early salvage anthropology to study "traditional" or "folk" sports and games which were in danger of disappearing. Native Americans, for example, received much attention in this line of inquiry. The biological paradigm in the anthropological viewing of sport was thus "wedded to a unilinear modernization paradigm" (444). In the same period a structural-functionalist frame developed as an approach to understanding sport, the goal of which was to define a purpose for this apparently quite useless social phenomenon. In fact, the first "attempt to define the field" (445) of the anthropology of sport was published (Blanchard and Cheska 1985) within

[3] ISSA website: http://www.issa.otago.ac.nz/

[4] NASSS website: http://www.nasss.org/

this tradition which located sport as significant in human adaptation, thereby attracting interest from the fields of education and human development more so than anthropology itself. In the same period, a different approach towards understanding sport was also developed, the interpretive paradigm, of which one often-cited and important example is Geertz's (1972) documentation of Balinese cockfighting. Geertz showed that it was status rather than money which was at stake in these cockfights and that their primary function was interpretive. Besnier and Brownell locate Turner's (1969, 1982) discussion of *liminality* and *communitas* in this tradition where Turner uses these notions to explain what characterizes modern "performance genres," including sport.

A major problem with the modernization paradigm was the clear separation it drew between "traditional" and "modern" sports. This allowed pre-'80s anthropology to ignore "modern" sports altogether since the disciplinary understanding was to focus on the pre-modern. Later, however, anthropologists would contribute to questioning the assumptions of the modernization paradigm, identifying "tradition" and "modern" as culturally constructed attributes. As such, sociologists wrote about global sporting practices that pointed to how modernity is differentially experienced in various parts of the world, how sports was a transnational affair affording significant insights on labor migration, forms of post-colonialism and faces of globalization (Armstrong and Giulianotti eds. 1997, Giulianotti 1999, Giulianotti and Robertson eds. 2009; Klein 1997, 2006). These were complemented by sociological accounts of how contemporary social theory could converse with sports (Giulianotti 2004, 2005). MacClancy's (1996) edited volume brought together anthropologists willing to explore issues of identity and ethnicity in relation to global sporting practices. Sociological literature on football in

particular sprung from the British academy concentrating on the above issues as well as the phenomenon and subjectivity of fandom as it relates to hooliganism, gender and community formation (Armstrong 1998, Armstrong and Giulianotti eds. 2001, see also Kuper 2003).

The body was no longer seen as a purely biological entity but as a cultural construct as well. Bourdieu's practice theory highlighted the body as something on which social class is inscribed by way of different sports and Wacquant (2004) continued in his footsteps to complete his ethnography on boxing (see also Mauss 1973). Messner and Sabo (1990, 1994), Archetti (1999) and later Magazine (2007) would produce sociological and anthropological literature that explored how masculinities are reconfigured in sports and how sports may reinforce or challenge dominating gender norms. More and more the concept of "embodiment" and "embodied" identities and subjectivities came to be explored in relation to sport's entanglement with gender, class and national affiliations (Dyck and Archetti eds. 2003).

Even though Besnier and Brownell argue that "The anthropology of sport still awaits a truly global synthesis of theories of transnationalism and globalization with ethnographic case studies," I contend that these issues along with those that relate to violence and gender have received most attention in the social scientific studies on sports and particularly football. While these studies may be inefficient to satisfy our ethnographic hunger, there have been no studies at all focusing on ethics in sports from a social scientific point of view. Indeed, it was Nick Hornby's (1992) non-academic memoire about his own football fandom where I found most relevant insight into a notion of fairness as configured through football.

Perhaps predictably, it was the philosophers of sport who first took up the issues of ethics and fairness in sports. Their explorations span every possible issue in sports ethics including match-fixing, doping and drugs, cheating and deception, morals of competing and desiring to win, sportsmanship and sports as a tool of moral education and character building, gender and race equity, disability rights, fair play and respect for the game, use of animals in sporting practices and violence and nationalism in sports (Boxill ed. 2003, Bronson ed. 2004, Gümüş 2000, Morgan et al eds. 2001, Mumford 2011, Richards ed. 2010). Above, I described the difference between how philosophy treats ethics with a normative concern as opposed to how anthropology's social scientific gaze is descriptive. Philosophy's normative ethical concerns hold in their dealings with sport as well. For example, in his book *Fair Play,* Simon (2010) takes up an issue I too deal with in my dissertation: the moral tensions between formal rules and unwritten conventions in relation to what might be considered on-the-pitch cheating in football. In trying to resolve this as well as other issues Simon says the following:

> Questions such as these raise basic questions about the kinds of moral values involved in sports. They are not only about what people think about sports or about what values they hold; rather, they are about what people *ought* to think. They require the identification of defensible ethical standards and their application to sport (4). (emphasis in original)

This is a viewpoint that is opposed to mine for it advocates a single "ought" rather than a multiplicity of ethical formulae that social actors call upon. Because they skip over the intricacies, nuances and shifting meanings of social life, I found philosophers too eager to arrive at assessments of how people ought to behave by identifying these so-called "defensible ethical standards." In the meantime, all differences between groups of people get blurred as context and situation become irrelevant in the setting of universal standards

for moral human action. I think that it is commendable to work on reconciling the normative mission of philosophy with an anthropological outlook on sports ethics. However, a crucial step in doing that is the investigation of how people in fact attribute fairness to their actions without a preset agenda of judging them. Therefore, while I do engage with insights from sports philosophy in some of my discussions, I add to those the particular conditions of Turkish football to arrive at my conclusions (see Chapter 1, discussion of formalism and conventionalism is sports ethics).

The specific contents of each chapter (as I outline below) have allowed me to study multiple bodies of literature besides the theoretical background I present here. Those theoretical relations will be explored in the relevant chapters.

c) Key terms

Lambek chooses to use the word "ethics" rather than morality since ethics is the more prevalent term in philosophy, associated more with action and the "good," rather than with propriety and the "right" (9). Fassin, on the other hand, prefers the phrase "moral anthropology" without basing it on a set definition of what "moral" is and rather preferring an inductive approach to see how the moral emerges from within society (6). In my writing, I use the word fairness but acknowledge that I am writing in relation to the ethical comportment of societal relations in the everyday. I chose not to use "morality" (*ahlak*) because this word has strong religious connotations in Turkish, connoting a Muslim morality which is not the focus of this study. As I explained above, my starting point has been a term prevalent in football: "fair play" – which pushes one to think more deeply about what fairness is. Also, I find fairness to be a less rigid concept than ethics or

morality, more amenable to being discusses in terms of personal negotiation and flexibility than these other terms which carry centuries-worth of intellectual baggage and normative connotation.

Thus, I use the term fairness (*hakkaniyet/haklılık*) and document the myriad ways in which this notion is alluded to in Turkish. For example, in Chapter 1, I show that it is the concepts of permissibility (*mübah*) and malice (*çirkef*) that fans invoke to conceptualize fairness. In Chapter 2, it will be a notion of excess (*gereğinden fazla*) that defines the boundaries around what is fair and a conception of solidarity (*dayanışma*) that stands in opposition to legal fair play whereas in Chapter 3 it will be a manly (*delikanlı*)[5] notion of fairness that challenges official fair play. In Chapter 4, I discuss a formation of fairness that is informed by a discourse of irrational and self-sacrificial love expressed in notions of crazy (*deli*) and *arabesk*. And in Chapter 5, I discuss the tension between referees' "distributing justice" (*adalet dağıtmak*) versus "rational" decision-making to show how fairness may be formed. Throughout the dissertation, I point out other similar conceptualizations of fairness by providing Turkish usages of certain terms and phrases. Ultimately, I aim to provide the reader with this rich fairness vocabulary in Turkish that challenges the official usage of fair play that is also expressed by "gentlemanliness" (*centilmenlik*) and "sportsmanship" (*sportmenlik*).

Historical Background: Social and Political Developments of Turkey in the AKP era

The last decade of political, social and economic relations have been influenced markedly by the AKP government in Turkey where AKP has been achieving consistent

[5] Delikanlı literally means "crazy-blooded young man" but it also refers to a specific sense of masculine ethics, as I will explain in Chapter 3.

electoral victories since 2002. Although scholars have argued that AKP has gone through transformations itself during its governmental reign, it is safe to characterize this party as a center-right political party with a conservative-democrat self-identification (Keyman 2010). Şen (2010) explained that when AKP won a landslide victory in 2002, receiving 34.2% of the electoral votes, this was declared as a manifestation of the "Anatolian revolution" (*Anadolu İhtilali*) by some sectors of the media. Şen wrote:

> This headline encapsulated the winner of the election, the Justice and Development Party (Adalet ve Kalkınma Partisi, AKP), as the representative of Anatolia, the supposed home of authentic, humble, and uncorrupted Turkish-Muslim people, who are dominated and oppressed by secular and modernist (military-civil) elites, who are not only culturally alienated from the majority of the people but also resistant to the demands of the people and democracy (59).

In fact, AKP's discourse of popular and distributional justice has always echoed earlier political opposition to "secular, modernist elitism" in the country represented mostly by the ideology of Kemalism[6] and the Republican People's Party (Cumhuriyet Halk Partisi, CHP). It was with a similar discourse of anti-elitist populism that the Democratic Party acquired support in 1950, ending CHP's single-party regime that had lasted for 27 years since the foundation of the republic in 1923.

Akkoyunlu, Nicolaïdis and Öktem (2013) present a tripartite analysis of the AKP era, carefully detailing AKP's politics in all of its three governmental periods following the general elections of 2002, 2007 and 2011respectively. Accordingly, they explain that the initial period until 2007 was dominated by an agenda of European Union integration whereby AKP engaged in "pragmatic and service based politics." This era also witnessed heightened economic liberalization policies and record volumes of foreign investment in

[6] The political ideology of Mustafa Kemal Atatürk, founder of the Turkish Republic.

Turkey, as well AKP's ambitious maneuvers to improve infrastructure and social services in the country.

Keyman (2010) similarly wrote that Turkey's procession to EU full-member candidacy in 2000 led to a series of transformations in the country since EU "demanded that Turkey initiate a democratic and constitutional reform process to further and upgrade its democracy." With a goal to meet these demands and in line with AKP's initial promise to restore popular justice, Turkey experienced what Akkoyunlu et. al. call a "brief liberal moment" (23). This period saw the abolishing of the death penalty, a new civil code and stricter measures against violations of human rights and torture. Minority rights became a substantial concern whereby both Muslim and non-Muslim minority claims and concerns were acted upon with discourses of pluralism and democratization, including the lifting of the emergency laws in place in Kurdish regions since 1987. These political moves were very influential in generating a "liberal and conservative coalition" support base for the AKP government whereby not only the conservative and center-right sectors endorsed the government but it also received substantial intellectual backing from left-leaning opinion leaders, journalists, activists and academia.

However as Akkoyunlu et. al. (2013) explain, this period of "societal openness, pluralism and introspection" did not last long in Turkey (23). The subsequent AKP government, after their 2007 victory with 47% of electoral votes (Keyman 2010), saw intense securitization efforts against the Kurdish minority and a general atmosphere of "confrontational politics." During this period, AKP launched the two controversial court cases of Ergenekon and Balyoz (in 2007 and 2010 respectively) targeting high and mid-level military officials with allegations of *coup d'état* attempts, as well as journalists,

academics and civil society activists. Hundreds of suspicious convictions and detainments were followed by AKP's judicial reforms whereby civilian courts were granted the authority to try military officers and the legislative was given increased power to appoint judges in civil courts.

AKP's rising control over the judiciary (to culminate in the constitutional referendum of 2011) was accompanied by the government's tightening grip on various sectors of the society. Intense censorship regulations began to control both written and televised media as well as online access. In 2006, the anti-terrorism law was amended to expand the definition of terrorism and equip the police force with increased legal immunity, authority as well as weaponry. Information gathering techniques were advanced to include assigning individual national identity numbers to all Turkish citizens and initiating the "address-based registration system" to manage demographics (Çavlin-Bozbeyoğlu 2011). Akkoyunlu et al. conclude that this period marks "resurgent authoritarianism" in Turkish political history whereby AKP lost most of its support from left leaning intellectuals who had earlier praised the party's democratization efforts:

> But as Turkey's civilian leaders gradually found themselves in charge of the institutions once controlled by the Kemalist guardians, their democratising zeal diminished in almost equal measure and their rhetoric and policies started to resemble a socially conservative version of their patrimonial secular predecessors. In turn, this has led to a gradual split in the liberal-conservative coalition which the AKP had carefully nurtured during its earlier years in government (28).

The authors argue that the third AKP government that began with AKP receiving almost 50% of electoral votes in 2011 achieved the completion of AKP's "domination of Turkish state and politics." At this time, AKP advocated a very aggressive economic growth plan with promises to include Turkey in the 10 largest economies of the world by 2023. Also, the government became even more vocal and explicit about pursuing a

certain social morality on the basis of the party's "conservative Sunni" affiliations. Prime Minister, Recep Tayyip Erdoğan proposed a tremendous development project to dig an artificial canal beside the Bosphorus strait, set out to initiate the building of the world's largest mosque on Istanbul's highest hilltop, construct nuclear plants and hydroelectric dams with little to no consideration of sensitive ecosystems and embark on countless urban renewal and gentrification projects disregarding socio-cultural consequences. At the beginning of 2012, Erdoğan declared that their mission was to "bring up a religious youth" towards which the primary education system was renewed to start children at school at the age of five and curricula were fed a higher number of religion classes. Besides hyper-accentuating its inclusion in all of these social sites, AKP also openly fought to regulate gender relations, sexual reproduction and family life by proposing to pass anti-abortion and anti-caesarean section laws and the prime minister regularly delivering speeches to urge families to have at least three children. Akkoyunlu et al. (2013) contend that the "result [has been] a return to robust authoritarianism" (41).

Sports was not exempt to intense AKP involvement and regulation. In 2010, head of Parliamentary Commission for National Education, Youth and Sports and AKP deputy Fikri Işık gave a speech in the Turkish Parliament to explain the party's approach to sports and sports politics.[7] There, he stated that in the past years AKP had passed laws to delegate more authority to local administrations, established incentives for sponsorship deals and generated resources to finance sports in the country which resulted in unprecedented levels of improving sports facilities and infrastructure. He explained that since 2003 the number of licensed athletes had increased from 405 thousand to over 1.6

[7] Find speech here in Turkish: http://www.fikriisik.com/genclik-ve-spor-genel-mudurlugu-butcesi-hakkinda-konusma/. All translations in this dissertation belong to the author.

million. This number reaches above 2.4 million when we add football licenses. He stated, "during our rule, Turkey has become a paradise for sports organizations" and went to list the various different world and European level tournaments Turkey hosted in the AKP era. He ended his speech by promising that AKP's efforts would continue to bring the 2020 Olympic Games to Istanbul. At the time of writing (April 2013), Turkey is going through the most aggressive advertisement campaign to promote Istanbul's candidacy for the 2020 Olympics with everything from radio jingles that urges Istanbul to host the Olympics so that "the world may witness what the Olympics are all about," to footballer jerseys being decorated with logos of "Istanbul 2020."

AKP initiatives in sports have not waned since Işık's speech in 2010 and are conspicuous especially in the site of football. In 2010, Turkey's government-funded, world-class stadium Türk Telekom Arena was inaugurated as the home grounds of Galatasaray and AKP embarked on a mission to renovate and erect multiple other training grounds and football stadiums. In this same year, Istanbul was approved as the "World Sports Capital" for 2012 and Turkish Airlines signed million dollar sponsorship deals with Barcelona, FC and Manchester United. Then in 2011, the Parliament passed the "Law to Prevent Violence and Disorder in Sport" which highly increased police and private security authority to oversee the site of football and to control football fan behavior. A few months after this law was passed, Turkey witnessed the largest match fixing scandal in its history where 16 first division football clubs were implicated and their footballers and administrators were detained for allegations of match-fixing. Some likened the multiple arrests to the Ergenekon court case since once again Turkey was

witnessing arrests prior to the revelation of an indictment and without formally explaining to detainees or their lawyers the specifics about their alleged crimes.

It was against this social and political backdrop that I conducted my study and asked people to tell me about their conceptions of fairness in Istanbul. Football's administrators were significant vehicles through which these reconfigurations took place and football fans were substantially exposed to a social scene that was rapidly changing. As I have introduced at the beginning, I believe that all of this regulation in the football scene has also contributed to forming and promoting a formal and legal definition of what is fair and just. Moreover, that definition is highly reminiscent of how fairness is already institutionalized in football and imposed on world football federations by FIFA and UEFA. As Turkish football experienced increased formalization as a part of government techniques to control all facets of society, this formal and legal definition of what is right, fair and just action became growingly conspicuous in the form of TFF policies and legal reform in sports law. For example, more and more university departments began offering courses and certificate programs in sports management and law. As such, I argue that the conflicting notions of on-the-ground fairness which I detail throughout this dissertation are ways in which football actors (mostly fans but some media representatives as well) resist this corporatized, formalized and institutionalized version of fairness under fair play. I show that the fairness negotiations which bring to the fore alternative notions of fairness are also sometimes expressed as pleas to a time less governmentalized (cf. Foucault 1991) and represent a serious tension between formality and informality in the site of football.

Historical Background: Football and Football Scholarship in Turkey

Association Football, soccer, or what I refer to in this dissertation as “football” was introduced to the Ottoman Empire by British merchants, expatriates and soldiers in the port cities of Thessaloniki, Izmir, Istanbul and Alexandria at the end of the 19th century, during the reign of Sultan Abdülhamit II. This was a time when the Hamidian Era’s *istibdat* (despot) conditions banned Muslim Turks from engaging in football. Other than the English, the first football teams and league were formed by the Greek, Armenian and Jewish communities of Izmir and Istanbul (Irak 2010). When Turkish-Muslim Fuat Hüsnü Bey formed the first Turkish-Muslim team, Black Stockings, to join the Constantinople Football League (founded in 1903), he justified its founding as necessary “to smoke out those Greeks and Brits in the fields Black Stockings lost their first and only game 5-1 – with the Black Stockings’ only goal being score by Fuat Hüsnü – after which Fuat Hüsnü was tried in military court on charges of “setting up goal posts, wearing the same outfits as Greeks and kicking balls around” (TFF 2003, 10).

The “Second Constitutional Period” of the Ottoman Empire between 1908 and 1923 saw many modernist-positivist reforms led by The Community of Union and Progress (CUP) which is also the organization in which the first outlines of modern Turkish nationalism could be discerned. The reforms of this period allowed greater leeway for Turkish-Muslims to engage with football, as Galatasaray, followed by Fenerbahçe and Beşiktaş, joined the Constantinople League. Galatasaray Spor Kulübü (Galatasaray Sports Club, GS) emerged in 1905, from the *Lycée de Galatasaray* which had been founded as the “Sultan’s School” (*Mekteb-i Sultaniye*) in 1868 to educate the palace elite. Later in 1907, Fenerbahçe Spor Kulübü (Fenerbahçe Sports Club, FB) was

formed from within the student body of St. Joseph High School. Although the context of Fenerbahçe's foundation resembles that of Galatasaray, it was clear from the onset that this latter club was much more "public" in that it allowed for both the sporting participation and administrative influence of outsiders whereas GS was to be run strictly by those from within the *Lycée*. Beşiktaş (Beşiktaş Jimnastik Kulübü, BJK) has a different origin to the other two teams, having been established as a gymnastics club in 1903, only forming a football team in 1911. Also unlike the other two teams, BJK was not the offspring of a school, but was formed by local youths from the Serencebey quarter of Beşiktaş, who would come together regularly to exercise. These different beginnings for the "big-three" of Turkish football would later contribute much to the stereotypes about these teams' fan groups and fan identities. Along with some other teams, today's big-three mostly played against each other and the occupation forces during and before the Independence War of 1919-1923. The Republican Era saw the formation of the Turkish Football Federation (TFF) in 1923 and its subsequent membership in the UEFA (Irak 2010).

The early years of the Republic, that is the mid 1920s, saw intense state control of football since football rivalries were seen as threats to building a unified nation governed by the single-party régime. The government was interested in promoting sport for the sake of physical development, not for "perpetuating degenerated and anarchic attitudes..." (McManus 2009, 11) The end of the single-party rule in 1950 also saw the Turkish state relinquishing its control of football. The Act of Professionalism was accepted by the TFF in 1951 which was the first instance when football began to be seen as a business. There was a rapid increase in the number of football teams as local professional teams from

Anatolia were established to join TFF's organization of football as a professional discipline (McManus 2009).

The 1980 military *coup d'état* marks a very significant turn in Turkish socio-political and economic history and football was affected by it no less than any aspect of Turkish society. Turgut Özal headed the first civilian government after the coup in 1983 and he embraced an IMF-backed neoliberal economic policy, initiating the replacement of import substitution policies with export promotion. The protectionist environment of the '60s and '70s disappeared as Turkey fully embraced a free market economy. The TFF quickly became autonomous from the state. Football clubs went from being civic organizations to competitive commercial companies for which the government began to encourage multiple sponsorships. Football was increasingly seen as a new sector of the entertainment *industry* and footballers as "professional laborers" in that industry (14). Özal became the first political leader to declare his allegiance to a football team, Fenerbahçe (McManus 2009).

The rise of private TV to rival the state-owned Turkish Radio and Television Corporation (TRT) marked a new era in the experience of football in Turkey. TFF began to sell rights to broadcast league matches and viewers could also watch foreign leagues on private TV channels. Television and advertisement revenues increased rapidly as Turkish teams began competing more often in European tournaments. These revenues were accrued to clubs, mainly the big-three and Trabzonspor, the only Anatolian team to clinch the Turkish league title before Bursaspor's championship win in 2010. These dominant four are commonly referred to as "football's oligarchy" in Turkey. The rise of digital broadcasting in the 2000s, when Turkey's first digital platform, Digiturk was

established (gaining over 2.5 million members according to the 2012 data of Institute of Information Technologies and Communication), only helped intensify the professionalization and commercialization of football in Turkey. Football's commercial scale is evident in Digiturk's payment of $321 million to the TFF in 2010 to retain its (Lig TV's) exclusive rights to Super League matches until 2014 (McManus 2009).[8] Turkish football is now an extremely lucrative business that recruits world-famous players and coaches, predominantly for Istanbul teams, but for other teams throughout the country as well. Additionally, major renovations and rebuilding projects for stadiums and other facilities have contributed to making football a revenue-generating machine for the TFF, clubs and sponsors.

First division professional football in Turkey is, as already mentioned, called the "Turkish Super League" or Super League (*Süper Lig*) for short. Eighteen teams compete in this league, with the bottom three relegated to the second division at the end of every season (and correspondingly, three second division teams promoted). The football season begins in late August and ends in mid May, with a three-week winter break from mid-December until mid-January. The championship-winning team qualifies to compete in the next season's UEFA Champions League (CL) tournament. The first-runner up plays elimination games against runners-up from other national leagues to gain the right to participate in CL. If they are not successful, they participate in the UEFA Europa League (EL) Tournament, which the second and third runner-ups of the Super League also compete in, if they have survived initial elimination rounds. The number of teams that join these international competitions varies by season since it depends on the Turkish

[8] Here, I am citing McManus' MPhil Thesis which he submitted in 2009 but updated later. He sent me the updated version personally. That is how he is able to refer to the year 2010 in a piece I cite as dated 2009.

national and club teams' achievements in world and European tournaments. Besides the Super League, there are four other divisions of professional football in Turkey. Super League teams and teams from all but lowest division compete for the Turkish Cup every season. The Cup title is separate from the League title, and the Cup winners also qualify directly for the UEFA Europe League Tournament.

In 2009, AGB Nielsen Media Research Company published a report concluding that 89% of football fandom in Turkey was concentrated on Istanbul's big-three, with GS having the greatest number of fans, followed by FB and then BJK (Irak 2010). As Irak explains, football fandom in Turkey is not geographically or socially based like in some other countries. [9]He says, "Turkish football fans are homogenous socially and the fan groups of all clubs more or less present the same characteristics" (91-92). Fandom is thus divorced from locality, social class, religious or ethnic affiliation. Even though I have come across many examples where family history played a role in fans' team choices, I have also met fans whose siblings, parents or larger family circles support different teams. I contend that a team's popularity is based somewhat on its concrete success. The end of the '90s saw a sustained period of success for Galatasaray, including four consecutive championships in the Turkish league, culminating in their winning the UEFA Cup in 2000. These successes, with the UEFA victory being the highest ever attained by a Turkish team, meant an entire generation of Turkish fans grew up admiring and adoring Galatasaray.

All this being said, one must also concede that stereotypical differences exist between Istanbul's big-three, differences which impact their fan bases. I have already

[9] Example for this would be the political divisions between Real Madrid and Barcelona fans in Spain or the religious divide between Glasgow Rangers and Glasgow Celtic in Scotland.

mentioned that the differing histories of how they were founded have contributed to the teams portraying different characters for themselves. Both having lived in Istanbul nearly all my life, and then doing anthropological fieldwork among fans, I can see that as similar as they might be to each other objectively, different fan groups do identify with the stereotypes surrounding their team. Galatasaray's image as the "aristocratic" or "elitist" team, Fenerbahçe's portrayal as the "bourgeois" team and Beşiktaş's depiction as the "people's team" are still prominent in fan narratives even though all three teams are fully immersed in the global football industry, their clubs publicly-quoted corporations, and their fans comprised of people near and far, from all walks of life (for a different configuration of bases for team preferences in a country, see Magazine's [2007] discussion of "team choice and identity in contemporary Mexico").

Even though class compositions across teams are similar in Istanbul, that is not to say that there are no class divisions within fans of particular teams. The easiest way to observe these divisions is by studying ticket prices for different sections of stadiums. For example, while a Galatasaray season ticket for the Eastern Stands cost 4,000 TL[10] (approx. $2,220) for the 2012-2013 season, the price was a mere 500 TL (approx. $280) for the Southern Stands. Predictably, the class composition of fans that frequent these different sections differ considerably. In Chapter 4, I will elaborate on these divisions and how they are in fact implicated in certain groups' preference to adhere to rules of fair play against others' alternative fairness notions.

[10] Turkish Lira

The rivalries between the big-three in Istanbul are fierce. In a 2001 fanzine (Şenol 2001) interview, Alen Markaryan, the most famous stadium and cheer leader or *amigo*[11] for Beşiktaş, tells many stories about the late '80s detailing the physical battles that took place between rival fan groups. He talks about how almost 400 BJK fans once gathered in Kadıköy to "raid" and set on fire the Fenerbahçe training grounds at midnight, an incident that took place after FB and GS fans had already clashed the week before, GS fans having to jump into the Bosphorus to save themselves from attacking FB fans. Such scenes became less frequent after major representatives from all three clubs gathered, in 1993, in the Abbasağa Park in Beşiktaş to sign a truce. Although the need for such a truce was pressing, how it came to pass is unclear. Indeed, the story goes that one day, they randomly called each other and decided to end the physical violence that had marked the previous decade. Today in the 2000s, fan battles on non-match days like those of the '80s described by Alen, are unheard of (see Chapter 2). However a derby[12] between these three teams is still characterized by the presence of thousands of policemen to guarantee security and sometimes they do involve damaged and vandalized buses and multiple injuries among clashing fans in and around the stadium. In fact, at the time of writing during the 2012-2013 season, no fans of the big-three are permitted attend their team's away games in the stadiums of another big-three team – a regulation imposed by the TFF to curtail fan violence.

[11] *Amigo* is the term used for stadium leaders who lead fan chants and cheers in Turkey. I have not been able to find out why this Spanish loan word is used in Turkish football nor why its meaning has shifted the way it has.

[12] Derbies are matches between the teams from the same area, typically the same city. For example, the Manchester derby is contested by Manchester United and Manchester City. In Turkey however, any match between the four most popular football teams is referred to as a derby even though three of the teams are from Istanbul (FB, GS and BJK) and one is from Trabzon (Trabzonspor).

Football scholarship in Turkey includes historical works that investigate the origins of football in general, that study the game's introduction in the Ottoman empire and subsequently in Turkey (Akın 2004a, 2005, Artalan 2003, Emrence 2010, Gökaçtı 2008, Güneş 2006, Okay 2002). These historical accounts both include some analytical pieces on the historiography of football in Turkey as well as its role during the foundational years of the Republic. For example after explaining the socio-political conditions of the Ottoman Empire during the introduction of football, Okay (2002) reviews the first three publications on football in Turkey, a journal and two books all with the title of "*Futbol*". These publications are significant both in terms of contributing to the popularization of the sport and also for translating the rules (from English football) and terminology of the game into Turkish. The pioneering book on football, for instance, by Tarcan (1912), introduced Turkish translations and transliterations of multiple football terms that are still in use today. In chapter 1, I talk about the discrepancies between the written and unwritten rules of football in terms of defining people's ideals of how fairness should be evaluated. Tarcan points to the very historical moment of how the written rules of football came to be adopted in Turkey.

I have explained in the historical section above that the early Republican period in Turkey embraced policies which promoted sports as a device to bring up disciplined and physically fit youths rather than endorsing its competitive side. This resulted in demoting football and football rivalries. Focusing on this historical period, Akın (2004a, 2005) delves into the politics of sports during the formation of the Republic and situates sports as a tool of bio-politics whereby Republican leaders portrayed bodily fitness, sports training and education as citizenship duties. He argues that sports politics were just as

effective as health and population politics in the formation of desired citizenry, one that is composed of disciplined bodies readily at the service of the state. This literature is significant for it historicizes and contextualizes the nature of fan rivalry in Turkey, its state-led elimination in the Republican period and the later loosening of the state-grip on football and its associated activities.

Akın’s work thus introduces sociological components to recounting Turkish football history. In fact, besides historical accounts of the sport, there are also several publications on the sociology and economy of football in Turkey (Akın 2004b, Akşar 2006, Emrence 2005, Sert 2000, Talimciler 2005). While some of these use classical sociological theory to explicate the role of football in Turkish society (as a political legitimization device, as the “opium of the people,” or as an economic enterprise) others include ethnographic components in their analysis of more specific cases and aspects of Turkish football. Of these studies, I particularly engage with Akın’s (2004b) which focuses on the worst football disaster in Turkey. As I explain in Chapter 2, Akın’s study is significant for me because it details the historical, economic and political conditions of the 1950s and 1960s in Turkey to account for the hostility between the rival fans which causes multiple injuries and deaths in a football match between Kayseri and Sivas. This kind of socio-political reasoning and background in the explanation of violence in football will be important to support my argument in Chapter 2.

Besides these approaches to Turkish football, prominent sociologist and publisher Tanıl Bora has authored (2006), edited (2001) and co-edited (Horak et. al. 1993) significant volumes on Turkish and world football that offer historical and political analyses, explore fan culture and fandom, and discuss issues of commercialization and

commodification. My study is inspired by Bora's writing mostly because they are composed of informal, sometimes non-academic but very insightful discussions of minute instances of Turkish football. As a loyal football spectator, he is able to touch and represent the uniqueness of Turkish football. For example, in an exchange with football scholar John McManus, he and I discussed the difference of English versus Turkish football vis-à-vis emphasis on team colors. John told me that when he was conducting fieldwork about Beşiktaş fans in Istanbul, they would be so attentive to the colors he wore that he began to feel self-conscious himself if he wore colors that might recall to mind Beşiktaş's rivals. As a fan in Turkey, I am familiar with this aspect of Turkish football where team colors play a prominent role in representing teams or their enemies. I, myself, grew up with the superstition that my team would play poorly if I used red or blue pens to write on yellow notepads because those combinations represented the rivals of my team. Where John thought this was both amusing and strange, for me it was obvious. And in football scholarship, it is Tanıl Bora who accounts for these peculiarities of Turkish football. In regard to colors, for example, he explains that a part of the emotional discourse of fandom in Turkey (see chapter 4) is in fact anchored in loyalty and love for team colors.

Bora goes through tens of football clubs in Turkey and documents the historical reasons why some teams chose the colors they did. These include picking the color black during wartime, yellow to signify veterans, red for roses, dark and light blue for railway teams, orange to symbolize a region's productivity in citrus fruits or combining two colors for the sake of compromise when two teams merge. Bora writes about icons of Turkish football, different ways in which goals are celebrated in Turkey, football slang

and street football in Turkish neighborhoods. While some of his insights have directly contributed to my study (for example his discussion of football slang and his exploration of militarism, football and masculinity which I refer to in chapter 3), his other writings have helped me build my feel for Turkish football, its colors, its songs and its various figures.

Other literature on Turkish football includes literary or popular sociological journals dedicating issues to football and numerous non-academic pieces that discuss football fandom. Of the more academic publications, the Turkish "quarterly journal of thought" *Cogito* (Öztürk ed. 2010) brings together a whole range of themes in Turkish football discussing everything from homophobia and sexism to football's aesthetics, the "craziness" of fandom and football as a reproduction of "clash of civilizations." While they do provide insightful tidbits about the site of football in Turkey (for example I refer to Birkalan-Gedik's discussion of gender and language from this volume in chapter 3), most publications as this are too brief to provide substantial ethnographic depth.

The popularity of football in Turkey allows for the proliferation of books on facets of football that do not always satisfy analytic curiosities or desired levels of academic vigor. I have surveyed this literature that also includes pieces written by journalists, sports commentators, fan groups and fan group leaders (Bal et al ed. 2010, Dikici 2009, Kana 2008, Kırca 2000, Kıvanç 2001, Kozanoğlu 2002, Markaryan 2010), for a sense of informal discussions of emotions, language, community building, gender and everyday experience of football. However, while I have appreciated how these writings were able to conjure colorful pictures of Turkish football, I set out to achieve something different with my dissertation.

In the absence of an ethnography on Turkish football, my study deploys relevant sociological issues in Turkish football like commercialization, violence, emotion, language, gender, nationalism, etc but with a goal as to illuminate a theme that is never anthropologically explored: fairness. I bring into these popular and academic discussions an exploration of the ethics of Turkish football while at the same time recalling the familiar themes scholars and non-scholars have been writing about for decades. I aim to build on historical analyses by showing that the last decade in Turkish political history has been decisive in the appreciation and constant renegotiation of the notion of fairness. I show that the sociologically significant themes like violence, legality, gender and language are issues that inform how people decide what is fair action. Instead of imposing pre-determined categories on my analysis which we assume to be relevant to Turkish football, I watch these categories present themselves as contingencies of fairness and fair play.

Ethnographic Context: Fieldsite and Research

This dissertation is based on a year's fieldwork in Istanbul between September 2010 and September 2011. That being said, football has been a large part of my life ever since I discovered in kindergarten that there were different teams that one could sing and cheer for. I never played football beyond impromptu gatherings during breaks at school, but I have always been a fan, and a serious fan at that. Also, my fieldsite Istanbul is where I was born and raised; it is the city I call home. In this section where I detail my year of fieldwork, I will also reflect on what it meant for me to work as an anthropologist in these physical and conceptual spaces that were all too familiar for me.

a) Fieldsite

The choice of Istanbul as fieldsite was quite obvious for me. Istanbul is the center of Turkish football; it is where the TFF is located, where most stadiums are, and where the Super League's big-three are based. If I wanted to be able to attend the games of teams that had the biggest support, easily arrange interviews with TFF and club administrators, referees, fans and media personnel, I too had to be based in Istanbul. Early on in fieldwork, I made a decision that I would focus my study on Istanbul's big-three, especially in terms of going to matches and interviewing fans. This meant that during my fieldwork I would stay in Istanbul for the most part. However, I did find occasion to travel to away games outside of Istanbul and to attend matches of other teams in the city as well.

For the duration of fieldwork, I lived in a small flat in the Abbasağa quarter of the neighborhood of Beşiktaş. The quarter is named after a small park that overlooks the central Beşiktaş marketplace. My flat was 10 minutes on foot from this market (photo 1). Beşiktaş is a down-to-earth, working-class neighborhood with unpretentious homes, vibrant relations between neighbors, and a commercial life still centered around small-scale shops. The smaller quarters of Beşiktaş, including Abbasağa, are places where the sense of *mahalle* (small neighborhood or quarter) is still maintained: residents and shop-owners all know each other and the neighborhood children play together in the streets until one or another of their mothers calls out from the window to tell them all to go home for dinner. Housewives shop from a small store below their apartment buildings by using a long string to lower a basket from which the shopkeeper takes his payment and replaces it with groceries and change. When I moved into my flat, the first thing my

landlord did was to introduce me to the owner of the convenience store across the street to make him aware of this “new face” in the neighborhood so that he could keep an eye out for me. The most obvious result of this was that that each time I dropped in to buy something, he made sure to check if I had enough bread in the house.

Photo 1: Street I lived on near Abbasağa Park. On the left is the neighborhood's convenience store. Aug. 9, 2011[13]

This part of town is a place with a very different character from the burgeoning high-rise areas of Istanbul, or from its mushrooming gated communities. The greater district of Beşiktaş has a population of approximately 200,000 and central Beşiktaş is definitely one of the main commercial centers for the city as a whole. Despite this, its smaller divisions maintain the tightly-knit sense of community. This sense of community was brought home to me in a very simple way. The starkest realization of this came to me

[13] All photos are taken by the author.

in the form of a question from a Beşiktaş fan. I was introduced to her, Aslı, before a football game as one of my interlocutors had invited me to pre-game with his friends by the popular pub *Kazan* before going to the game together.[14] One of the first questions his friends asked me was where I lived; so I answered "Abbasağa." Aslı stared at me and said, "*I'm* from Abbasağa. How come I don't know you?" My initial thought was "how *would* you know me? We live in Istanbul, a city of 15 million!?" But then I realized the sincerity of her question and her genuine expectation that she should know someone who claims they live in her neighborhood. I explained quickly that I had only just moved there which seemed to restore her faith in me, herself and her neighborhood all at once. Living in Beşiktaş meant that I could easily walk to all the spots in the neighborhood where BJK fans would gather, including the Beşiktaş İnönü Stadium which is located 10 minutes on foot from the central Beşiktaş marketplace. It also meant that my physical access to Beşiktaş fan communities, circles and match-day experiences was much higher than to those of Galatasaray or Fenerbahçe. I did attend multiple matches in the home stadiums of Galatasaray and Fenerbahçe, and interviewed their fans as well, but I never lived in "their neighborhoods."

Even though I do not devote any particular section of the dissertation to discussing the social significance of space and place in my work, these concepts will appear frequently throughout the following pages. For example, when I describe Fenerbahçe fan Tunç's preference to live in Kadıköy in Chapter 1, I will include how this was a conscience choice since Kadıköy is associated with Fenerbahçe fandom. Similarly, I will describe my astonishment about seeing men in Fenerbahçe jerseys walking around

[14] I call pre-gaming all the occasions where fanmates meet before matches to dine, drink and begin chanting to get in the mood for the upcoming match. These may take place inside restaurants or pubs as well as in outdoor locations such as street corners or neighborhood parks.

in Beşiktaş in chapter 4. In Chapter 3, when I talk about fans building and sustaining their communities through language and cheering, I will underline how those communities are grounded in various spaces around particular neighborhoods that are also *made* as fan communities themselves continually form. As such, a processual understanding of space is a recurring theme in this dissertation. Moreover, it is noteworthy to highlight how fandom and fan spaces entangle and feed each others' development and identities despite the fact that Istanbul's big three teams have followers from all around the city as well as the country.

Unlike Beşiktaş – or Fenerbahçe – Galatasaray is not really associated with a particular Istanbul neighborhood. The Galatasaray Lycée is still active and located in the quarter of Beyoğlu which leads some Galatasaray fans to claim this as their "base" but the claim hardly holds water as Beyoğlu is the most cosmopolitan, mixed-population center of Istanbul which no one community can exclusively claim as their own, be they football fans or some other group. If fact Bartu (in Keyder ed. 1999) has written on how contentious it is to claim to "own" these "old quarters" of Beyoğlu and around. The stadiums Galatasaray has played at have also failed to provide for the fans with a viable base or hub save on match days themselves. Until the year of my fieldwork, Galatasaray had, since 1964, played home games at the Ali Sami Yen Stadium in the Mecidiyeköy quarter of Istanbul. This area is predominantly a business center, while its residential sections are quite removed from the stadium and not necessarily affiliated with Galatasaray at all. Then, in the middle of the 2010-2011 season, Galatasaray moved to its new stadium, Türk Telekom Arena, located in Seyrantepe beside one of the busiest

highways in the city, and well removed from any local community or center. The old Ali Sami Yen stadium was being torn down towards the end of my fieldwork (photo 2).

Photo 2: Galatasaray's old stadium Ali Sami Yen is being torn down in Mecidiyeköy. May 7, 2011

Fenerbahçe, on the other hand, can be said to have a neighborhood which stretches from the Kadıköy docks on the Asian side of Istanbul, to the center of the Kadıköy marketplace, the road to the Fenerbahçe Şükrü Saracoğlu Stadium in Fenerbahçe and the Baghdad Avenue which begins there. While Beşiktaş fans reference a distinct identification with their neighborhood, some even calling their team a *semt takımı* (a district or a neighborhood team), Fenerbahçe fans do not employ this language but still imagine the restaurants, cafés, pubs and parks around Kadıköy and Baghdad Avenue as "their territory." This can easily be witnessed by the number of Fenerbahçe flags and paraphernalia in stores around these neighborhoods as well as by the fact that Fenerbahçe fans meet in these central locations to pre-game and celebrate victories. Note here that even though Beşiktaş and Fenerbahçe may be understood to "have neighborhoods," their fandom is not strictly neighborhood-based As I explained above, citing Irak (2010), these

neighborhoods are not exclusively composed of fans of only one team, nor does where a person lives always determine their fandom. Fans of any team are easy to find in any neighborhood in Istanbul. But it is also true that the centers of Beşiktaş and Fenerbahçe are where fans of the eponymous teams regularly come together before and after matches, and each quarter hosts a number of pubs, cafés, parks and restaurants which have explicit allegiances to the team based there.

I chose to live in Beşiktaş for two main reasons. I am a Beşiktaş fan so I felt most comfortable in the streets and stadium of Beşiktaş. But this is not the only reason. I realized early on in fieldwork that if I intended to get closer to groups of fanmates,[15] to spend time with them and share their pain in the face of loss and their rejoicing when the team scored at the very last instant, to exchange e-mails with them complaining about the coach, and to go with them to the airport to welcome the new recruits, then I would have to manage the fragile issue of partisanship. I could not very well cry with Beşiktaş fans one day and dance arm-in-arm with Fenerbahçe fans the next. Could a non-Istanbulite with no local team affiliations carry out a research on fairness in Turkish football, maintaining the same sort of (non)allegiance to all three teams? Of course they could. But I knew from the start that in terms of weaving myself into fan communities and going to matches with them, I had to prefer one over the others, and that one would be my own team. If I had any doubts as to whether I was over-exaggerating the fragility of this matter, they disappeared when Yasin (whom I talk about in Chapter 4) looked at my wristband in the black-white BJK colors and mockingly asked me if I switched it to dark

[15] Throughout this dissertation, I use the term "fanmates" to refer to a group of fans who are accustomed to pre-gaming together, going to the stadium and watching matches together as well as spending time together on matchless days, often with the purpose of doing something in relation to their team, such as composing cheers, designing banners, discussing recruits, etc.

blue and yellow (the FB colors) on other days of fieldwork. All I could say, at that point, was “no,” but I knew I had to convince at least one of these communities that I wasn’t a fake whose only concern was to extract information from them by deceitfully pretending to share their allegiance.

Esra Özyürek (2006) and Sherry Ortner (2003) are two anthropologists who have conducted fieldwork in their hometown (Istanbul and Newark respectively) and reflected on it. Expressing the relevance of her family’s political background to her study on Kemalism in Turkey, Özyürek called some of her fieldwork as “family work.” She argued that the “…intimate and truly personalized nature of [her] study provided [her] with an otherwise unavailable window into the privatization of politics among Kemalists in Turkey.” She added that she “hope[d]” her peculiar position as an insider did not “cloud” her study (25). Similarly, Ortner called herself a “native ethnographer” and explained that she was “…not the unknown anthropologist showing up in another culture to…learn their customs” (17). Ortner even used herself as an informant in her work, maintaining her self-reflexivity about her positioning and subjectivity throughout the entire book (see also Narayan 1993 on “native anthropology).

I found myself in a similar position to these anthropologists since I conducted fieldwork in Istanbul, my hometown as well as among football fans when I too consider myself a fan. However, in a very significant way, I was also an “outsider” in this study since the footballing community in Turkey is predominantly composed of men (see Chapter 3). This meant that although I was privy to “inside” information with regard to the nuances of experiencing football in Istanbul, I had not grown up playing football in the streets, discussing football in pubs on weekdays, playing football videogames over

the weekend and placing online bets on obscure third-tier football teams from around Europe like some of my interlocutors. During fieldwork and in writing, I tried to take advantage of both facets of my positioning. Where I felt very much implicated in my discussions, I accounted for that (such as when I shared field notes about a match BJK lost in Chapter 5) and when I felt like male interlocutors were too conscious of my presence as a female researcher, I accounted for that as well (such as when I discuss language ideology on swearing in Chapter 3). Ultimately, I am sure that my Abbasağa residence too shaped my research although I don't think it hampered it. As will be obvious from my research activities below, this study focuses on multiple football actors besides fans (who were not exclusively BJK fans after all) and thus the negotiations of fairness I depict go far beyond the scope of any one team or fan group.

b) Ethnographic Research

During the 2010-2011 football season, I went to 34 football games in the home stadiums of BJK, GS and FB, as well as travelling to away games in Ankara, Manisa and Kayseri. Focusing on the entirety of the match day became an early priority in my study. I realized that the actual match constituted only one part of the match-day experience, an experience which always included fan gatherings before and sometimes after the game as well. Most of my match days began before the game, meeting fan groups who come together to drink, sing and get in the mood for the match; this is what I refer to as "pre-gaming" throughout the dissertation. I made a point of spending time in fan gathering spots, be they metro stations, parks, cafés, pubs or street corners, even when I didn't know a specific fan group to pre-game with. Sometimes bringing a friend along to grab

pre-match beers in nearby pubs , other times strolling alone around the stadium for hours as fans gathered to enter, I listened to the chants they sang and watched them fill up on *köfte* (meatball) sandwiches, sold from street carts. I would do this for all three teams' matches. Besides going to the actual stadium to watch the game, on many occasions I watched football matches in other places including pubs, cafés, restaurants and fans' homes. I found these occasions provided better access to individual fans since they were in smaller groups and their words were more decipherable than in the stadium.

Going to games with fans, dining with them at a *meyhane*[16] before the match, watching them celebrate after victories or the championship at the end of the season and interviewing them made me think more and more about what "footballing convention" is in Turkey or what the "unwritten rules of football" might be. These are the instances when I would witness fans objecting to referees' decisions, complain about the federation's rulings or the club administration. Studying their reactions to formal decisions at all these levels, I observed that they repeatedly referred to an alternative rulebook in their deliberation of what was permissible, acceptable, doable or fair. Their references to retaliation, loyalty, solidarity and their frequent and commonplace uses of phrases like "but that's not how you do things," or "that's just not football" pushed me to investigate this rift between formal rules, legal configurations and unofficial or unwritten conventions that reigned among fans. These insights form the bases for the first two chapters of my dissertation where I delve into the "unwritten rules of football" to

[16] *Meyhane* literally means "wine house" in Turkish. Today, the term refers to restaurants where Turkish appetizers (*meze*) and traditional dishes are served to accompany long hours of mostly drinking *rakı* (an anise flavored alcoholic drink). People often refer to various "*rakı* tables" (*rakı sofrası / rakı masası)* they might belong to at a *meyhane*, meaning that they frequently visit the same restaurant with a fixed group to "wine and dine" over *rakı* and *meze*. The *meyhane* scene may also involve musicians playing as they walk among the tables and guests joining them in singing Turkish classical music.

challenge the official conception of fair play's claim to represent fairness altogether in Chapter 1 and critique the 2011 "Law to Prevent Violence and Disorder in Sport" in Chapter 2.

Besides fans, I also conducted various interviews with media representatives, TFF officials and club administrations. These interviews took place in radio/TV stations, fan magazine publishing houses, the football federation and club buildings. I witnessed that almost all the TFF and club representatives consistently identified a particular set of problems besetting Turkish football and its fandom. They complained about the unruliness of fans in Turkey, highlighting the need for legal measures that would forbid cases of physical and verbal violence. A problem they all identified as important was the degree of swearing in Turkish football chants and cheers. Frequenting the games, reading fan forums online and reading banners hung in and around stadiums, I knew that swearing was prevalent in Turkish football, both in the form of individuals calling out imprecations and in the form of collective chants and cheers. Hearing these officials and media reps pinpoint swearing as a significant obstacle to fair play, and then confirming that swearing is specifically banned in the law which is supposed to guarantee fair play, I began thinking more critically about this speech genre. Using insights from linguistic anthropology, I decided to focus Chapter 3 on the phenomenon of swearing in Turkish football, how it comes to be categorized as a problem for fair play and how, contrariwise, we might understand it as something that does not necessarily disrupt fairness in football.

Mid-season when the league was on break, BJK recruited three world-famous players from Portugal to join their already adulated star player Ricardo Quaresma. As the recommencement of the season approached, the four footballers were scheduled to arrive

together from Portugal. As soon as fans learned of the arrival time, they started to organize a trip to the airport to meet and welcome them. That day, when I found myself waiting outside the airport (the fans weren't let inside with their lit flares and loud singing) with hundreds of fans, for six long hours, in the chill of January, to catch a mere glimpse of four men, I decided I would write about the "craziness" of football fandom in Turkey. That day at the airport, I noticed some fans wearing cones[17] on their heads to mock their own "craziness" (photos 3 and 4). One fan approached me, taken aback by the sight of me alone and apparently less enthusiastic than everyone else. He said, "well, we're crazy but what are you doing here?" I babbled a response to the effect of "I'm here to see them too," but I doubt that he was convinced.

Photo 3:Ç BJK fans gathered at Istanbul's Atatürk Airport to meet new recruits for the team. January 2, 2011

[17] A cone on the head, as in photo 4, symbolizes craziness in Turkish.

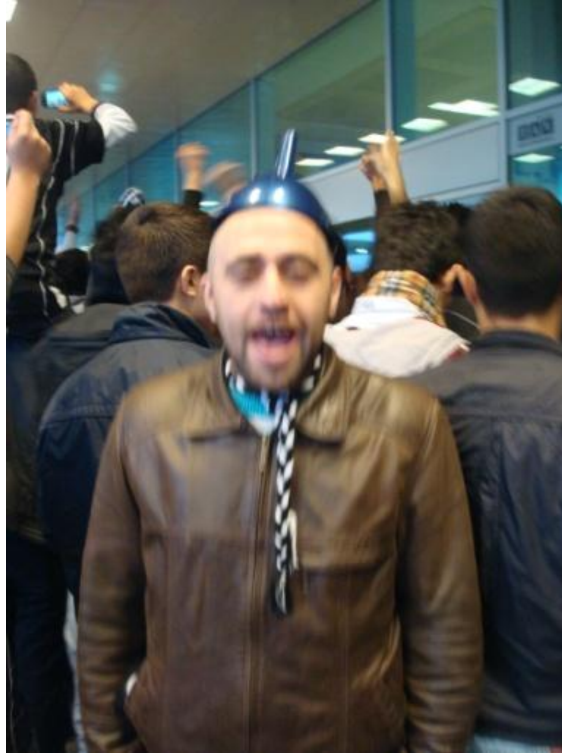

Photo 4: BJK fan at the airport, wearing a cone to signal "craziness." January 2, 2011

I would quickly notice that Turkish fans had a self-aware discourse around this craziness and irrationality which was interwoven with another discourse that cast football as a site of love. This emotion was recalled often to frame one's craziness for the team and thus "deem fair" certain actions or words that might otherwise (or by other parties such as the TFF) be interpreted as against fair play. Recalling Abu-Lughod and Lutz's (1990; Lutz 1988, 1990) work on emotion, I began to think more critically about how discourse about emotion affects change. In the case I was studying, it was *making* the fair from the point of views of fans. Just as much as the fans talked of love, I noticed also that the discourse of love in football was also utilized by sponsors, by the subscription channel Digiturk, and by the clubs. These all promoted "football love" to appeal to customers and in doing so they were both highlighting the passion of fandom but

simultaneously shaping it into a discourse of love that was less crazy or saner. This led me to speak with some sponsors of Turkish football to get insight into how *they* sought to utilize the discourse of love in football, and specifically how they marketed a sane love of football to increase revenues. This research forms my argument in Chapter 4.

As I will explain in Chapter 5, there is a huge volume of football programming on Turkish TV. Besides airing matches, Digiturk's Lig TV also runs a 24/7 schedule dedicated to football. Added to this are Monday night football programs occupying hours of airtime on nearly every TV channel, and some channels have football programming every day from Friday through to Monday. As such, some of my fieldwork was dedicated to following these shows on TV that feature journalists, former coaches, former footballers and former referees who discuss, for hours on end, the fine details of each and every play of any given game, overall match statistics, bookings, injuries, etc. as well as conducting interviews with administrators, coaches and players. Specifically, I followed Lig TV and NTV Spor's programming throughout the week and I paid special attention to shows such as *Maraton* (Marathon) and *Yüzde Yüz Futbol* (One Hundred Percent Football). [18]I chose these shows mainly because most of my interlocutors attested to following them and also because they featured some of the most prominent media personalities of football in Turkey like Fenerbahçe's former player Rıdvan Dilmen, sports commentator Güntekin Onay, journalist Şansal Büyüka and former coach for Galatasaray and Beşiktaş, Mustafa Denizli. I recorded some of these programs from TV or from online TV/radio stations to later translate and use them in my study.

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[18] For more information on *Maraton* see: http://www.maraton.com.tr/, and for NTV Spor's programming on football including *Yüzde Yüz Futbol* see: http://www.ntvspor.net/

One prominent feature of these programs is the minute dissection of the referee's decisions in a game that has just ended. As soon as the match is over, a team of experts begin tearing apart the entire game to identify which calls of the referee were right and which were not so right. Multiple camera angles coupled with various slow-motion, repeat and freeze-frame technologies are deployed so that the verdict on the referee's performance can be as accurate as possible. As I immersed myself in these conversations, watching program after program where referee decisions were meticulously studied and affirmed or refuted, I decided a whole chapter should be dedicated to the referee's role in the negotiation of fairness. I spoke to Super League referees, an amateur referee and a former president of the National Referees Council to understand better how referees, the embodied representations of justice and fair play on the pitch during a match, understand and enact this concept. In Chapter 5, I discuss the findings of my conversations with referees and the insights I gained from watching endless sports analysis shows – and some documentaries – about them.

I was unable to conduct any interviews with Turkish Super League football players. There are two major reasons why I could not talk to them. First, they are high-profile celebrities so access to them is tightly controlled. Second, during the season they are very busy training and then, as soon as the season is over, they go on holiday and then to training camp. This was all made very clear to me when I spoke with club officials and club TV personnel as I tried to reach footballers. When I by chance ran into a former player for both BJK and FB in a shopping mall in Istanbul, I approached him, explained my study and asked for his e-mail address to book an interview. Even though he seemed interested, the eight e-mails we exchanged concluded with him ignoring me in the end.

Although I could not gain first-hand interviews with top-flight current footballers, I did arrange interviews with former footballers who had played in various amateur leagues in different Turkish cities. The opinions and attitudes they expressed about various on-the pitch situations provided valuable insights, especially when I succeeded in interviewing some former players who had taken up coaching and training the youth squads of Super League teams. Besides these "live" interviews, I made a point of researching interviews with footballers online, in otherwise written media and following them on television. Some of these secondary sources were quite valuable in exposing how footballers referenced the notions that are enmeshed with fairness in Turkey – such as the subject of racism I discuss in chapter 3. Ultimately, primary interviews with Super League footballers would be a valuable extension of my work. However, the drawn-out process of gaining such access in the first place, and then spending time with the football teams and inside the clubs, getting to know the players, the trainers and the rest of the crew would constitute a whole new episode of fieldwork and research activity. In my one year, I could not practicably embark on this episode.

Besides these groups, I held a number of interviews with Turkish academics to brainstorm ideas about anthropological research and writing on Turkish football. I attended a Social Media Conference on football to see what popular sports writers saw as their current agenda in discussing issues around Turkish football and how viewers responded to these actions via firsthand participation during panels and using social media tools like Twitter. I made a point of being in as many "footballing spaces" as possible. I have already mentioned visiting the airport to meet arriving players. When I travelled to away games I didn't just attend the match, but also travelled with fans and

stayed in the same hotel as them, or in the referees' hotel. I spent days wandering in high-end shopping malls where I knew celebrity footballers shopped, just to get a glimpse of the way in which these luxurious spaces became footballing scapes with character quite different from my modest set-up in Abbasağa (see chapter 4). I visited the official museums of Istanbul's big-three, admired their trophies, chatted with the guards and interviewed one museum director. To get a better sense of how community and neighborhood enmeshes with fandom, I visited the shopkeepers and fishmongers of Beşiktaş and talked to them about the team and the neighborhood. During Fenerbahçe's league championship game, I walked from the Kadıköy docks into the depths of the Baghdad Avenue, stopping to realize a goal had been scored each time I heard applause, laughter and screams from surrounding homes, pubs and restaurants. Almost every day, I watched neighborhood kids put on their jerseys and play in the street until the ball was invisible in the dark, trying to understand their cryptic references and inside jokes. All of these experiences allowed me develop a sense of how football exists in the city of Istanbul, how it shapes its various sites and the wide range of people it implicates day and night. I listened to the city and I strolled about its football corners as I tried to locate this social phenomenon and its reverberations in crowds and street corners.

Chapter Outline

This dissertation aims to situate fairness as a notion in ongoing deliberation, negotiation and definition in Turkish football. This requires giving voice to substantiations and conceptualizations of fairness that are alternative to its official representations as universal ethical standards. Each chapter of the dissertation is thus

designed to offer details into these differing, informal voices and their juxtaposition to official, formal descriptions of fairness (as fair play) in Turkish football.

In Chapter 1, the specific question I ask in relation to fairness is: How do FIFA and UEFA's official guidelines for fair play differ from how fairness on the pitch is conjured in Turkish footballing convention? I begin the chapter with an incident fresh in Turkish footballing memory even though it dates back to the EURO 1996 tournament.[19] The anecdote describes how a Turkish defense player, Alpay, [20] was awarded the UEFA Fair Play award for having the opportunity to but nevertheless refraining from fouling an attacking striker on his way to scoring a goal against the Turkish national team. The reactions to this incident gave me the opportunity to understand how FIFA and UEFA define fair play and which actions they deem worthy of a fair play award, especially through FIFA's Fair Play Code (2010). Speaking with fans and former footballers, on the other hand, I was offered an outlook on fairness that is different from the one which awarded Alpay. The continual reference to the "unwritten rules" of football in deciding fairness led me to conclude that FIFA and UEFA's depictions of fair play do not necessarily match the recommendations of fairness offered by the unwritten rules of football in Turkey. These unwritten rules include particular conceptions of what is permissible (*mübah*) versus malicious (*çirkef*) in football and configure national loyalty as a part of permissibility in footballing convention which in turn highly influence the making of fairness. Using legal anthropology's theorization on legal pluralism and the

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[19] The UEFA European Championship, or EURO tournament, takes place every four years (offset by two from the FIFA World Cup) during the summer. Each championship is named after the year it occurs.

[20] Turkish footballers in Turkey are referred to by their first names which is also the name printed on their jerseys. Foreign footballers on the other hand are referred to by their last names or nick names if that is how they are known world-wide.

existence of multiple legal systems, in this chapter I show how informal or unwritten footballing convention in Turkey contributes to a making of fairness that challenges formal and official conceptions of fair play devised by FIFA and UEFA.

Chapter 2 concentrates on the "Law to Prevent Violence and Disorder in Sport" in Turkey, colloquially referred to as the Violence Law. I ask: What are the legal measures taken for the sake of fair play in football; how do they represent fandom and fairness in football? The Violence Law is the foremost tool of increased regulation in the site of football in Turkey and only one manifestation of AKP's policies to intensify societal control and regulation. Interrogating this law offers ample opportunity to see the assumptions that contribute to formal definitions of fair play and to juxtapose them to alternative, informal ones. This law had been in the works for a few years and it was approved by the Turkish Parliament in April 2011, during my fieldwork. It is designed to combat acts of physical and verbal violence surrounding sporting events, mainly football, that arise from fan rivalries. Various examples from other European countries were adopted and adapted to fashion this law which includes intense, and I would argue extreme, measures to police and control football fans. TFF representatives and parliamentarians have promoted the law as a tool to guarantee fair play. The law wishes to reconfigure the site of football by deploying a variety of new technologies that aim to transform match-day experience for fans. These technologies amount to higher levels of surveillance and police control of fans on every step of the way before, during and after matches. The way the law thus desires to intrude in the match-day experience is an attempt to completely disrupt "fan culture" which the promoters of the law explicitly phrase as wanting to change. I argue that this "fan culture" that is supposedly in need of

being reformed contains it own inherent conceptions of fairness from which the law's depiction of fair play is divorced. In this chapter I critique the Violence Law, its assumptions about fair play and fandom as well as the extreme measures of police control and surveillance advocates.

In Chapter 3, I focus on Turkish football chants and cheers which include intense homophobic and sexist swearing. In fact, this language is legally banned in and around stadiums through the Violence Law. I ask: Is swearing really the anti-thesis of fair play as legal codes, TFF, Lig TV and club administrations define it? I seek ways to understand swearing in Turkish football chants and cheers as instrumental in building exclusive communities among fans. Moreover, I point to a particularly masculine formation of fairness that arises from within the practice of singing these songs. I use insights from linguistic anthropology, masculinity studies, auditory culture studies and African American studies to argue that we must take into consideration both the referential and the non-referential functions of this speech genre. This allows us to see yet another informal definition of (manly, *delikanlı*) fairness that diverges from formal fair play standards which TFF, Lig TV and media reps advocate.

Chapter 4 is focused on analyzing a particular discourse of love that frames Turkish football which I argue produces fairness as an effect. I ask: How does love discourse and discourse about love contribute to rethinking the fairness of instances like violent fan clashes or instances of on- or off-the-pitch cheating in football? I argue that a discourse of intense emotion portrays football as an object of love, especially for fans, which casts a specific frame within which fairness gets calibrated. I show how "crazy" and" "*arabesk*" love legitimizes certain actions that are done for the sake of the team,

even if they might include violence or cheating the rules. This chapter also takes into account sponsors' use of the term "football love" since marketing this concept generates revenue for them. I conclude that the football love promoted by sponsors is passionate but sane, one which lines up better with the official conception of fair play. Thus in this chapter, I detail the formality versus informality tension by juxtaposing different conceptualizations of love. This allows me to tap into a sense of nostalgia among fans for a time when Turkish football was less commodified and formalized. Using insights from the anthropology of emotion and its contribution to understanding emotion and gender, this chapter investigates various love discourses and their effects on framing and thus making fairness.

After arguing how fairness is made during its social emergence in the first four chapters and highlighting its differences from the official conception and prescriptions of fair play, in Chapter 5 I show that fairness in football is also dependant on the body of the decision-maker – the referee. The question in relation to fairness I ask is: How is the person of the referee and the institution of refereeing implicated in fairness verdicts in Turkish football? I have found that Turkish referees repeatedly express their jobs as following the rulebook towards the maintenance of fair play on the pitch, even when they believe this creates tension with "distributing justice." Moreover, they posit following the rulebook as a proof of rationality versus emotionality. Finally, they base their rationality on a particular way in which they conceive of their personhood through a specific configuration of their visual, aural and oral senses which reinforces the idea that referees are mere institutional representations of rational and impartial refereeing. This chapter then, allows for me to locate a part of the tension between formality and informality on

the body and person of the referee and observe thus the embodied emergence of fairness through referees' decision-making.

In the conclusion, I address the question about how my insights on fairness in Turkish football may help us to think about ethical negotiations outside of football in Turkey. For this, I briefly recount Turkish state's ongoing conflict with the Kurdish population and which ethical negotiations might be implicated in this historical process. I reiterate my argument about the tension between formality and informality to show how I have traced this conflict in every chapter. I illustrate this central divergence with a final example about "match-fixing as a favor" (*hatır şikesi*) and highlight the non-monetary nature of some fairness notions in Turkish football. After recapping the informal conceptualizations of fairness I document throughout, I end the dissertation with a statement about the inter-disciplinary nature and contribution of my work.

CHAPTER 1- PLAYING BY THE BOOK(S): UNWRITTEN RULES OF FOOTBALL IN TURKEY

Introduction

As anthropologists often relate, taxicab conversations may provide compact but rich moments of insight, humor and revelation in the field. Returning from dinner to my Beşiktaş flat one September night, I seized the opportunity to strike up a conversation with the cabbie about football as we drove by the Beşiktaş İnönü Stadium. Having established his Fenerbahçe fandom and that his children could only share that affiliation since "there is no bread in the house for those who don't support Fener" [21] I quickly turned the conversation to an incident vivid in Turkish football memory. With no conversational cues at all I asked, "do you think Alpay should have brought the guy down?" Although this might seem almost entirely a random question with little context beyond our having been talking of football, the cabbie instantly responded: "Of course he should have. He is a son of a donkey for not doing so. We're talking about the country here. Plus it's probably because he couldn't, rather than he didn't." I added, "and for that he received a fair play award." "Nonsense," he responded; "that's not fair play, that's not how you play football."

In 1996 the Turkish national football team qualified to compete in the Union of European Football Associations (UEFA) EURO Tournament for the first time. [22] Their

[21] "Fener" is the common shortname for Istanbul's Fenerbahçe.

[22] It was also nearly 40 years since the team's only other appearance in the finals of a major championship, the World Cup of 1954.

first match of the group stage[23] was against Croatia. This was a close game, tied 0-0 until the 86th minute when Croatia scored, so winning 1-0 and severely damaging Turkey's chances of proceeding in the competition. The goal came after Turkish defender Alpay Özalan had the opportunity to, but refrained from tackling and fouling Croatian striker Goran Vlaović who consequently had a clear shot on goal and scored. Turkey won no matches and were eliminated with the conclusion of the group stage, but Alpay received a fair play award from UEFA for having chosen the "sportsman's option" of not fouling the rival striker. Fourteen years after EURO 1996, it still took less than five minutes of football conversation to recall this incident on my cab ride home.

Turkish fan forums later characterized Alpay's "fair" behavior as unintentional at best and some combination of stupid, upsetting, offensive and treacherous at worst. One might think that such ire directed at Alpay and his supposed fair play would come from fans who are so strongly disposed to side with their team that they dismiss the relevance of fairness in sport in favor of loyalty to their team, and thus inevitably oppose Alpay's action (or lack thereof). I argue, however, that an understanding of the fan reaction must be more complicated and less straightforward than that. It is *not* the fans' opinion that Alpay should have been unfair or that he should have acted to win at all costs. It is rather that his actions do not *constitute* what fairness is in this case, or as the cabbie put it, "that's not fair play, that's not how you play football." So what is fairness in play? Is it

[23] As I explained in the Introduction, The UEFA European Championship, or EURO tournament, takes place every four years (offset by two from the FIFA World Cup) during the summer. Each championship is named after the year it occurs, so the Alpay incident happened in EURO 1996. Early EURO tournaments had varied formats, but the structure of the championship has by now settled. It begins with the group stage, with all the teams that have qualified for the final divided into smaller groups. Successful teams move on to the Knockout Phase where they play quarter finals, semi finals and then the final match for the championship.

defined by the rules of the game? By the guidelines of UEFA or by precedents set through how the game is actually played?

My aim in this chapter is to use the Alpay incident and other similar cases to give voice to different actors in Turkish football and to illustrate how they negotiate and substantiate the definition of fairness or how they conceptualize this notion. I found that even though UEFA deemed Alpay's action worthy of a fair play award, fans, former footballers and journalists did not at all think his actions represented what was fair in football. I also found that latter groups based their verdict of fairness on what they thought was the "convention" of football in Turkey, or its unwritten rules. Alpay acted according to the formal rules of the international game of football by not committing a foul. He also acted in line with FIFA's and UEFA's fair play guidelines (which I discuss below). However, his actions fell short of complying with Turkish footballing convention which resulted in an overwhelming majority of the Turkish football community outright rejecting the putative fairness of his actions. As such, this chapter sketches the tension between formal and informal criteria of fairness in Turkish football.

I begin the chapter with an explanation of how international governing bodies define fair play. Then, I delve into the unwritten rules of Turkish football. This specific incident reveals two particular components of unwritten rules which I discuss in this chapter: a) There is a sense of fairness in Turkish football which departs from the simple opposition that says fair play is not foul play – where foul play is the committing of fouls against the official rules of soccer – and this sense of fairness is defined in relation to what is permissible *(mübah)* for a player versus what is malicious *(çirkef).* b) National

loyalty and privileging national interest are components of footballing convention in Turkey.

Where the universal FIFA and UEFA standards substantiate fairness in play with the below items, I found that my interlocutors judged controversial football instances (such as fouling, faking an injury or purposefully "diving" to earn a penalty kick) based on whether they were permissible or malicious. These two verdicts seemed to determine for them what was or would have been fair action in any given instant. Secondly, I found that in cases where national teams' interests were at stake, my interlocutors defined fair footballing moves as those that would benefit the footballer's country. Therefore in Alpay's case, my interlocutors thought it would be fair for Alpay to foul Vlaović since this foul would be for Turkey's advantage. As such, my interlocutors conceptualized fairness in play as necessarily entangled with national interest unlike the UEFA norms.

Finally, I end this chapter with a discussion of rising formality, regulation and institutionalization in Turkish football over the last decade. Alpay's case, even though it dates back to 1996, gave me a chance to raise the issue of formal fair play as opposed to informal footballing conventions in Turkey and I was able to discuss other footballing instances with my interlocutors along these parameters of formality. I argue that a part of the reason why my interlocutors recalled footballing convention (as opposed to formal fair play) in their judgment of fairness is because they held reactionary responses to increasing regulation in Turkish football, the examples of which I provided in the Introduction. I argue that the conjoint processes of commercialization, institutionalization and regulation contribute to a formalization in the definition of fairness in Turkish football as well where this is apparent through TFF's establishing the "gentlemanly

leagues" and also the Violence Law (which I discuss in the next chapter). Consequently, members of the footballing community, who are not on the club or federation administrative side, experience a sort of yearning and nostalgia for the past of Turkish football. One manifestation of this is through alternatively defining fairness as different from official and formal fair play.

Theoretical Background

Despite their differences in discipline and subject matter, legal anthropology and sports philosophy offer complementary contextualizing for my argument in this chapter. This conjoint theoretical background will be useful in framing the next chapter as well where I focus specifically on the Turkish Law to Prevent Violence and Disorder in Sport.

From legal anthropology, I borrow the concept of legal pluralism. Merry (1988) has drawn on definitions from Pospisil (1971), Griffiths (1986) and Moore (1986) to explain that legal pluralism is "generally defined as a situation in which two or more legal systems coexist in the same social field" (870). "The classical domain of legal anthropology" in Merry's (2006) words, has been the investigation of "village law" in the absence of centralized law and of rule making or formal courts. Initially developed with the limited understanding that there are alternative (to formal law) legal orderings in colonized indigenous communities of Africa, Asia and the Pacific, legal anthropology increasingly realized that in fact every society was legally plural, colonized or not (Merry 1988). Early anthropological interest focused on the indigenous ways in which small communities maintained social order in the absence of "European Law" (Malinowski 1926). Observing the coexistence of indigenous and European laws, and witnessing how

informal networks of social pressure, reciprocity, gossip and custom provided alternate socio-legal codes alongside formal legal organizations, anthropologists began speaking of legal systems that "mutually constitute" each other (Merry 1992, 2006). Writing about conflict and dispute resolution processes that are organized by codes alternative to formal legal structures, legal anthropologists (Nader 1969, Nader and Todd 1978, Redfield 1967, Comaroff and Roberts 1981) increasingly drew attention to the clout of local networks and customs in managing governance. Introducing an alternative term to mutual constitution, Santos (1995) coined the term "interlegality" to talk about "how legalities clash, mingle, hybridize, and interact with one another (Merry 2006, 103). Today, legal anthropologists continue to work with the notion of legal pluralism to investigate the ways in which the multiple, conflicting or cooperating systems of law and codes function in any given society (Agyenim and Gupta 2010, Lipset 2004, Pirie 2006, Timmer 2010).

In Turkish social scientific literature, the discussion of legal pluralism has been prevalent in studies which focus on legal reforms in the late Ottoman Empire, on the legal facets of the Anatolian transition from Empire to nation-state, which saw the Turkish Republic adopting secular laws from various European countries to replace Ottoman Islamic law (sharia), and on the ways in which these different configurations of social and legal organization were dealt with by sectors of society experiencing the transition. (Çolak 2006, Mardin 1991, Starr and Pool 1974, Starr 1989, Yılmaz 2002, 2003). Koğacıoğlu (2004, 2011) shifted focus by concentrating on the discourse of "tradition" and "custom" in official descriptions of women's "honor killings" in Turkey where she addressed just what exactly *made* these so-called traditions and customs that resulted in the killings of women by their own families due to having engaged in (or been

subjected to) disapproved sexual relations. My study is informed by how Turkish studies thus applied the concept and notion of multiple legal systems coexisting in Turkey. I gained some of the most useful insights this tradition has afforded me from Nükhet Sirman's discussions of her latest research in a seminar at Boğaziçi University, Istanbul that I attended during my fieldwork. Sirman's application of the notion of multiple legal systems is most relevant for my work since she used both the term and concept of fairness in explicating her argument.

When Sirman returned from fieldwork for her research project among Kurdish migrants in Mersin (southern Turkey), she gave a talk at Boğaziçi University in November 2010. Here, she repeatedly used the phrase "living alongside the law" to refer to the way in which the Kurdish migrant community in Mersin was using the "modality of kinship" to organize their own moral system, not necessarily *against* the Turkish state law but more so "alongside" it. She explained that even though state law, police and courts exist, there are some cases where it is not considered fair or legitimate in this community to consult these institutions. For example, if someone owed another person money and that other person knew that the indebted did not have the means to pay off their debt immediately, it would not be considered "fair" to sue them. The understanding was that it was "not appropriate" to take to the courts someone who was "one of us" – meaning someone who was Kurdish. This was a known convention and the ethical resolution was carried out by deploying kinship networks and relations. Sirman argued that at times her interlocutors would talk about amending state law from a standpoint that was "more just" which points precisely to the type of "interlegality" Santos has theorized.

My discussion of the unwritten rules of football and the way in which they organize sectors of the footballing community in decisions of fairness is informed by such legal-anthropological discussion of legal pluralism. In football, and also in formal state organization and law formation, there exists more than one set of criteria that lead to verdicts about justness and fairness. While FIFA and UEFA guidelines represent one such set of criteria and concomitant verdicts about fairness, local convention and unwritten rules proclaim other alternatives. This chapter, then, can avail itself of a very familiar concept from legal anthropology to investigate the specific components of Turkish footballing convention that come into conversation with the international guidelines of football's governing bodies when deliberating if actions like Alpay's are fair or not.

Besides legal anthropology, I have also drawn on sports philosophy's writings on sports ethics in framing this chapter. From sports philosophy, I borrow the discussion of formalism versus conventionalism, and in particular the way this distinction bears on how the ethics of sports may be understood. Simon (2010) explained that in the philosophical discussion of sports ethics, formalists embrace the "formal structures" or the "constitutive rules" of games when evaluating which moves are allowable and which are not. In this view, the rules of any sport in fact constitute that sport and thus ethical action is that which follows these foundational rules. Feezell (2004) uses the term "absolutism" to define this stance since formalists hold absolutely that all implicated actors must abide by rules that are universal and thus morally compelling. There are no particularities or exceptions. If a player fouls someone with the intention of gaining advantage for his

team, he is breaking the rules of the game (or in fact the “Laws of the Game” according to FIFA[24]) and he has committed an ethical mistake.

Conventionalism, the stance opposed to formalism, is the philosophical position in sports ethics which holds that the ethical deliberation of an act can only take place once we consider what the conventions are for that sport. Talking about the “ethos” of the game, some conventionalists hold that “strategic fouling” (where a footballers fouls a rival player in order to stop them from scoring a goal or delivering a critical pass) is not unethical or unfair since the shared convention of the game of football dictates that the customary way in which this game is played permits such actions. As Simon puts it “Since the players all accept the convention, and since each team knows the other team will strategically foul at appropriate points” (49) no ethical breaches have been made.

While the introduction and juxtaposition of notions such as formalism and conventionalism in discussions like this are useful for me, this approach also has significant shortcomings. As an anthropologist, I lean more towards the conventionalist stance since it allows for a consideration alternative to formal structures in the deliberation of fairness. However, the kind of “convention” this stance embraces only refers to the “conventions of a sport” as if that sport will carry the same conventions across the world and across time. What I bring to this debate is a component of convention that not only focuses on the conventions of football as a game but also how these conventions are shaped, substantiated and implemented in Turkey at the beginning of the 2010s. This is precisely the reason why I concentrate on two specific components of Turkish footballing convention (fouling vis-à-vis *mübah* vs. *çirkef* and national

[24] Find document here: http://www.fifa.com/mm/document/footballdevelopment/refereeing/81/42/36/lawsofthegame_2012_e.pdf

loyalty) and aim to show their influence on how fairness is made. In my discussion of Turkish footballing convention along these lines, I will also offer comparisons to other countries to show that differing footballing conventions lead to different fairness verdicts.

FIFA and UEFA's description of fair play and Alpay's award

The UEFA (2011) website declares that the fair play award is given to "exceptionally sportsmanlike conduct," where the UEFA's aim is to "guarantee that football's sporting ethics are respected by players, officials and supporters." Specifically about Alpay's case, this is what the UEFA (2002) has published:

> He already has made his mark in a major finals, winning the UEFA fair play award at EURO 96™. With just five minutes left in Turkey's opening game against Croatia, the score standing at 0-0, Goran Vlaovic found himself free in front of goal. Alpay, behind him, had the choice of bringing him down or letting him run on to surely win Croatia the game. The sportsman's option was chosen, allowing Vlaovic to clinch a 1-0 victory for Croatia that signalled a coming early exit for Turkey.

In this line of thinking, Alpay deserved a fair play award because he chose not to commit a football foul even though it meant that his team would lose. His actions proved to the UEFA that he ranked defeat as less important than the negative effect of fouling the rival striker. In other words, he showed that he was not willing to win at all costs and that the cost of fouling someone was too high to be worth his (national) team's progress in the tournament. UEFA terms this line of reasoning the "sportsman's option" and this kind of behavior "sportsmanlike conduct." By doing this the UEFA discourse on fairness is able to locate an essence of fair play within sports itself. This assigns all sportsmen the mission to abide by the rules of fair play and to accept the definition of fairness as defined by these rules.

Alpay received his fair play award from UEFA because UEFA runs the EURO tournament. However, UEFA's decision derives from the rules of fair play that are codified by world football's governing body, FIFA, of which UEFA is the European branch. Below I present the FIFA Fair Play Code in its entirety of "10 Golden Rules" (2010).[25] These are the 10 rules which prescribe ethics in football, ideally universal principles for all footballing actors around the world.

The FIFA Fair Play Code for football encapsulates all of the sporting, moral and ethical principles for which FIFA has always stood and for which it will continue to fight in the future, regardless of the influences and pressures that may be brought to bear.
The ten golden rules not only serve as a credo for FIFA as world football's governing body, but they also reinforce the sense of fraternity and cooperation among the members of the worldwide football family.
1. Play fair: Winning is without value if victory has been achieved unfairly or dishonestly. Cheating is easy, but brings no pleasure. Playing fair requires courage and character. It is also more satisfying. Fair play always has its reward, even when the game is lost. Playing fair earns respect, while cheating only brings shame. Remember: it is only a game. And games are pointless unless played fairly.
2. Play to win but accept defeat with dignity: Winning is the object of playing any game. Never set out to lose. If you do not play to win, you are cheating your opponents, deceiving those who are watching, and also fooling yourself. Never give up against stronger opponents but never relent against weaker ones. It is an insult to any opponent to play at less than full strength. Play to win, until the final whistle. But remember nobody wins all the time. You win some, you lose some. Learn to lose graciously. Do not seek excuses for defeat. Genuine reasons will always be self-evident. Congratulate the winners with good grace. Do not blame the referee or anyone else. Be determined to do better next time. Good losers earn more respect than bad winners.
3. Observe the Laws of the Game: All games need rules to guide them. Without rules, there would be chaos. The rules of football are simple and easy to learn. Make sure you learn them; it will help you to understand the game better. Understanding the game better will make you a better player. It is equally important to understand the spirit of the rules. They are designed to make the game fun to play and fun to watch. By sticking to the rules, the game will be more enjoyable.
4. **Respect opponents, team-mates, referees, officials and spectators**: Fair Play means respect. Respect is part of our game. Without opponents there can be no game. Everyone has the same rights, including the right to be respected. Team-mates are colleagues. Form a team in which all members are equal. Referees are there to maintain discipline and Fair

[25] FIFA documents that describe Fair Play are regularly updated and published online. I reached this version during fieldwork and have worked with it since. Although the Alpay incident predates this document, the "Golden Rules" are still telling and demonstrate FIFA and UEFA philosophy on fair play and how awards are thus given out.

Play. Always accept their decisions without arguing, and help them to enable all participants to have a more enjoyable game. Officials are also part of the game and must be respected accordingly. Spectators give the game atmosphere. They want to see the game played fairly, but must also behave fairly and with respect themselves.
5. Promote the interests of football: Football is the world's greatest game. But it always needs everybody's help to maintain its greatness. Think of football's interests before your own. Think how your actions may affect the image of the game. Talk about the positive things in the game. Encourage other people to watch and play fairly. Help others to have as much fun from football as you do. Be an ambassador for the game.
6. Honour those who defend football's good reputation: The good name of football has survived because the vast majority of people who love the game are honest and fair. Sometimes somebody does something exceptional that deserves our special recognition. They should be honoured and their fine example publicised. This encourages others to act in the same way. Help to promote football's image by publicising its good deeds.
7. Reject corruption, drugs, racism, violence, gambling and other dangers to our sport: Football's huge popularity sometimes makes it vulnerable to negative outside interests. Watch out for attempts to tempt you into cheating or using drugs. Drugs have no place in football, in any other sport or in society as a whole. Say no to drugs. Help to kick racism and bigotry out of football. Treat all players and everyone else equally, regardless of their religion, race, sex or national origin. Show zero tolerance for gambling on games in which you participate. It negatively affects your ability to perform and creates the appearance of a conflict of interests. Show that football does not want violence, even from your own fans. Football is sport, and sport is peace.
8. Help others to resist corrupting pressures: You may hear that team-mates or other people you know are being tempted to cheat in some way or otherwise engage in behaviour deemed unacceptable. They need your help. Do not hesitate to stand by them. Give them the strength to resist. Remind them of their commitment to their team-mates and to the game itself. Form a block of solidarity, like a solid defence on the field of play.
9. Denounce those who attempt to discredit our sport: Do not be ashamed to stand up to anybody who you are sure is trying to make others cheat or engage in other unacceptable behaviour. It is better to expose them and have them removed before they can do any damage. It is equally dishonest to go along with a dishonest act. Do not just say no. Denounce those misguided persons who are trying to spoil our sport before they can persuade somebody else to say yes.
10. Use football to make a better world: Football has an incredible power, which can be used to make this world a better place in which everyone can live. Use this powerful platform to promote peace, equality, health and education for everyone. Make the game better, take it to the world, and you will be fostering a better world.

The rules define fairness as honesty and respect for rights. Fairness is proof of courage, character and grace and it is supposed to bring pleasure, satisfaction and joy. Moreover, fairness deserves reward. Unfairness, on the other hand, defined as cheating

and deception, is shameful. The rules instruct one to be fair, help others to be fair and to expose those who are not fair. Examples of fairness include congratulating the winner after a loss and examples of unfairness include going easy on a weaker opponent, arguing with the referee and finding excuses for defeat.

Later in the document, the more philosophical identifications of fairness get substituted with concrete social issues where fairness is defined as peacefulness standing in contrast to drugs, violence, racism, sexism, nationalism, gambling and all "other dangers." There are definitive moral, aesthetic, emotional and social implications here about what fair play is and its worth. Playing fair means being honest. It is morally superior through courage and character. It is aesthetically appealing through grace. It is emotionally attractive through satisfaction, joy and pleasure. It is socially required both on the level of the immediate community where it will earn one respect (as opposed to shame) and also on the level of larger society since it will combat "all dangers." At the same time, the document is imbued with assumptions about what football is and its place within community. Accordingly, football is "just a game" albeit the "world's greatest game" and "fun" thanks to its rules. It is also a sport which is supposed to promote peace. Football is a game and a sport we "love." If we can protect its image as such, we can use its power to better the world.

These are the assumptions about fairness and football on which the rules of fair play are constructed. These assumptions underlie FIFA's entire discourse about fair play including the fair play awards and the Fair Play Days which they organize every year to promote fair play. These ideals are borrowed by the UEFA (2012) through its "Respect" campaign. Similarly the Turkish Football Federation (TFF 2012) has borrowed these

assumptions to start the “Gentlemanly Leagues” in all divisions of Turkish professional football. These leagues quantify acts of fair play according to FIFA standards and rank teams on the basis of fairness.

In regard to the specific case of Alpay, the fair play code would consider it cheating if he were to commit a defensive foul to prevent the rival from scoring against Turkey. Alpay’s fouling Vlaović would have been voluntary: A deliberate move to prevent his rival from scoring, as opposed to an involuntary charge made towards a footballer while trying to gain possession of the ball. According to the code, Alpay’s actions prove that he has character and merit respect. His fouling would have been shameful, an obvious display of valuing winning over morality. The code would also put forth that Alpay would have acted against the rules of football if he were to foul the striker; this is one other element which points to how fouling would have gone against fair play. Having won the fair play award for his actions, the code would prescribe that Alpay congratulate the winner with grace.

In the rest of this chapter, I will analyze two components of Turkish footballing convention which show how the above “proper” understanding of Alpay’s story is not in fact the way his play and his award were received by the people I worked with. By going over my interactions and interviews with Turkish football fans, former footballers and a journalist, I point to alternative ways of conceptualizing fairness. These versions of fair play do not adhere to the official rules; rather they coexist alongside FIFA’s construal of fair play. By exploring these different concepts I will illustrate the multiplicity of fairness codes in Turkish footballing society, its “legal” pluralism (to borrow legal anthropology’s

term) and the cultural specificity of the conventions (to refer to sports philosophy) of the game in this time and place.

Footballing Convention in Turkey and its contribution to the making of fairness

a) Unwritten rules of fouling in Turkish football: Permissibility (*Mübah*) v. Malice (*Çirkef*)

I first met Tunç[26] in Chicago in May 2010. I was there for a conference and he was visiting a common friend of ours (Bora) who was pursuing a history PhD at the University of Chicago. Both Bora and Tunç are adamant Fenerbahçe fans and the week I was there happened to be when Fenerbahçe played Trabzonspor for the final week of the Super League. Fenerbahçe would be champions if they won that day; alas they did not. The three of us watched the game together, itself an achievement as it required Bora's finding an illegal online stream of the match broadcast which he then projected onto a large screen in an otherwise empty university building at noon on a Sunday. When I next met Tunç nearly a year later, he still remembered our initial meeting with bitterness and near pain for having conceded the championship that day.

The second meeting with Tunç was in Kadıköy, Istanbul when we met for an interview in August 2011, a few months after Fenerbahçe had won the championship in their last game in May 2011 and also a few months into the match fixing scandal where Fenerbahçe had allegedly fixed this last game. Tunç was 24 years old at the time and lived in Kadıköy while he worked on his master's thesis at Sabancı University. He is originally from Izmit, nearby Istanbul but has been living in Istanbul since the age of ten. He told me that would be open to living elsewhere in Istanbul but has preferred to live in

[26] All interlocutor names have been changed for privacy purposes.

Kadıköy because he enjoys the fact that this is Fenerbahçe's neighborhood. After all, this is where the stadium is and the Kadıköy marketplace is a frequent meeting point for Fenerbahçe fans who go on their way to football matches (photo 5).

Photo 5: Kadıköy marketplace before a FB match. May 22, 2011

It was quite clear to me earlier on in fieldwork that "winning and losing" was the relevant and most immediate frame through which to begin talking about fairness. The reason why the conversation about fairness is so available through football is because the verdict of victory or defeat is so obvious and therefore people are repeatedly presented with the opportunity to question whether they have won fairly or not. Confronting the controversy about "winning at all costs" when talking to fans and seeing that the FIFA Fair Play Code frames fairness through winning and losing too, I began asking my interviewees a version of the following question: "Do fans always want to win; what else is an expectation they might have from their team?" Tunç answered as follows (I will explain his references below):

> Of course fans want to win. No one goes home happy after a defeat…but…what Bilica did... that upsets me. On the other hand, how Lugano acts, that doesn't bother me. The game has some unwritten rules. Within that frame, you can do whatever you want. For instance, I hate Bülent Korkmaz but Galatasaray fans adore him. Or take Hagi, for example... Hagi would even breach those unwritten rules.

When I asked him to elaborate on what he means by the "unwritten rules of football," he continued:

> There are a lot of things that are *mübah* [permissible]for the sake of winning. Not everything is. I can't bring myself to support what Roy Keane did. Even though he might think his actions are justified. **Fouling to injure someone is not *mübah*.** [emphasis added]

Tunç's initial sentence where he says that much is permissible for the sake of winning is basically the Turkish reference to the term "winning at all costs" (*kazanmak için her şey mübah).* He means to say that you may act to win at some costs but not all. Tunç starts out by referring to Bilica (Fábio Alves da Silva), Fenerbahçe's center back from 2009 to 2012. In the derby against Beşiktaş in April 2010, Bilica was caught on camera digging into the penalty spot with his foot, immediately before a Beşiktaş player took a penalty kick, a kick which was fluffed and a goal missed because the ball was almost buried in the ground as a result of Bilica's excavations. Tunç explained to me that, "when you say *çirkeflik* (malice), it's things like what Bilica did – when you dig into the penalty mark. Some do this. This is something that goes beyond pulling on an opponent when the ref is not looking." Tunç is very clear that while some actions are permissible on the pitch (although not according to the written rules), others are not due to their malicious intent. For him, as long as one doesn't breach the unwritten conventions of football, as long as he remains within the boundaries of a set of rules that might not be formally codified yet

are evident to members of the Turkish footballing community, his actions are permissible. However, when a footballer goes out of his way to secure advantage for his team by resorting to actions that are not integral to these conventions, then Tunç believes that his actions are not justified; they signal bad intentions and deliberate maliciousness. I argue that the juxtaposition of permissibility and malice is how Turkish footballing convention on fouling substantiates and defines fairness. The verdict of fairness arises from within situations where the action in question is understood to be either *mübah* or *çirkef*. It is through these notions that fairness is conceptualized; it is with these considerations that fairness is made.

I have used Tunç's words to identify a major juxtaposition with which the deliberation of ethics takes place in Turkey, among the people I worked with. This is the axis of *mübah* and *çirkef*: permissibility and malice. *Mübah* means "that which is neither sinful (*günah*) nor deserves merit (*sevap*)" in a religious sense. But the daily usage of *mübah* evades this religious connotation. It is simply a permissible, allowable or acceptable act; it goes. Actions that fans think are *mübah* are those which they argue to belong to the game of football and how it is actually played in Turkey. *Çirkef*, on the other hand, literally means "disgusting, dirty, tainted and polluted." The word is used to refer to people and actions that are deliberately cruel, often involving dishonesty, bad intentions and malice. I found that what is deemed unfair in relation to convention is that which does not belong to how the game is played, excessive and *çirkef*. It is especially in instances of fouling where these concepts are utilized to discuss fairness. The way these concepts are employed gives us clues into what are considered the unwritten rules of football in Turkey.

One might stop here to question how I tie the notions of permissibility and malice to fairness in the first place. Yes, something might be permissible (or not) but how does that make it fair? At this point, I ask of the reader to rethink his/her definition of fairness. We each have a conception of how fairness works and what the category of ethics includes and we find it hard to accept contexts where fairness might have alternative connotations or components. Here, in the case of Turkish football, I have found that it is (among others) the terms *mübah* and *çirkef* that contribute to how ethics is conceived.

Tunç contrasts Bilica to Lugano and Bülent, their actions and their reputations. Diego Lugano, Fenerbahçe's former defender, and Bülent Korkmaz, Galatasaray's defender during the '90s, are examples of defenders who both have reputations for being aggressive players on the pitch who commit strategic fouls when needed to prevent goals. Defenders in Turkey are applauded for intimidating rival strikers and executing necessary fouls in order to curtail attacks. The right volume of aggression, and a display of physical strength and mental ruthlessness to create a façade of impenetrability is not only tolerated but appreciated in defenders, although at times earning such players the nickname "butcher" (*kasap*). Tunç told me that this kind of behavior on the part of Lugano did not bother him, and that although he personally could not like Bülent (since he played for GS), he understood why GS fans adored him: because once again his actions do not overstep the line to *çirkef* given footballing convention for defensive fouling in Turkish football. The problem arises when in Tunç's words, "the unwritten rules of football" are broken, of which he accuses (Gheorghe) Hagi "Maradona of the Carpathians" and Galatasaray's legendary midfielder of the late '90s. His skill and talent were very much appreciated by football fans across all the teams in Turkey, but Hagi was also infamous

for “spitting when the ref wasn’t looking and swearing at rival footballers to provoke them,” as Tunç told me. He drew the line of footballing convention where Hagi’s behavior was classified as malicious and thus unfair: Tunç said it was not “fair enough to try to win at all costs” or to go this distance to secure victory.

Tunç follows up on these with an example from the English Premier League. Roy Keane played for Manchester United for 12 years between 1993 and 2005. In the 1997-1998 season, he suffered a cruciate ligament injury induced by Leeds United’s Alf-Inge Håland who accused Keane of feigning injury after his foul. Keane had to sit out the rest of the season due to this injury. In 2001, the two footballers were rivals once again where Håland was playing for Manchester City. Keane went on to seek vengeance through what seemed to be a deliberate knee-high foul that broke Håland’s leg. Keane’s autobiography states the following, “I’d waited long enough. I fucking hit him hard…Take that you cunt. And don't ever stand over me sneering about fake injuries.” He continues, “My attitude was, fuck him. What goes around comes around. He got his just rewards. He fucked me over and my attitude is an eye for an eye” (Hattenstone 2009). Tunç’s opinion which I have heard other fans agree with is that certain fouls are “integral” to the game of football, a part of how you actually play this game. Where a player fouls for the sole purpose of injuring someone however, this is where he becomes “malicious” (*çirkef*) and thus unfair. Tunç concedes that Keane might justify his actions by a logic of fair exchange or “eye for an eye” as Keane himself puts it, but still believes that this extra-footballing foul is unfair since it is meant to hurt and that alone. Keane’s justification falls short of fairness for Tunç whose experience as a Fenerbahçe fan, living in Turkey has taught him a footballing convention that points to defining Keane’s act as malicious:

çirkef. This kind of unfairness is significantly different for Tunç than if Alpay, for instance, were to foul Vlaović; that would have been a just or intra-football foul, not in dissonance with his conception of fairness defined and made through the notion of permissibility (*mübah*).

As I explained in the Introduction, I was able to book interviews with former footballers although not with current players in the Super League. Hasan is one of the former footballers I talked to. His words too give insight into the unwritten rules of football fouling in Turkey. Hasan was 47 years old when I met him in August 2011 and had been playing football in Istanbul since the age of 14. He began playing in the Galatasaray youth squad, and then transferred to the Beşiktaş youth squad. Afterwards he played in the amateur league for four years at Altınmızrak. Then, he played professionally for six years at Beykoz, followed by stints at Anadoluhisarı, Küçükköy and Çengelköy. Later he began coaching amateur league teams and since 2008 he has been working at Beşiktaş with various divisions of the youth squad. He is also a Beşiktaş fan and has been so since childhood even though he also feels a strong connection to Beykoz where he played for six years and coached for three. He and I talked extensively about fair play, what sorts of actions might be considered conventional for football and thus fair, even though they would technically be against fair play given its official description by UEFA or FIFA. Here is a part of his account of what fair play includes and what it does not:

> You know, there are instances when for example the defender pulls the striker down just as he is about head the ball for a goal. If the ref sees it, it's a yellow card. **That's a foul. But it happens. You pull him**. You foul. Do you say you're sorry afterwards? [he shrugged, indicating he was not sure]. **But then there are malicious fouls. Those are not considered fair play**. But where you need to, you foul. If you couldn't foul where you need to, there would be no fouling in

> football. Sometimes you interfere with the hand. Say it's a long shot and it looks like it'll be a goal…Take Alpay for instance, I think it was 1996. He didn't foul the guy. He could have held him. It would be a foul. But he didn't and he got a fair play award. **OK. It might be the right fair play not to hold him. But you have to hold him if you have to hold him.** You make your money like this. What is the **job of the defender**? To make sure the opponents don't score. **So I'm against fair play in that sense.** But if someone is down and you step on them, you kick someone who has fallen or step on their foot when the ref is not looking…don't do that. Don't spit. But **within football, when you need to, you hold the man down…a footballer does that.** 'Oh let me not do that.' No. That's the ref's job. If it is a handball, he's supposed to see it and book it. **Fair play cannot prevent those.** [emphases added]

Hasan makes a clear distinction between what is "within" football and thus justifiable or permissible, stating explicitly that he is "against fair play" (normative fair play specified by the authorities) that dictates otherwise. This does not mean that he is against any notion of fairness; rather, it means that he is against "fair play" which construes a defender who does not strategically foul an attacking striker as exemplifying fairness. Hasan imagines a different boundary between what is a "just foul" and the sort of malicious act that has no conventional place in Turkish football. For Hasan, fouls which do not trespass this boundary are fair even though they might transgress the written rules of the game of football and despite the fact that they do not meet UEFA's criteria for fair play awards. They are fair because they are *mübah* according to footballing convention within which Hasan has been playing football and training young footballers for years.

As I explained in the Introduction, this dissertation was born out of a desire to rethink the phrase "fair play" and whether or not it fully represented fairness in Turkish football. Hasan's words are testimony to how they do not. He says that Alpay's actions might have been the "right fair play" using the term as FIFA and UEFA have construed it but that he is against this kind of fair play. In other words, the "right fair play" or the way in which "fair play" is accurately implemented falls short of his definition of fairness

because his definition is based on the footballing convention he grew up with where certain fouls are permissible. He says that “fair play” cannot prevent actions that are integral to football. In other words, one cannot very well present an abstract notion of fair play as a just reasoning for why a defender should not commit a foul. The fairness of that foul relates to the unwritten rules of football and not to a top-down, imposed notion of fairness we get from the FIFA/UEFA criteria for what counts as fair play.

I have thus far argued that a part of Turkish footballing convention defines fairness with measures of malice versus permissibility in fouling rather than being based on formal rules of what constitutes a punishable foul. I found that concepts of “malicious” or “flagrant” fouls exist outside of Turkish football. Football news in English as well as Spanish show that journalists, bloggers, players, coaches and fan commentators distinguish between fouling that is aimed at gaining the possession of the ball (these are considered strategic fouling) versus those that involve “bad intentions,” (*falta con mala intención)* “malice” and “flagrancy.” Also, in basketball both the international governing body FIBA and the National Basketball Association (NBA) of the United States have fouling categories that are considered “unsportsmanlike” or “flagrant.” These are instances when a player engages in excessive and violent contact with another player when fouling and thus receives harsher penalties. The difference between particular settings arises though when it comes to deciding just what constitutes excess, violence or malice in fouling.

As I explained in the Introduction, football is highly televised in Turkey. Besides Turkish leagues, viewers in Turkey also have the opportunity to follow major European leagues from England, Italy, Spain, Germany, etc. This, along with the popularity of

football video games among Turkish fans (such as FIFA, Pro Evolution Soccer or Football Manager) contributes to Turkish fans' rising knowledge about international teams, players and league conventions. I wanted to tap into this comparative knowledge in my ongoing conversations with one of my close friends, Emir, who has also been an interlocutor since 2010.

Emir, 27 in 2010, is an avid Beşiktaş fan who has held a season's ticket "ever since they began selling season's tickets at the beginning of the 90s." He follows the English and the Spanish leagues on TV, spends a few hours per week playing the FIFA video game with online competitors and also plays football weekly with workmates. I got to know Emir through fieldwork but we have remained close friends ever since and I contact him about my theorizations on football and fairness in Turkey quite often. When I told him about my ideas on permissibility and malice, he said that English football would provide different data on which on-the-pitch actions count as permissible and which do not. He referred to two phenomena as examples: diving and voluntary suspension of play (VSP). Diving is when a footballer, when challenged by a rival in the penalty box, purposefully falls down even though the challenge from the rival did not actually cause him to fall. His fakes a fall to earn his team a penalty kick. A voluntary suspension of play, on the other hand, is when a footballer kicks the ball out (to voluntarily suspend the game) upon seeing that a rival footballer is injured on the ground.

> Take diving for example. I think that diving is a much more *çirkef* act than, say, fouling the rival striker. With the foul, you do that because you are defending [for your team] and trying to prevent a goal from happening. You interject in response to a move that has already taken its course….With diving, you are explicitly fooling the referee in order to earn a penalty kick and score... And in England, they are much less tolerant with diving. They dive less and those who dive can't get away with it…The fans go crazy… With us, it happens all the time and people think it's a part of the game….Then there is the voluntary suspension of play.

> Here [in Turkey] you see that if the rivals [of the injured player] don't kick the ball out to stop the game, there is all sorts of protests. The fans start whistling and booing. The teammates [of the player on the ground] start running towards the ref and start flailing their arms to gesture that he should stop the game. In England, they only stop the game when the ref stops the game and that's that. No one expects the rivals to voluntarily stop the game. When we do it here, the commentators say it's fair play, but it's not like that in England.

Emir's narrative is telling not only because it points to a difference in footballing convention between England and Turkey but also shows how his own opinion diverges from Turkish footballing convention in relation to whether diving is *çirkef* or not. Therefore, the concepts of permissibility (when we are referring to strategic fouling) versus malice exists in various sporting contexts but particular conventions have evolved to produce differing definitions for what these measures represent. Moreover, it is difficult to argue that a national league will have one unitary convention, understood or obeyed by all. This heterogeneity is the precise characterization of convention in the first place. Since footballing convention is not codified like formal rules, it generates variant criteria for the judgment of fairness both within national leagues and internationally.

Having found it quite useful to hear about footballing convention from someone who has played football in Turkey and who coaches football there today, I spoke with another person with a similar professional background. Tolga, 41 years-old when we met in July 2011, played football for seven years in the Istanbul clubs of Karagümrük and Sarıyer and then outside of Istanbul in Bandırma, Yozgat and Tokat. He later went to serve in the military where he was part of the army football team, which plays in the amateur leagues in Ankara. He said playing with the army football team was a job whose duties sometimes included waking up at 2 AM to play football "because the generals needed entertainment." After his military service he coached the youth squad of

Istanbul's Vefa part-time for one year but had to give this up since his regular job at Philip Morris was demanding more and more of his time. When I met him in Izmir that summer, he had been living there for six months working for this company.

When I saw that he too was referencing a set of "unwritten rules" that point to what is considered fair, I wanted to understand how as a coach he would transmit those conventions or values to his footballers. He said:

> When they score with the hand for instance, you rub their back and say with a smirk "that was a handball wasn't it, you sly son of a bitch," or you say "that ball actually passed the goal line, didn't it you dishonorable [*şerefsiz*] bastard and squeeze his cheek." It's the dumb ref's[27] fault for not having called it. Or say that I'm the left back defender and I step in to prevent the attacking striker. It's clear that he is about to run past me to score. I hear a scream from the bench: "bring him down!" How can I not? I have to. **In tactical drills, they teach you how to foul. We teach this.** How do you hold a man? Where do you hold him from? For how long do you hold? …It is easy to sit in front of your TV and go "oh but he scored with his hand!" You know what? You have to score. If it's with the hand, then it's with the hand. Or if you're a defender, your job is to make sure that the ball does not enter the goal. That's it. If your striker can score, that's all the better. But as a defender, you must protect the goal. You know what it's like in the cafeteria Monday morning after the game? No one knows this, the taunting, the bullshit you have to put up with. You don't see this anywhere, you can only experience it… [emphasis added]

Tolga's narrative makes it clear that the line where you cross into being unfair is less than self-evident or predictable. For him, things like so-called "dishonorable handballs" or bringing someone down if they're about to score a goal are a part of the job of the footballer. At the beginning of this chapter I provided a brief theoretical background to situate my argument about the unwritten rules of football. Referencing the legal anthropological focus on legal pluralism, I mentioned how anthropologists began studying this issue with a focus on non-Western societies and the ways in which they maintained social order. I quoted Sally Merry's (2006) depiction of informal networks

[27] See chapter five for more on how referee's are perceived in Turkey versus other contexts.

which contribute to governance and which may include everything from social pressure to reciprocity, gossip and custom. Tolga talks about a sense of responsibility towards the team and, as Merry would anticipate, mentions the kinds of social pressures that footballers can face – mockery in the cafeteria is one – when they break footballing convention for the sake of an official notion of "fair play." Given these circumstances where the unwritten rules of how football is actually played in your league or how training is actually carried out in your club, footballers form their sense of convention in football against which develops their notion of fairness. This is a process of socialization into the notion of fairness. It is only within the presence and pressure of this convention that fairness will have any local meaning. So, to talk about how scoring a goal with your hand is not fair in an abstract sense means very little without the specificity of context, and with that specificity it might count as fair if, like my cabbie but apparently unlike Alpay you know "how you play football."

Footballing convention, like any other unwritten convention in society, is both binding and has nebulous and shifting boundaries. Thus when convention becomes the criteria for fairness, negotiations of fairness become more intense and verdicts less rigid since people easily disagree on what is legitimately a convention. In this section, my aim was to reveal one such component of Turkish footballing convention to substantiate how it is possible to arrive at the verdict of fair (through a notion of permissible fouling) even though official fair play dictates otherwise.

b) National loyalty as a part of footballing convention in Turkey

The fact that the Alpay incident took place in a game during the finals of the international EURO competition, to which Turkey had qualified for the first time in 1996, acted as a frame to much of the discussion about his award in Turkey. In fact, a significant reason why after fourteen years, this incident remains fresh in memories in Turkey is due to the fact that Alpay was generally interpreted as having done something quite negative against his home team, his country. As journalist Murat Aşan, whom I will quote more extensively below, remarks, “everyone was swearing at Alpay that day.” In a 2000 interview, Alpay himself complained about being declared a “traitor” (*vatan haini*) for the actions that had earned him a fair play award (NTVSpor 2000).

People’s rejection of Alpay’s award has to do with the fact that the deliberation of fairness, in this instance, could not be separated from sentiments of national loyalty. As the cabbie told me “we are talking about the country here.” This is a situation where a matter of ethics is necessarily a conversation about the country. As such, what is fair is necessarily tied to what is fair given Turkey’s debut in the competition. Ethics is essentially a layered deliberation whereby in this instance the link to national loyalty cannot be separated out or disregarded as if fair play existed in a vacuum.

Much has been said about the relation between nationalism and football: how international competitions may mimic nations fighting each other in war, how football may be used as a tool to mend political conflict, how football stadiums are places where fans gather to display nationalist sentiments and political affiliations or how sports in general can be a site where political leaders may pursue their nationalistic agenda (Alegi

2008, Armstrong and Giulianotti 1997, Bairner 2008, Benoit 2008, Brownell 1995, Lee 2009, Ren 2008).

Tanıl Bora (2013) argues that football in general offers a fertile ground for the "symbiosis of militarism, nationalism and [a certain constellation of] masculinity" (489). He gives examples from varied contexts including the political conflict and football rivalry between England and Argentina and the Serbian Red Star fan group Delije, infamous for racist slogans and for recruiting men to carry out mass murder and rape in Kosovo and Bosnia in the 1990s.

Specifically about Turkey, Bora wrote that football helps reproduce certain characteristics of Turkish nationalism. First, he says that football facilitates the imagination of Turkish citizenship as an ethno-religious belonging as opposed to the conceptualization of citizenship as based on the right of territory (see Parla and Davison 2004 and Maksudyan 2005a for more on the tension between *jus soli* and *jus sanguinis* in the definition and experience of citizenship in modern Turkey). He continues to explain that Turkish football generates and reinforces ethnic and nationalist stereotypes and uses militarist metaphors to other rival teams. He includes various examples that include how foreign players who acquire Turkish citizenship are made to adopt Turkish-Muslim names as well as instances where matches against Greek teams, for example, have instigated nationalistic chants in Turkish stadiums. He also says that Turkish football reflects Turkey's uneasy relationship with Europe (see chapter 2). On the one hand, Turkish football columnists and fans admire European football for its success, quality players and facilities. On the other hand, matches against European teams are depicted in the media as "Turkey's most recent siege of Europe" and victories as the "re-conquest of

Europe." Bora finishes his discussion with what he argues has marked the last 20 years of Turkish nationalism in Turkish stadiums: anti-Kurdish propaganda in the form of singing the Turkish national anthem before each domestic game. He explains how this practice began in the '90s by small nationalist groups in stadiums to quickly spread and become official practice in protest of ongoing armed political struggle in the Southeastern Turkey. He adds that slogans of "Martyrs do not die and the motherland cannot be divided" (*şehitler ölmez, vatan bölünmez*) often accompany the anthem for similar purposes.

I think that Tanıl Bora's argument is sound. However, I also know that football in Turkey has generated a ground for resisting these nationalist manifestations. Shortly upon my return to Brown after fieldwork (September 2011), Beşiktaş was scheduled to play Israeli team Maccabi Tel Aviv in Istanbul. The match came right after the two states suspended diplomatic relations because of disagreement on how to handle the Gaza Flotilla raid of 2010. With this crisis fresh, the Turkish media was consumed with speculations about potential clashes between Israeli and Turkish fans. A few days before the game, Beşiktaş's fan group *çArşı* published a declaration[28] including the following excerpt:

> …If there are political problems between Turkey and Israel, it is the political arena and not the Inonu Stadium or the Beşiktaş stands where these problems will be resolved. Also, Israeli politics towards Palestine and the resulting conditions in Palestine are not caused by the Isreali public nor the club of Maccabi Tel Aviv but the state. It is against çArşı's humanist stance to hold responsible our guests in a sporting event for the actions of bureaucracy…

[28] *Çarşı* in Turkish means "marketplace." *çArşı* is the most prominent Beşiktaş fan group, named after the Beşiktaş marketplace. They are known as a diehard group and they consider themselves to be leftist and anarchic even though some members will admit that it is difficult to substantiate those claims today. Regardless, they spell the word *çarşı* with a capital "A" in print, mimicking the symbol of anarchy. They use the specific "A" for anarchy when they handwrite the word. I follow that spelling in my dissertation. For more on *çArşı*, see: Batuman 2011, Dikici 2009, Kana 2008, Kytö and McManus 2009, 2013. Find full Turkish version of the declaration here: http://haber.sol.org.tr/spor/carsi-halklar-kardestir-haberi-46407

In line with *çArşı's* call to courteously welcome Maccabi fans, no incidents of verbal or physical violence took place during that match. In a country where pro-Palestinian cause has easily turned into acts of anti-Semitism (in the form of attacking the Israeli consulate after the flotilla raid in 2010), this football match that took place during a peak point in political conflict was experienced with no problems.

Therefore, both through its presence and absence, nationalism has occupied agendas in Turkish football. However, fairness is largely missing from this conversation about nationalism. My aim is to show that in Turkey not only can football rivalry be a gateway to voice nationalist forms of opposition but it can also very much inform how fairness is conceptualized. In other words, where the national team is concerned, a conversation about fairness and fair play is simultaneously a conversation about national loyalty and thus it is impossible to separate a verdict about fairness from the context of nationalism. This is what he meant when the cabbie told me "we're talking about the country here." National considerations make official promulgations on fair play irrelevant, not because the fans are morally corrupt, as rejecting "fair play" would seem to suggest, but because they are playing by another set of rules, one where fairness is not represented by the virtues UEFA seeks to award, but is rather entangled with loyalty for the country.

I raised this issue with Murat Aşan, a football journalist. He has been the editor-in-chief for the Turkish sports radio channel, Lig Radyo, since 2006, hosting his own program on football every weekday morning. Lig Radyo is the radio division of Lig TV which is the subscription channel (under Digiturk) that owns the rights to air Turkish Super League matches on television. I met Aşan in his office in June 2011 for what

proved to be an informal but honest exchange about Turkish football. He was vocal and blunt about where he stood in relation to fair play as I brought up instances from Turkish football for him to comment on. He told me that he wished to be "clear and open" since he "doesn't like to beat around the bush" so his comments were to the point and his verdicts at times harsh. When I brought up the case of Alpay and asked him what he thought of the fair play award, he said:

> I remember everyone was swearing at Alpay that day. Everyone said, "I wish he had fouled him." And I'm one of those people too… We were about to gain our first point ever in that tournament, as a country. It was our chance to get our first point. It was special. If he had fouled him there within the framework of football's rules, we could not have called it anti-gentlemanly (*centilmenlik dışı*) behavior.

Aşan told me that if Alpay committed a foul which was not directed at injuring Vlaović (a foul "within the framework of football's rules", a *mübah* or permissible foul), this would not be a malicious act, not anti-gentlemanly and thus not a display of unfairness. Given the situation – which is really a phrase with which all verdicts of fairness must begin – his fouling would have been permissible, or even required.

When I had talked with Tunç, asking him to elaborate further on what he meant by "unwritten rules," he gave the following two examples as distinct cases of footballers handling the ball – one to score and one to prevent a goal – in international competitions to secure advantage for their national teams. The first case he mentioned was Thierry Henry's handball to set up a score for France against Ireland in a World Cup qualification play-off. The second case was Uruguayan Luis Suárez's handball to prevent a goal for Ghana in a World Cup semi-final:

> …when a footballer handballs to get the ball…Henry did this to be able to qualify for the World Cup. I wouldn't support France after that but I'm not incredulous as to how he was able to do it. Anyone would do it if they could; 90% of the players would do it. If the ref didn't see Suárez's handball, for instance…but even then

> [even if he knew the ref would see it], **he is justified/fair** (*haklı*). It's the 100th minute, he is justified. This is how he makes his earnings. The ball is about to go in. What is he supposed to think about? They would kill him back in Uruguay [emphasis added].

In Henry and Suárez's defense, Tunç means that they are justified to handle the ball given the national stakes involved in the game. In both of these situations the player concerned handballed to secure their team's advance to the next round in the World Cup. As in the case of Alpay, the stakes were quite high and the players were seen as responsible not only to their team and teammates but also accountable to entire national publics. Tunç's comment "they would kill him back in Uruguay [if he had not handballed to prevent that goal]" with respect to Suárez is testimony to this. He reads the situation as a matter of national loyalty where a seeming act of unfair play (if we were to define fair play by an adherence to written rules) gains legitimacy and permissibility. Similarly he says that he "was not incredulous" as to how Henry was able to score with his hand. Henry's seemingly unfair act is legible from the standpoint where fairness is enmeshed with national loyalty. In fact, when I was talking to Hasan, he reached a similar verdict about Henry. He said:

> Henry scored with his hand. It was the ref's job. He should have seen it. But on the other hand, my country's chances of going to the world cup are at stake – **are we seriously going to discuss fair play there?** [emphasis added]

Once again, Hasan's words prove that the phrase of "fair play" is insufficient in representing all the implications of fairness and that it fails to capture how fairness works in the context of international competitions in Turkey. These people who have grown up experiencing footballing convention in Turkey point to the component of national loyalty both in evaluating Alpay's award and in passing judgment about international cases where national stakes are high.

One of the best examples of this kind of nationalist justification for an otherwise unfair move came from Diego Maradona after his (in)famous "hand of God" incident in the 1986 FIFA World Cup. Argentina and England met for the quarter finals that summer, four years after the Falklands/Malvinas War between the two countries. Argentina beat England 2-1 where Maradona scored both of the goals for Argentina. The first goal he scored was a handball which he admitted to after the match, calling it "the hand of God" *(la mano de dios).* Here is how Maradona (2005) later recounted this incident in his autobiography:

> The next game was against England…a day I will not forget for as long as I live, ever. That game against England was so hard-fought, so tight...for us, because of everything it represented, we were playing a final against England. More than defeating a football team it was defeating a country. Of course, before the march, we said that football had nothing to do with the Malvinas War but we knew a lot of Argentinian kids had died there, shot down like little birds. This was revenge. It was like recovering a little bit of the Malvinas…Bullocks was it just another match!.. In a way we blamed the English players for everything that happened, for all the suffering of the Argentine people…We were defending our flag, the dead kids, the survivors. That's why I think my goal meant so much... (127-128).
>
> Sometimes I think I enjoyed that one more, the first one [goal]. Now I am able to say what I couldn't then. At the time I called it 'the hand of God'. Bullocks was it the hand of God, it was the hand of Diego! And it felt a little bit like pickpocketing the English (130).

What is significant about the Argentina versus England football rivalry, as Archetti (1999) explains is that this rivalry is conceived by Argentineans as a crucial basis on which to define and formulate national identity and belonging. Magazine (2007) wrote that in places like Brazil and Argentina, football came to be understood as a vehicle with which to build national identity and as a device used to other different nationalities. Footballing styles and experiences came to inform how nations imagined their communities (cf. Anderson 1983). In Argentina for example, "beating the British at their

own game" albeit with a particularly style that belongs to "us" (la *nuestra*) became a crucial imagery to experience nationalism, as well as particular masculinities. Archetti describes the figure of the spontaneous and creative *pibe* (young man) who learns to play football in open fields rather than in disciplined schools like in England. Where English football is likened to machinery characterized by intense control and authority, Argentineans adopted football and began playing it with a national style that described at once a footballing style and a national identification as definitively different from and opposed to England.

Magazine (2007) contrasts this kind of entanglement of footballing and nationalist imageries in Argentina and Brazil to Mexico. He argues that since the Mexican Revolution "was primarily a peasant struggle for land" rather than being fought in "urban and industrial ground" (10) like in Argentina, Mexico's principal national myths were already in place by the time international football competitions began to grow in importance in the 1950s during rapid industrialization and urbanization. Therefore in Mexico, for instance, "national mythology" or nationalist identification is not as closely enmeshed with footballing style as it is in Argentina. In this sense, I find Turkey to resemble Mexico more so than Archetti's description of Argentina to the extent that national myths about Turkishness are not informed by how Turks play football. It is not the case that a certain footballing style has configured into defining ideal notions about belonging to Turkey. However, I did find that my interlocutors took into account national loyalty as a measure of which actions are permissible on the pitch. This national consideration thus allowed them to relate to and sympathize with examples from abroad where fairness seemed to be calibrated within a consideration of nationalism. Indeed, it

was not only Maradona who justified his handball given the political conflict between Argentina and England. When I spoke with Ebru (whom I refer to extensively in chapter 4) about fair play in relation to the "hand of God," she said:

> I feel like most times fair play is just a device for show. 'Oh look, I'm doing fair play!' They kick the ball out when someone is injured [VSP] and they give awards for that…it's all for show…But look, the Maradona case for example, that is different. There is a special situation there. There is war. The people are rebelling against England. There are social reasons. The 'hand of God' is not against fair play.

The Maradona example shows that the evaluation of fairness in play influenced by nationalistic concerns is not unique to Turkey, but in my finding not universal either. What would be the alternative to this conceptualization of fairness as couched in nationalism itself? The clearest would be if the people I spoke with referenced a universal conceptualization of ethics divorced from any particular social situation and thus unaffected by the specificity of any instance. My interviewees could very well refer to a notion of ethical standards that all footballers must abide with no matter which side of an opposition they find themselves in. In fact, in a post-fieldwork conference I attended in June 2012 in Barcelona, I met German colleagues with whom I had the opportunity to discuss my work at length. One of them explicitly told me that he "found it inconceivable that a public German figure would invoke national success to justify what otherwise would be seen as unfair play." His words do not summarize Germany or footballing convention in Germany as a whole but they definitely point to a potential difference between the German and Turkish culture of football in terms of how national loyalty is implicated in fairness in football. I found that this sense of objectivity in ethical deliberation was, while possible, quite absent among the people I spoke with, and especially in situations where national priorities were present. Even in instances where

we were talking about different countries' national teams, my interlocutors expressed sympathy with players' supposedly unfair attempts to boost their own team's chances, à la both Henry and Suárez as we have seen.

In fact, Alpay himself preferred not to acknowledge his (in)actions and did not celebrate his award. Four years after the incident Alpay, apparently seeking to shed responsibility for the incident, gave an interview (NTVSpor 2000) where he called his not-fouling a "momentary impulse" which led to the entire country calling him a "traitor" and "blaming him for the defeat." Alpay asserts that his refraining from fouling was an uncalculated and impulsive move for which he should not be blamed. He denounced his actions, and certainly did not embrace them for the sake of fair play. Moreover, in an interview as recent as 2011 (Haber7 2011), Vlaović interpreted Alpay's fair play award as a "consolation prize" and admitted to feeling like he has "denigrated" Alpay's career, revealing he too shares this footballing convention where fairness is calibrated with national loyalty.

Once again, neither Alpay's hesitancy to embrace his so-called exemplary fair play, nor Vlaović's sympathy for Alpay that nonetheless perfectly understands why Alpay is considered a "traitor" —neither should lead us to conclude that these are morally corrupt people who will do anything to win. Nor must we assume that nationalism trumps fairness, end of story. The more nuanced conclusion is see how these actors define fairness and how fairness is *made* as a notion, concern and concept entwined with national considerations and other footballing conventions. My intention is not to assert that Turkish footballing convention demonstrates fairness that is fairer than UEFA's fair play; it is to establish that local footballing convention contributes to the making of fair.

Conclusion

The goal and thus the most palpable effect of formal and codified rules is that they rank over unwritten customs and conventions. Santos (1987) explained that while the legal system is only “one” regulatory body, it is still the strongest one. I argue that a multifaceted process of commercialization, commodification and corporatization in Turkish football (what fans commonly refer to as the advent of “industrialized” football or *endüstriyel futbol)* along with the AKP government’s increasing measures to control and regulate the site of football within its neoliberal policies have contributed to cementing the official definition of fairness as fair play. In the 2012-2013 season for instance, the TFF began a new practice whereby the children who normally line up with footballers to pose for cameras right before Super League games are dressed in colorful jerseys with Fair Play logos. When I spoke with a former president of the Turkish Football Federation in 2011 who then practiced law, he identified the foremost problem of Turkish football as “under-corporatization.” He referred to violent acts, black market sales of tickets and other “unruliness” as the direct result of this level of insufficient corporatization:

> I think that the only bodies to blame are club administrations and those administrators are backed by those fans. Some fans make money from these informal relations with the administrators and the administrators tolerate them because the fans make sure they are elected. If there were corporate clubs, this would not be the case. The most urgent issue, the open soar in Turkish football is corporatization. This would solve everything. In Austria ¼ of the public are members of sports clubs. In Germany, similar…So there is a formal dialogue between the fan members and the club!

I argue that this increased formalization has produced a sort of longing for past customs and conventions as people (mostly fans) recall alternative definitions of fairness. When I spoke with Beşiktaş fan Veysel, I asked him about the kind of footballer he

wished to see play for his team. Veysel was 32 when we met in 2011 and the editor of an online Beşiktaş news portal. He said he chose this job over an administrative position at Siemens and explained that he gave up on a secure job and a fixed income for his passion, Beşiktaş. He complained dearly about the rise of "industrial football" in Turkey and that is when we also started talking about his ideal image of football, the team and of footballers. He said:

> I want footballers who hold up the team spirit, who come from the youth squads, young people. I don't care if we're not successful for a few years, it is more important for the team to settle. I want guys that are *efendi* (dignified), *adam gibi* (manly), *delikanlı* (crazy-blooded) that are not *çirkef* like Lugano or Bilica or dive…[I want the kind of footballer] we had back in the era of Metin, Ali and Feyyaz. Those who fight (*mücadele*) on the pitch, for the jersey. That is enough. I don't want them to scare away from being kicked. Talent is less important…You know what I want? I want a footballer…if we pay him 1 TL and Fener pays him 2 TL, I want a footballer who still says "Beşiktaş!". Because the difference is not that much. It's not like one team will pay minimum wage and the other one 3000 TL. They don't need the 10-15 TL difference there. It's not worth it. It's both good money. I, myself, have sacrificed a lot for Beşiktaş. In my business life. I was in a corporate job at Siemens. If I thought about it professionally, I would have stayed. But I left…[for the news portal].

Veysel described the footballers he wished to see as *efendi* and *adam gibi*. *Efendi* literally means "master" but is used in Turkish to refer to a dignified person, humble, calm and collected. He also said that he wanted to see 'solid' footballers who don't scare away from being kicked on the pitch: *adam gibi* men which literally means "men like men," and *delikanlı* men which connotes youth, honesty and toughness. (in chapter 3 I will discuss how certain vocabularies of manliness index fairness in Turkish and in Turkish football). He contrasts this to being *çirkef* or to diving. Moreover, he contrasts this to an image of a footballer who sells out and plays for another team only for financial or "professional" reasons. He says that if he himself was able to make a monetary and

professional sacrifice for Beşiktaş, he expects the same from his footballers. To perfect this imagery of the ideal footballer, he refers back to three of Beşiktaş's legendary players (Metin, Ali, Feyyaz) from the 1990s who symbolize the kind of humble success he desires to see. I will talk more about this sense of nostalgia in Chapter 4.

This romantic image of Turkish football with dignified players who care more about team loyalty than money is one which stands opposed to the corporatized football ideal that the former TFF president painted for me. With corporatization, we see fans as club members who contribute financially to the club by paying subscription fees. With Veysel, we see people who give up their fixed-income jobs to run an online news portal about the team. When I spoke with Veysel's fanmate Emre and asked him about whether Beşiktaş's fan group *çArşı* indeed had tangible quarters or membership, he said "no, for a while there was a foundation at Abbasağa but then they closed it. I guess our guys couldn't stand the formality." This tension between informality and formality is very much present in the tension between fair play standards and on-the-ground experiences of fairness. Where the bundle of professionalism, commodification, institutionalization and codification of rules identifies right action in the form of fair play, nostalgic accounts of Turkish football prior to the intensification of these processes refer to senses of fairness that also resist these very developments. I strongly believe that the interpretations I was privy to in the beginning of the 2010s in Istanbul on Alpay's award reveal something about this change in formality that Turkish football is currently going through.

In describing legal pluralism, Santos (1987) likened laws and legal systems to maps because they are practical and convenient but also produce misreadings, ruptures and absences. This is very similar to de Certeau's (1988) discussion of literal maps which

necessarily obscure and misrepresent the real experience of walking in a cityscape. Maps, laws and formal rules are all different manifestations of overarching societal impositions that all communities are subjected to in one way or another. These codes iron out the wrinkles of lived experience for the sake of producing universally applicable guidelines. In Turkish football, one set of such rules are those which define fair play. I argue that not only does Turkish footballing convention produce alternative notions of fairness to counteract these standardized rules but that there is also a resistance to rising formalization in the form of longing and nostalgia.

In this chapter I argued that FIFA and UEFA present a set of written rules on fairness which differs from the unwritten rules of football in Turkey. To substantiate those unwritten rules, I elaborated on the notions of permissibility (*mübah*) and malice (*çirkef*) vis-à-vis fouling and I explained how a sense of national loyalty is implicated in the making of fairness. I used the legal anthropological notion of legal pluralism and sports philosophy's discussion of formalism versus conventionalism to theoretically contextualize my argument.

The next chapter continues with the same line of argument. There, instead of looking at the official guidelines which define fair play and how a popular notion of fairness differs from that, I take into consideration an actual law, that is a law enacted by the (Turkish) state, not a rule in the lawbook of football. This is the "Law to Prevent Violence and Disorder in Sport" in Turkey, recently passed by the Turkish parliament, the assumptions of which I critique, especially its claims to represent and implement fairness through a similar (yet different) discourse of fair play to that of FIFA and UEFA.

CHAPTER 2 - A CRITIQUE OF THE SPORTS VIOLENCE LAW IN TURKEY

Introduction

The largest match-fixing scandal in the history of Turkish football erupted towards the end of my fieldwork in July 2011. Several clubs were implicated in a match-fixing racket. In particular, Fenerbahçe was singled out as having a leading role in the match fixing, especially with regard to its recently won title as league champions. Among other administrators, club president Aziz Yıldırım was taken under custody; he would serve a year's sentence in prison. The first home game of Fenerbahçe after the allegations and the arrests took place on July 21, 2011. It was a friendly[29] against the Ukrainian squad Shakhtar Donetsk.

I arrived at Fenerbahçe's Şükrü Saracoğlu stadium in Kadıköy at 8 PM, an hour before the match. I noticed that a lot of Fenerbahçe fans wore white t-shirts printed with Aziz Yıldırım's photo – these shirts were by then nearly sold-out at Fenerbahçe's official merchandise store Fenerium. I also saw that many fans had on cardboard Aziz Yıldırım masks (photo 6). Later I found out that there were stadium officials in charge of distributing these masks for free. Amidst a crowd of Fenerbahçe fans in their dark blue and yellow gear, their Aziz Yıldırım t-shirts and masks, I made my way towards the cashiers at the entrance of the stadium to pick up my ticket. Fenerbahçe fans would display intense solidarity with the president of the club throughout the allegations and court trials; this was their first opportunity to come together in the stadium to make their

[29] A "friendly" is when a match is organized for training purposes and the score of the game doesn't count towards any championships or tournaments.

solidarity clear. Aziz Yıldırım's posters covered the entire neighborhood and they lined the stadium on the inside, hung above each section of the seated areas.

Photo 6: FB fans wearing Aziz Yıldırım masks. July 21, 2011

Fenerbahçe fans in general were very angry with the sports media for the way they treated news about Aziz Yıldırım's arrest. His mug shots were published a long time before he was found guilty and this made the fans furious. At this game, there was constant swearing directed at the sports media in the form of collective chants. The fans situated by the press stands began throwing water cups and large pieces of colorful cardboard (initially distributed for choreographed cheering) at the members of the press. Verbal attacks against the media in general and sports writers in particular could be heard from amongst the fans, calls such as "sons of bitches." Then, fans began to chant *en masse* "leave the stadium, you sons of bitches". The intense taunting and insulting continued until the press reps were forced out of the stadium, including the photo journalists who normally surround the field at pitch level. As the press stands emptied, fans moved a large poster of Aziz Yıldırım to cover these seats. Right across from where

I stood in the northern section behind the goal, I could see Aziz Yıldırım's proud poster glaring as if with spite as he was able to push out media representatives and claim his rightful place in the stadium – all of this when Aziz Yıldırım was in fact in a holding cell, awaiting his trial.

The whole atmosphere of the stadium was already extraordinary due to the hype around the match-fixing scandal, Aziz Yıldırım's being accused in the eyes of the law but redeemed in the eyes of the fans, the protests, the t-shirts and the masks. However, from the 60th minute of the match the atmosphere took on a new character, and the scene acquired a whole new level of anthropological intrigue for me. For the first time, I heard the following chant live:

> *Sarı, mavi, yeşil, meşil fark etmez*
>   No matter if it's yellow, blue or green
> *Yürüyoruz aynı yolda biz*
>   We walk the same line
> *Futbol şiddettir, futbol holiganlıktır,*
>   Football is violence, football is hooliganism
> *Futbol adam bıçaklamaktır*
>   Football is stabbing men

I knew of the existence of this song but had never encountered fans singing it before. I must say, I was quite taken aback to hear thousands of people sing about stabbing men as they pumped their fists in the air. I remember thinking about how ironic it was that fans were singing these "violent" words as a protest against the arrest of Aziz Yıldırım whose arrest had been enabled under the recently passed "Law to Prevent Violence and Disorder in Sport" (TFF 2011) It was through this law that activities associated with match-fixing had become criminal offenses.

When I returned home I looked more into the chant. It had initially been composed as a "fair play song" by Ercan Saatçi and Ufuk Yıldırım, two famous pop

singers of the ’90s in Turkey. The original lyrics began with the same two lines above but continued in a different mood: “We speak here to fans who think football is violence and to all the wrong decisions taken.” Over time, the song was co-opted by those very fans “who think football is violence,” and acquired new lyrics that seemed to speak about violence rather than against it. On this particular occasion it was sung by Fenerbahçe fans who were fed up with how their team and their president were being treated by the football federation, the media and the law which was recently passed in the name of fair play.

Soon after the fans broke out the violence, hooliganism and stabbing version of the song, I noticed approximately 10 men, Aziz Yıldırım masks on their faces, running down the stairs between two sections of the stadium to the left of me. They didn’t stop at the bottom but jumped over the low barriers, straight onto the pitch. Ten of them was a large enough group that the security forces had trouble controlling them. Soon, other fans all around the stadium began running onto the pitch as well. In a matter of minutes, the game had stopped with thousands of people on the field. The footballers had left and the pitch heaved with fans singing, dancing and chanting uncontrollably. Fans stood inside the goal nets, and clambered on top of the goal posts. Flares lit up the grass and painted the sky with red and green smoke (photo 7). Constant announcements from the loudspeakers urging the fans to return to their seats did not work. The most effective announcement was when the stadium official yelled “anyone who doesn’t leave the pitch is a Galatasaray fan!” This achieved the intended purpose of clearing most of the people but by that time the stadium lights were already being shut off and the game had been cancelled.

Photo 7: FB fans enter the pitch in protest. July21, 2011

The Violence Law

On April 14, 2011 the Turkish Parliament passed the "Law to Prevent Violence and Disorder in Sport" (colloquially referred to as the "Violence Law"), focusing mainly on the country's most popular sport, football. Legitimized as a means to stop physical and verbal violence in and around sporting events, the law also included provisions about match-fixing. Turkish football's first confrontation with this latter aspect of the law occurred in July 2011. The implementation of the law provoked a near earthquake in Turkish football, implicating 16 Super League clubs who had allegedly been mixed up in match-fixing in the previous season. Preoccupying the nation for a whole year after the initial arrests, the match-fixing scandal also popularized academic and journalistic literature on the issue (Giresunlu 2011, see also Foot 2006 for the match-fixing scandal in Italy).

As important as it is to talk about this upheaval in Turkish football, which is still a "current event" as I write this, I found that the match-fixing scandals disguised other aspects of the law so that they have been less talked about than they should be, namely the law's content regarding policing and controlling fandom. The immediate and urgent appeal of the corruption scandal has obscured discussions about the impact of this law in other regards, its purpose, its assumptions and the process of its legitimization. Besides aiming to curtail match-fixing, this law was designed as an outright attempt to change the culture and conventions of fandom in Turkey and it sought to acquire its legitimacy from the footballing community by referring to a discourse of anti-violence. I began this chapter by talking about the first concrete instance of protest against the law, a protest which related to the match-fixing scandal but also invoked, perhaps accidentally, the side of the law that seeks to regulate fan behavior and violence. In the rest of this chapter, I will delve deeper into the law beyond its affect on match-fixing and this will contextualize better the significance of the protest by Fenerbahçe fans and the song they used to voice it.

The new provisions introduced by the law are plenty and are devised to hyper-accentuate the state's role in gathering information about fans and fan behavior. For example, the law requires that each fan must be issued an electronic ticket that includes his/her ID, permanent seat number in the stadium and any past record of unruly behavior. Other regulations include limiting rights to travel for potentially problematic fans, and increased monetary fines for acts of hooliganism and imprisonment. This law has precedent in a European context and was fashioned after similar laws and regulations already in force in countries like England and Italy. In countries where these laws are

more rooted than in Turkey, fan associations have formed to protest these laws and prescriptions.

This chapter critically engages with The Violence Law, its assumptions and the way in which it is able to gain legitimacy in the social site of football in Turkey. Using the discourse of anti-violence, anti-hooliganism and security, this law is able to completely refashion the site of football. Its main target is fandom and as such it is aimed at creating a new way in which fans must associate with their teams. In that sense, this law is the foremost tool of intensifying institutionalization and regulation in Turkish football. My ethnographic study points to the rough ways in which fan subjectivities are transformed in Turkey by way of regulating the physical and emotional space around football. I argue that we must critique the law's discourse of anti-violence since this supposedly peaceful mission is used to legitimize extreme and excessive measures of state and police control in the site of football.

Background for the Violence Law

In November 2011, Yunus Egemenoğlu, lawyer and former board member in charge of legal affairs for the Turkish Football Federation, participated in a symposium on "preventing violence and match-fixing in sport" at Istanbul's Şehir University (TFF 2011). There, he explained that the recently passed law had been in the works for 5 ½ years. He said that nearly 50 lawyers and legal advisors had worked on designing the law and that 13 lawyers for the TFF had dedicated their entire schedules to it in the past 2 ½ years. He emphasized the importance of the law highlighting that it was not just about "match-fixing and incentive bonuses." "Those are only in one provision," he said,

whereas “the law includes [other] content that is much more important and revolutionary.” The following is how he described the need for this law:

> There was a need to devise something against the unruliness and hooliganism in stadiums. It was clear that there were no administrative measures being taken and that club administrators always walked without reprimands…After our analyses, we saw that there needed to be a judicial involvement in the matter.

As Egemenoğlu mentioned, the Turkish football community was already familiar with debates and discussions about a law like this since multiple TFF administrations had brought up and advocated similar measures as primary parts of in their agendas. The months leading up to the acceptance of the law by the Turkish Parliament saw especially frequent mention in the media of the need for the law. In December 2010, then state minister for youth and sports Faruk Nafiz Özak made the following press declaration:

> Normally, given measures of fair play, all fans must be able to attend away games [without fear of being attacked by home team fans]. We must prepare this environment. These people who engage in violent acts…they must not go unpunished. We must be able to watch these matches in peace and within measures of fair play…We are a state of law. Courts have the authority to accrue punishment for these cases. We already have a legal system that is in place for this. All we are trying to do is increase sanctions to curtail these instances. We can do this, just like the rest of the world did. If we want to engage in sports, with its true meaning and with fair play, if we want to improve friendship and camaraderie, then we must condemn these people, we must stop their acts and disqualify them…They will soon be brought to their senses…This is Turkey. It is a state of law. There is authority. We will overcome these. These are groups of unguided youths affected by provocations. They will soon return to their senses. (SporX 2010)

What is striking in Özak’s declaration is the way in which he draws a straightforward relation between this law and fair play. For this minister of sports, the viability of fair play must be sustained by legal reform. That is, a law against violence and disorder that penalizes instances of hooliganism and fan violence automatically translates to achieving a peaceful atmosphere of fair play. It is precisely this equation –

the straight line drawn between fair play and the violence law – which I challenge in this chapter: the definition of fairness through this legalized notion of fair play. I will argue that this law limits personal freedoms and presumptuously attempts to transform fan culture so that its representation of fairness through the promise of fair play is limited.

As Özak mentions, the law passed in Turkey is just like others in the "rest of the world." It was clear for the TFF's legal team that a law like this would follow examples already in place elsewhere in Europe. In December 2010, Yunus Egemenoğlu made multiple TV appearances to explain the scope of the law and its goals. He appeared on Turkey's foremost football subscription channel Lig TV (2010) and explained that the designers of the law "had not reinvented the wheel" and that they were only following in the European and especially the English example. "Europe is advanced," he said "in Italy, even the fans are required to have licenses." When a guest on the same TV program expressed disbelief over some of the regulations in the new law, Egemenoğlu simply stated that Turkey was taking steps in the same direction as Europe and finally legally attuning itself to European football overall.

The main inspiration for these laws around Europe, including the Violence Law in Turkey, has been the Taylor Report (1990), published in England. The Hillsborough Stadium Disaster Inquiry Report, better known as the Taylor report as it was overseen by Lord Justice Taylor of Gosforth was published in the aftermath of the Hillsborough Disaster of April 1989 which caused the deaths of 96 Liverpool FC fans in a human crush during a match between Liverpool and Nottingham Forest at Hillsborough Stadium in Sheffield, England. Hillsborough is the second incident after the Heysel Tragedy that is said to have led to the Taylor Report. The Heysel Tragedy took place in Brussels in 1985

when 39 Juventus fans died pressed against a wall as they tried to escape attacking Liverpool fans. As a result of this tragedy, English clubs received an indefinite ban by the UEFA from all European competitions which would only be lifted in 1990 (BBC 1985).

The Taylor Report declared that the main reason for the Hillsborough Disaster was failure of police control. Its main provision was to convert all stadiums to the all-seater model, getting rid of standing terraces. The report included other recommendations that specifically aimed to modify each section of the stadium: turnstiles, crush barriers, fences and gates, corridors, emergency exists, etc. While overcrowding and poor facilities were highlighted as the major cause of stadium disasters, the report also emphasized alcohol consumption and hooligan activities as contributing factors to these tragedies. As such, it made major recommendations that included heightened police control, computerized fan records (to be kept by a National Football Intelligence Unit), all-ticket matches (and no ticket sales immediately before kick-off), joint fan family areas in stadiums to promote harmony between fan groups of opposing teams and early, daytime kick-offs to curtail drinking before games (Taylor 1990).

The Taylor Report came after England's Football Spectators Act (1989),[30] a major recommendation of which was to issue membership cards for all fans in the form of photo IDs. This way, police hoped to enhance record keeping in relation to problematic fans who engaged in hooligan activities. While the "membership scheme" did not take effect in England as smoothly as the Act hoped, similar schemes were later introduced in other parts of Europe. For example, today it is impossible to attend a football game as a tourist in Italy since, despite much national protest, going to matches requires that one has a "*Tessera del Tifoso*" or a Supporter's ID Card (Wurbs 2011). Other practices in the

[30] The document can be accessed here: http://www.legislation.gov.uk/ukpga/1989/37/contents

same vein include travel bans for away games in Greece, stadium bans for "violent fans" in France and a general increase in policing football all over Europe (FSE 2011). When I asked lawyer Mahmut Akın, chief advisor for Yunus Egemenoğlu in the Violence Law's design process, about the countries from whence inspiration and examples were taken to perfect the Turkish law, he listed England, Italy, Switzerland and France as well as FIFA, UEFA and European Union guidelines on security. The Turkish Violence Law was thus adapted from these examples. The last few years have seen "pro-fan" NGOs and other organizations around Europe which protest these laws and regulations. I will refer to one such organization, Football Supporters Europe (FSE), in a later section.

The Turkish Violence Law continues a long tradition in Turkey of borrowing legal restructuring from Europe in the name of 'modernity' and 'civilization.' As Ahıska (2003) said "Europe has been an object of desire as well as a source of frustration for Turkish national identity in a long and strained history" (351). Scholars studying Turkish political history trace efforts to "modernize" back to the late Ottoman era when institutional Westernization efforts began intensifying and accelerated further with the foundation of the new Republic in 1923. The 1920s and 1930s in Turkey saw major social and political transformations undertaken in line with the modernization paradigm whereby modernity, as a desired state of civilization was equated with a progressive West. This meant that the Turkish Republic would sever all ties with its Ottoman past that represented for the secular ruling elite everything backward and Eastern. Kasaba and Bozdoğan (1997) explain that these developments convinced most scholars abiding by the modernization paradigm that Turkey was the ultimate success story in regard to the transformations it achieved. As such, "Ottoman and Turkish modernization was seen to

be succeeding as an elite-driven, consensus-based, institution-building process that took its inspiration exclusively from the West" (3). These reforms reached all levels of state and society including "education, law, social life, clothing, music, architecture, and the arts…" (4) where nation-state imaginations, legal codes, social and aesthetic styles were all borrowed from Western European countries assumed to constitute the epitome of progress and civilization.

While at first, the Turkish example seemed to prove the viability of the project of modernity, increasingly as scholars became disillusioned by the developmentalist and Eurocentric nature of the modernization paradigm, Turkish studies began to critique the way in which reforms were introduced to Turkish society (Kasaba and Bozdoğan 1997). In fact, today, it is quite common to read critical accounts of Turkish modernization, its assumptions, implementations and "civilizational shift" (5). As Bozdoğan and Kasaba wrote in 1997:

> Now, people publicly debate and criticize the Kemalist doctrine as a patriarchal and antidemocratic imposition from above that has negated the historical and cultural experience of the people in Turkey. In a hitherto unprecedented tone, the Kemalist path of modernization, far from being an exemplary success story, is declared a historical failure that undermined the normative order in Ottoman-Turkish society. (4)

As much as these critiques are commonplace in Turkish studies today, I would argue that the fetishization of Europe as the culmination of civilized progress remains in public discourse in Turkey. For example, this was observable in the beginning of the 2000s in relation to Turkey's possible candidacy as full member for the European Union. Ahıska (2003) wrote, "One of the striking themes that emerged in the pro-European campaigns emphasizing the urgency of accomplishing the required legislative reforms in 2002

echoes the persisting anxiety over the possibility of finally ‘catching the train’ of modern civilization” (352).[31]

I argue that this “persisting anxiety” is traceable in how the Violence Law is promoted in Turkey by TFF officials and media representatives. Not only were items in the law borrowed directly from England, Switzerland, Italy, France as well as FIFA, UEFA and European Union guidelines on security but, as I will show below, TFF administrators support this law because of its promise to introduce civilized fandom in Turkey after the European examples. Once again we are presented with an image of Turkey that lags behind the “train of modern civilization” and European law as the solution to fix this civilizational problem. The ordering discourse of West=Europe=modernity=progress=civilization=good is so deeply enshrined in Turkey that it resurfaces as the creator and resolution device to all social problems, including the problem of unruly fandom in football.

Content of the Violence Law in Turkey

Even though the title of this law suggests that it refers to all sports, its main focus is football. Most of its provisions make this explicit by stating their relevance only “for the top two professional football leagues.” Also, since football is the most popular sport in the country and since a predominant number of “violence and disorder” related incidents take place in and around football games, it is safe to say that this law is geared mainly to transform the site of football and football fandom.

[31] As Ahıska (2003) wrote, the early years of the Republic witnessed both a “celebration” of Europe as the civilization model but also the depiction of Europe as a threat to Turkish “indigenous” values. While this is a significant component of “Occidentalism” in Turkey as Ahıska explains, I do not belabor this point in the dissertation since it does not relate to my discussion of the Violence Law in football.

The law is composed of four sections. After the first section defines terms and describes the mission and scope, the latter sections detail measures to increase security in and around stadiums, various punishments and bans in relation to violence and disorder and guides for implementation. In this section, I will paraphrase some items which I will use to formulate my argument on how the law imagines fandom, how it imagines fairness and how and why we must critique it.

The law defines its goal as "preventing violence and disorder before, during and after matches, in and around sports sites, in locations where fans gather in groups for shorter or longer periods of time and in routes to and away from games." I have paraphrased the items that fit under "policing" and "information gathering." These are my analytical categories and my allocations of the law's items as such. Besides these items, the law also includes statements on match-fixing, verbal offenses, vandalism, drug and alcohol abuse in and around the stadium and media provocations of fan violence.

a) <u>Policing</u>

- Sports security councils will be formed on the levels of province and district.
- The host club is responsible for segregating home team fans and away fans to ensure security and order in sports sites. For this purpose, they may erect fences, walls or barriers.
- All technological equipment should be in place to ensure security. The provincial and district sports security councils are to determine the location of cameras and other technical equipment.

- Stadiums are to include the following: At least two waiting rooms of 20 (to detain problematic fans during the match), enough control rooms to accommodate security cameras accessible by police and private security as well as stadium announcement equipment. Federation and club representatives are to be stationed in control rooms. Recorded footage is to be sent to the sports security council, the federation and both clubs.
- Police and private security are in charge of maintaining security in and around the stadium. Clubs must also allocate club officials to assist police and private security. Clubs may purchase services from private security companies towards this goal. An extra police contingent may be reserved to serve at these events.
- Clubs are to select fan representatives. Identities and addresses of club fan representatives are to be reported to the nearest police station. These representatives are in charge of assisting police and private security.
- The following are banned from sporting sites: guns, other weapons, explosives and other inflammables, drugs and alcohol. Police and private security reserve the right to search those attending matches and their belongings. Fans may also be searched before, during and after matches, *en route* to or away from the stadium.
- Those who are obviously under the influence of drugs and alcohol are not to be permitted in stadiums. Those in this state are to be forcibly removed from the stadium and to receive attendance bans.

b) Information gathering

- All stadiums seats are to be numbered. Ticket-sales are based on numbered seats. No spectators above stadium capacity or without tickets are to enter.
- All tickets are to be electronic. Everyone who wishes to purchase a ticket is to be issued an electronic card on which is recorded information including: name, last name, Turkish ID number and photo. For foreigners, the card will include nationality and passport number. These cards alone will provide access to stadiums. The information stored in electronic cards will be compiled in a databank by the federation. This databank will be shared with the Ministry of Finance and Internal Affairs. Those who lend their electronic tickets to someone else are punishable by this law.
- The electronic fan cards will be sold by the federation. Clubs will sell match tickets through the cards. The federation will be in charge of marketing and advertising the cards. Revenue from marketing and sales of tickets belongs to clubs.
- Those who produce fake electronic tickets, sell them, buy them or possess them are to receive prison sentences between 1-4 years and judicial fines for ten thousand days.
- Someone may receive an attendance ban if they commit a felony against this law. An attendance ban means that the person is banned from entering sporting sites to watch matches or training sessions. The ban is lifted only a year after the person has served the penalty for their crime.

- This ban is relevant for fans who engage in physical, verbal violence or vandalism outside of stadiums as well. All relevant information about these bans are preserved in a databank at the police headquarters. Clubs and federations have access to this databank. Information on banned fans is shared with relevant sports clubs and respective offices in other countries where and when the fan’s team is scheduled to play abroad.
- The banned person must report to the nearest police station at kick-off and one hour after the game has started so as to prove they are not at the stadium.

Photo 8: Police Tank in front of BJK Inönü Stadium before a GS derby. April 30, 2011

These extensive techniques to police and to know those attending football matches recall to mind Foucault’s (2000) discussion of power/knowledge, surveillance and disciplinary society as well as Deleuze’s (1992) expounding on “control society.” Among other ways, Foucault defines discourse as “an ordered set of polemical and strategic facts” (3) where one may be able to trace “…the historical construction of a

subject through a discourse understood as consisting of a set of strategies which are a part of social practices" (4). Knowledge, in turn, is defined in Foucault's writings as a "surface effect," (8) something that does not "originate" but is rather "invented" from within discourse and as an effect of power that serves to maintain that discourse. Based on this interlinking between power, discourse, knowledge and subject formation, Foucault adds that:

> Judicial practices, the manner in which wrongs and responsibilities are settled between men, the mode by which…society conceived and defined the way men could be judged in terms of wrongs committees, the way in which compensation for some actions and punishments for others were imposed on specific individuals – all the rules…all these practices that were indeed governed by rules…seem to me to be one of the forms by which our society defined types of subjectivity, forms of knowledge and, consequently, relations between man and truth which deserve to be studied (4).

Given this theorization, we may interpret the Violence Law as a specific social practice which contributes to the systematic maintenance of a discourse of anti-violence and security thus producing knowledge about what constitutes violent action as well as subjects that are actually but more importantly potentially violent. Foucault underlines that in disciplinary society (which he attributes to 18th and 19th century Western Europe), this form of knowledge production included "…a scandalous idea, in terms of penal theory, of dangerousness. The idea of dangerousness meant that the individual must be considered by society at the level of his potentialities…at the level of behavioral potentialities they represented" (57).

Foucault also writes of disciplinary society as a "society of supervision" and presents his theorization on Bentham's Panopticon. Foucault described the Panopticon, the central surveillance tower in a prison, as "an architectural apparatus" and a "machine…for creating and sustaining a power relation independent of the person who

exercises it" (201). This apparatus makes inmates visible individually by the supervisor who is himself the all-seeing eye that is never seen. Inmates are never fully aware if the central tower is occupied but they experience the constant exercise of power by potential constant visibility.

Although Foucault described this and other disciplinary techniques as they came to exist two decades ago in Western Europe, his descriptions and especially his theory of power has been widely utilized in the social sciences in relation to various different societies including Turkey. One such study that I build on is Çavlin-Bozbeyoğlu's (2011) extensive analysis of demographic techniques in Turkey where she focuses on Turkey's switch from paper national ID cards to electronic identification systems for the citizenry.

Late 2010 in Turkey saw the pilot implementation of electronic ID cards which include a chip with an identification number, a photograph, biometrical information including finger prints and finger vein pattern and a PIN code for further verification. Çavlin-Bozbeyoğlu discusses this switch as a part of the "phenomenal increase in surveillance" in the country which she links to neoliberal economic transformation. She explains that electronic ID cards in Turkey are designed as advanced technological devices to integrate governance and commerce. Calling this card a "surveillant assemblage" (cf. Haggerty and Ericson 2000), she says "The strong link between the identification system and commercial sphere can be observed in the fact that producing one's ID card, particularly the ID number, is a requirement for electronic commerce, banking and even for some discount card systems" (67).

Çavlin-Bozbeyoğlu further notes that while the Foucauldian analysis of disciplinary societies and the Panopticon are useful to analyze the current techniques of

surveillance in Turkey, the situation has moved “beyond the Panopticon” to include characteristics of a Deleuzian “control society.” Deleuze (1992) wrote that means of identification take an additional form in control societies where signatures and administrative numbers are accompanied or replaced by codes and passwords. In effect, control societies become giant databanks where inclusion in this databank becomes a determinant of formal recognition both in the eyes of the state and the free market. But as Çavlin-Bozbeyoğlu critiques:

> On the one hand, the rights of citizenship are granted by the identification system; on the other hand, state surveillance over personal data is expanding through the identification system. The system is a necessary means of obtaining citizenship rights, but, by the same token, it results in the loss of one of the most significant parts of those rights: privacy….In particular, two domains of data sharing are very crucial and problematic. The first is security and the second is commerce, since we live in an era where privacy can be easily sacrificed for the sake of security and extension of the free market. (75)

The “Law to Prevent Violence and Disorder in Sport” is a judicial practice in the Foucauldian sense which serves to delimit a discourse of security by inventing knowledge about violence and potentially violent subjects. It is also a formal apparatus which authorizes state policing of these potentially violent subjects both by mobilizing actual police and by extensive techniques to surveil them. While new stadium designs that promote all-seater sections, security fences, barriers and detention rooms are reminiscent of Foucault’s denotation of the Panopticon as an “architectural apparatus” of power, the linking of stadium seats to individual ID cards on which other information about fans is stored and shared with various parties (including police, security, club and TFF officials and Internal Affairs) carry us “beyond the Panopticon” into a state of a “surveillant assemblage.” As Çavlin-Bozbeyoğlu illustrates, this transition in Turkish football can be understood as a manifestation of similar transitions in Turkish society at

large where the intensification of neoliberalism under AKP governance (as I explained in the Introduction) facilitates and necessitates them.

At the time of writing (January 2013), one season and a half has gone by since this law was passed. When I had the chance to talk with Mahmut Akın about this law, one of the first questions I had in mind was to ask about the time frame with which the law was projected to be implemented in full. As a frequenter of football games in Istanbul, I know that there is no such thing as an electronic ticket yet, nor do they have waiting rooms in stadiums or the kind of technical surveillance equipment required by the law. Akın explained to me that even though it was initially thought that a year would be enough time to fully implement the law, they had recently increased the process to three years and expected full implementation by 2014. He added that some items, including the formation of district and province security councils, attendance bans and reporting to police stations at kick-off had begun, as well as increased fines and prison sentences.

As I explained above, this law and its prescriptions are not specific to Turkey. What is significant about the Turkish case is that a transformation in the site of football as propelled by a law like this is taking place right now, as I write this, and it is being fashioned after examples from Europe. Catching this transformation in its midst, I had the opportunity to watch and analyze the discourse with which it was legitimized by TFF officials, media reps and referees and I also had the chance to see how it was viewed from the side of fans.

How does the Violence Law gain legitimacy?

I was in the field right when this law was passed and during the period leading up to it, a period which was characterized by federation officials promoting the law and TV sports programs dedicating a considerable amount of time to informing fans about its content and its promises to curtail violence and hooliganism. I found that it is mainly the federation representatives, media personalities and referees who promote this law. Mahmut Akın was explicit and blunt in his description of the law for me, he said that the law was "necessary to show that a safe and fun space can exist in this country that is already laden with violence" that its desire absolutely was to "change fan culture." He said the law also needed to be complemented by education in schools where children can be taught how sports include "fair play, sportsmanship and gentlemanly conduct."

I argue that the only way for this legitimization argument to be sound is if a certain imagination of fans is created and reinforced and if a certain conceptualization of fairness (through lawful fair play) is taken for granted. For the law to gain legitimacy, fans need to be portrayed as essentially problematic by virtue of a certain 'passionate, irrational devotion' to football. They must also be imagined as an aimless lumpen class in need of being "brought to their senses" in minister Özak's words. Secondly, for the law to sustain its legitimacy, it must be taken for granted that the legal promotion of fair play (as Özak and Akın engage in) is the only means by which one may represent fairness in the site of football. I will challenge this law's claim to legitimacy by challenging its two assumptions: about fans and about fairness.

a) <u>Law's legitimacy and the imagination of fandom</u>

Below is a record of my conversation with the marketing director of the Turkish Football Federation during 2011. His words show how a certain imagination of fandom and its dangers are enmeshed with the argument about the necessity of this law.

> I can establish what this [fandom] is. I think it is very sociological. The team they support and football becomes a point of connecting with life for some people. I am sure that there is nothing else in their lives. No lovers, no women, no hobbies. This is their only connection to life. They think they gain social status by joining fan groups, they think they are powerful. And what we try to do is cleanse stadiums of these people – these *amigos* [fan group leaders] and hooligans. The stadium stands need to be cleansed. For them it is only a fight for status and for clout. Football clubs are at fault too. They distribute free tickets. With legal reorganization and with more luxurious stadiums, these people won't be able to go to matches. That's how it works. This is proven…We need to do things like other civilized countries. The English fans were banned from UEFA. You know about the Taylor Report, of course…Hopefully, we will reach that level of maturity, with this law. Because there are too many factors that trigger violence, disorder and that prevent watching football in a civilized way. The law is very clear. It is very well thought out. Most of those people who act according to *racon* [conventional procedures], won't be able to enter the stadiums. No more paper tickets. No more free tickets to *amigos* and stadium leaders. This law will work. They will need to buy cards with chips, with their Turkish ID numbers. New camera set-ups for the stadiums. Increase police and private security authority in the stadium. If someone's sitting in your seat, the police will pull them up from the collar and throw them out.

At this point I interjected:

> I honestly don't think that anyone will call the police to complain about someone sitting in their seat. That just doesn't happen.

He rejoined:

> Because the police had no authority before. Now they will. And people will learn. They will get used to this. The cameras will identify them. The police will be able to control your electronic card and your card will be denied access to all stadiums around Turkey…As stadiums modernize, as they get more luxurious and as ticket systems change, the *çapulcu* [freebooter/raider/plunderer] won't be able to afford going to matches.

I asked him:

> What is the ultimate goal here?

He responded:

> To get rid of violence in football. To make sure that people can watch football in a more civilized manner, that they can see it like a game, a joyous pastime, a hobby – not a matter of life and death. Because it is not. It could only be a matter

of life and death for a club, since if they are relegated they lose money, because football is a commercial industry. But it is not a matter of life and death for fans.

Notice here that the discourse of anti-violence is enmeshed with a certain way of depicting those who supposedly cause this violence. The marketing director depicts fans as people with absolutely nothing in their lives but football – "no lovers, no women, no hobbies." This is clearly untrue. In all of my research, I have never met a single fan who has no social attachments other than football. My interviewee depicts fans as people who have nothing to lose. This is a gross misrepresentation I correct throughout this dissertation. For the marketing director however, the fans are aimless good-for-nothings. It is their absence in stadiums which shall bring about security in football. "Cleansing" stadiums of these "plunderers," "raiders" and free riders (*çapulcu*) will ensure that football in Turkey is "civilized" like in the rest of Europe.

The marketing director is not alone in his depiction of fans and why the law is thus legitimate. Besides him I also had the opportunity to interview a former president of the Turkish Football Federation. This man is also a lawyer who currently practices law through his private firm in Istanbul. He said the following about the Violence Law:

> The most important thing we're lacking is sports police. Right now, we have regular police who go to stadiums…We need police specifically for sports. We also need private security in stadiums. Some stadiums have this today but not all, since it's too expensive. And then we need to make sure that private security and police are in constant communication with each other. That's not the case right now. In Europe, it is stadium security that organizes everything…So the stadiums need to be designed accordingly as well. We need wide corridors between stadium blocks, easy access, inside and out. The Bayern stadium[32] has 366 doors…Cameras would help too but what is important is sports management. We need good stadium police. In Italy for instance, you have your name on your card. My daughter [who lives in Italy] can't buy me a ticket there. Your own name has to be on it. You enter the match showing your ID card. So everyone knows who is sitting in which seat. You buy your season's tickets and everyone knows where you're sitting. That way, you curtail black market sales of tickets as well.

[32] He is referring to the Allianz Arena in Munich, Germany, the home stadium of Bayern Munich.

In both of these accounts there is an intense desire and advocacy to make fans utterly knowable. Since the assumption is that these are unattached lowlifes who have nothing to lose, the concern is to define them, to know them and make information about them available to as many authorities as possible. When I challenged the marketing director saying that I didn't imagine anyone would inform on a fellow fan by reporting them to the police, I was not talking about a hypothetical situation. In January 2011, I went to the BJK versus Trabzonspor game with my father. We saw a flare light up in a lower section of the Northern stands. The police approached us and asked us if we could pinpoint for them who it was that lit the torch. My father and I both shook our heads and said we hadn't seen it. It is true that we in fact did not see specifically who lit the flare but I doubt that we would have said anything even if we had. It is simply against "how things are done" in the stadium to inform on someone, a fellow "fanmate". One might say that it was against the "unwritten rules" of football and Turkish fan convention I have described in the previous chapter. What the law and its advocates are trying to achieve, on the other hand, is to make sure that everyone is exposed, that everyone has a reachable and concrete file that can be accessed at any given time by the police. Carried out in the name of security, the effort is to control fans by gaining more and more information about them; everything from their photos to their national ID numbers to their past record of behavior in football matches. I raised this issue with Murat Aşan, the football journalist we met in the previous chapter. Here is a section of our conversation:

> YN: What do you think about this recent law – the Violence Law?
> MA: The law is put in place for the sake of ordering people. It sounds amazing on paper. But we'll see if the implementation will work. It's very modern – what with all the electronic tickets and reporting to the police station and stuff. I think it's nice. I like it.

> YN: Do you think at all that there is an excessive use of police power [*gücün fazla kullanılması*]?
> MA: The state must use excessive power. They must beat you over the head with it. If you don't break the law in traffic, the police won't approach you. It's the same in football. The best match is where you don't notice the ref. If the game is played accordingly, there won't be a need for the police…The state! The state needs to beat this animal of a nation with a stick. Imagine the state as a herder and the law as its stick. It's faced with cattle, cows and oxen. It must beat them over to the stables. That's the situation in Turkey.

Extending the unattached and aimless fan image a step further, Aşan did not hesitate to equate football fans with cattle who needed to be "beaten over the head" with the stick that is the law. Admitting that the law represented an overuse of police power, he nonetheless seemed to find nothing wrong with this since the "situation in Turkey" called for such excessive practices. In fact, this point of excess [*fazla*] will be important in distinguishing the promoters of the law from even the fans who support the law, as in Tunç's example. Also noteworthy is how he compared police to referees. For him, referees in a sense "police" the football match. I also spoke to referees on this matter and while not all the referees I interviewed reinforced this analogy, they all expressed solidarity with the law, its purpose and its assumptions. Consider the words of a Turkish Super League assistant referee Başar Güven:

> This law was long overdue. I hope that the implementation will be flawless. The federation and the parliament did a really good job. The Federation president did a really good job. He wrote history with this…Now when something happens to me, I know that this won't go unpunished. I know that people won't be able to get away with it by just paying fines. Now they'll be imprisoned. They'll be banned from the stadium. There will be justice…It was clear that we needed a harsher rule. But local administration needs to realize their part of the deal as well. I know that the Federation and the National Referees Council are behind me. But local administrators need to be aware of fair play as well. Now they tell us, "ref, you're right but when you go I need to deal with the pressure from the local community here." That will no longer happen.

When Timothy Mitchell (1988) wrote critically about the imposition of "order" in Egypt, his point was that it was the Foucauldian discourse of order itself that established the absence of order as a problem. Mitchell described how Ali Mubarak, Minister of Schools and Public Works in Egypt at the end of the 1860s, returned from a business trip from Paris to engage in intense reforms in city planning and reordering the education and military systems. Upon return Mubarak published a fictional story where Egyptians went to Marseille and Paris and admired the orderliness of these cities in connection to the civilization and education levels of their inhabitants and the progress of their nations. Mubarak also subsequently undertook major demolition and construction projects in Cairo intended to open large avenues that resembled Haussmann's Parisian project and to build schools. Mitchell explains that all of these were implemented in line with the era's reigning political and medical theories whereby disease and crime were assumed to brew and spread easily in cities with narrow streets on which lived uneducated and undisciplined people that caused the country's backwardness. Mitchell wrote that with these theories and supporting economic arguments, "The 'disorder' of Cairo and other cities had suddenly become visible" (68). This visibility was most apparent in the juxtaposition of European style schools with their curricula, disciplinary codes and daily schedules and the famous teaching mosque of Al-Azhar which suddenly appeared chaotic and lacking tremendously in order and discipline. Al-Azhar represented power and authority that functioned differently from the European ideals and represented the past of Egypt with a political ordering and system that was no longer desired. A Parisian discourse of order was forming Cairo and Al-Azhar as problematic objects of disorder. Mitchell wrote:

> 'Disorder' is not a condition that precedes thought, a threat fundamental to human condition, against which thought itself is ever busy organizing the conceptual order. Disorder goes with order, as the polarity and boundary of a particular sort of world. Disorder, moreover, though it appears to stand as a pair with order, as the equal and opposite condition, is not the same value. It is the unequal end of the polarity, the negative element. It is the void that places order as the centre, existing only to allow 'order' its conceptual possibility (82).

Mitchell presented us with a historical case from Egypt where the most tremendous efforts of city planning and educational reform were introduced as practical necessities that arose from knowledge that was the effect of a certain discourse creating truths about order, progress and civilization. I argue that similar to this, in the setting of Turkish football, what deems football a chaotic space of "violence and disorder" is the discourse of this law which promulgates that all fans must be seated in their assigned seats, tickets which they will purchase with a lot of money and their ID cards. These rich and identified fans to be known to police authorities, the state and to each other. There will be absolutely no anonymity in the space of football. The social pressure built around football will supposedly prevent fans from so much as uttering a swear word for fear that they will be caught on camera and their shameful actions exposed as fanatic and hooligan-like to their entire surroundings. Moreover, the long-lasting equation of modern=civilized=Europe is there to support this ordering against which the "situation in Turkey" once again appears short of Western legal standards, calling for immediate and imperative action for fixing. What is so striking is that this Big Brother scheme is legitimized for the sake of fairness – fairness that is represented by the phrase fair play. The imprisonment, the fines, the information gathering, police searches, detainment, electronic tickets, ID cards, luxurious stadiums and expensive season tickets – all promoted so that each football actor may finally be "aware of fair play" and so "there will

be justice." This brings me to the next point of legitimization for the law, the imagination of fairness it needs and breeds.

b) Law's legitimacy and the imagination of fairness

What is striking in the accounts above is how they tie anti-violence to "modernized stadiums" and higher ticket prices. Making football a more expensive "pastime," the marketing director thinks that the dangerous lumpen fan groups can be excluded from the football scene since they won't be able to afford football anymore. The design to bring about peace in Turkish football thus becomes a project to disperse today's working class fans and fan culture and to replace it entirely with a more affluent kind of fandom, assuming that more affluent fans are more peaceful simply in virtue of being richer. Related to this, he argues that football must be considered a "hobby" or an enjoyable pastime for fans and not a "matter of life and death." In this section, I argue that the lawful representation and advocacy of fairness as fair play is in fact a capitalistic scheme which equates fairness with affluence. Referring to Bourdieu (1984), I also show that a part of this capitalist depiction of fair play locates fairness in the essence of sport itself.

When speaking with Turkish Super League assistant referee Tolga Engin, I saw that similar to the administrators I quoted, he too expressed views about how a renovation in the physical space of football (reforming stadiums and making them more "luxurious") would aid the transformation of fandom, encouraging fans to be more 'civil,' and 'peaceful.' He seemed to be undisturbed by the fact that "more luxurious stadiums" meant more expensive tickets and less people in general being able to afford them. I

raised this issue with him, wanting to understand better his views on this kind of deliberate displacement:

> YN: It seems to me like, with these new regulations, a large majority of fans won't be able to go to games.
> TE: Not necessarily. Look at England. Liverpool's Kop stands are a section where fans go with very cheap tickets. And it is organized very well. It'll be the same in Turkey. Because these fans are the fire of the show, they're the beauty. No one would want to lose them.
> YN: But they would be moved behind the goals, they wouldn't be able to go to the Eastern or Western Stands.
> TE: Yes. Right now at İnönü, at Turk Telekom Arena, at Şükrü Saracoğlu…people watch the game in a much more refined way. Because tickets are expensive. They come in at the last minute. They eat there. So yes, you might scare away that less affluent sector that has real heart and soul but later, it will balance itself out. Success comes with money. No other way.

Tolga Engin's words are testimony to how this anti-violence, anti-security discourse is a capitalist design to increase revenues for clubs achieved through the transformation of Turkish football from still being partly a working class passion to becoming entirely a bourgeois pastime. The aim of this law is to attract more affluent fans to stadiums so that they can spend money on expensive season's tickets and generate income for clubs by shopping within the stadium premises, at various cafes and the club's official merchandise store. As Tolga Engin mentions, it is a shame that the poorer people with "real heart and soul" have to be "scared away" at first but the aim is to later allocate to them less favorable sections of the stadium, behind the goals so that they can scream, shout and provide entertainment, so to say, for the rich to watch. "No one would want to lose them" since "they are the fire." But the state needs this population, either romanticized or feared, to be a contained fire, confined to a small space with a restricted view of the pitch where technologically advanced acoustics of the stadium can make up for the fact that they are seated farther removed from the pitch. Affluent fans can then

enjoy their cigars while they don't cheer for the team since for them football is not a "matter of life and death." This kind of fan transformation and displacement is not a byproduct of the law; it is an intended component of it and goes hand in hand with the commercialization and commodification of football in Turkey (McManus 2013). It is an intention which was realized in England, as Tolga Engin says, as well as in other European stadiums. Turkey, on the other hand, is currently going through this very transformation where interrelated interests of a police state and a capitalist football economy have claimed the site of football as a main target of transformation. The way they are able to move forward with this transformation is by invoking a discourse of security, anti-violence and fair play. Tolga Engin continues:

> The implementation of this law will create a social awakening. As it is, the man next to you who is swearing is able to come to the next game. With this law, he won't be able to. He will be imprisoned, or he'll receive a hefty fine. "What happened to Ahmet?" "They took him in." "Mehmet had to pay this huge fine." I'll come to work on Monday and find out that my colleague is being detained. What a step back for him in social status, imagine! Everyone's going to be talking, "did you hear that Ahmet has to sit out the game at the police station?" As more and more people hear this and begin talking about it, less people will commit these crimes. They did the same thing for Istanbul's traffic. Now, when I run a red light, I get a fine in my e-mail with my photo. What do we normally think? 'There's no one here so I can pass.' Now, people don't. Because there is a camera there and it is watching you. Now we'll have those cameras in stadiums too. When punishment, control and implementation are at ideal levels, you'll have these cameras. I'm very hopeful.

As I began to describe in the previous section, the advocates of the law promote it with a certain idea of fairness. Fairness is represented with the phrase fair play and fair play becomes control, policing and intense social pressure where work colleagues are able to identify and look down on each other as problematic football fans.

Besides aiming to bring about peace, security and anti-violence by attracting more affluent fans, the law is also explicitly promoted as displacing Turkish footballing

convention. Recall that the marketing director told me how "most of [the] people who act according to *racon* won't be able to enter the stadiums. *Racon*[33] is a word in Turkish that is used colloquially in reference to how things must normally or conventionally be done – the accepted way to act in a situation, the code by which one behaves in any given social context. In football, *racon* may refer to all of the ways in which fans have learned to carry themselves in an around the stadium. It may include the drinking ritual before the game, the walk to the stadium, the chants throughout the game, the sharing of food and water in the stadium if there is a limited amount, the collective booing of referees and rival fans, the pact to not swear at your own footballers however infuriating they might be, or the general understanding among fans that they are there as a unified support group for whom a single cause exists for the duration of that game. *Racon* is the totality or the aura of the "unwritten rules of football" I discussed in the previous chapter.

The marketing director is less than subtle in phrasing his desire to do away with these conventions since for him, they point to behavior against fair play. Where the marketing director ties the absence of *racon* to fair play, a civilized and lawful footballing atmosphere, I showed in the previous chapter how it is precisely these conventional ways of fan association that form the definition of fairness in many instances. His depiction of a lawful fair play explicitly and bluntly excludes footballing convention in Turkey.

[33] The word is actually derivative of the Latin *ratio,* or "reason," but its usage has shifted in Turkish to signify unwritten codes of a situation.

Class, governmentality and the embourgeoisement of the game

I have argued that the information gathering techniques introduced by this law are a part of a larger project in Turkey where state and free market interests entangle to arrive at prescribing identification devices for the citizenry which simultaneously serve commercial purposes. Current reconfigurations in Turkish football similarly allow us to see the conjoining interests of state and money. In fact, I argue that while the legal reforms in Turkish football are promoted as necessary for the maintenance of security and fair play, their aim is the "embourgeoisement" of the game. Security and fair play are discourses (in a Foucauldian sense) which serve to justify the deeds of this neoliberal interest. To substantiate this argument, I refer to theorizations of Bourdieu (1984) and Foucault (1991, Lemke 2001).

Even though, Bourdieu was not concerned with the Turkish case, his theory enriches my analysis. In *Distinction,* Bourdieu makes two interrelated arguments relevant to my work. First, he states that choice of sports (like other matters of "taste") is class-based and that one's social class informs and is informed by the sporting activities they wish to pursue. Second, he argues that upholding "fair play" as an ideal in sport is similarly associated with class affiliation.

Simply put, Bourdieu said that as "natural" as they may appear, "tastes [are] markers of class" (2) and they vary by educational capital and social origin. In other words, professed choices in music, other art, food, clothing, etc are all choices that are grounded in one's class affiliation. A Turkish idiom roughly translates to, "you cannot argue with someone's tastes or preferences of color." The assumption here is that people are naturally disposed to certain preferences and tastes and that these are not attributes

about which you can form (social) scientific arguments. Bourdieu's theory goes completely against this naturalization of taste and puts forth that people are indeed disposed but socially to claim certain tastes over others. In this light, choices to pursue different sports are also tastes that mark class. Bourdieu wrote:

> Again, to understand the class distribution of the various sports, one would have to take account of the representation which, in terms of their specific schemes of perception and appreciation, the different classes have of the costs (economic, cultural and 'physical') and benefits attached to the different sports - immediate or deferred 'physical' benefits (health, beauty, strength, weather visible, through 'body-building' or invisible through 'keep-fit' exercises), economic and social benefits (upward mobility, etc), immediate or deferred symbolic benefits linked to the distributional or positional value of each of the sports considered (i.e. all that each of them receives from its greater or lesser rarity, and it more or less clear association with a class, with boxing, football, rugby or body-building evoking the working classes, tennis and skiing the bourgeoisie and golf the upper bourgeoisie), gains in distinction accruing from the effects on the body itself (e.g. slimness, sun-tan, muscles obviously or discreetly visible etc.) or from access to highly selective groups which some of these sports give (golf, polo etc.)." (20)

Here, Bourdieu stated that "immediate or deferred 'physical' benefits," including health is one category of benefits that different classes take into account to calibrate their taste in sporting activities. To elaborate this argument, he wrote:

> Everything seems to indicate that the concern to cultivate the body appears, in its elementary form – that is, as the cult of health – often associated with an ascetic exaltation of sobriety and controlled diet, in the middle classes…These classes who are especially anxious about appearances, and therefore about their body-for-others, go in very intensively for gymnastics, the ascetic sport par-excellence, since it amounts to a sort of training…for training's sake. (213)

Therefore, according to Bourdieu, the expectation to possess healthy minds and bodies as derivatives of the sports one pursues is a bourgeois attribute.

Besides his class-based analysis vis-à-vis choice of sports, Bourdieu also states that a concern with the ideal of "fair play" is also a particularly bourgeois trait:

> Just as, in any age when sporting activities were reserved for a few, the cult of 'fair play', the code of play of those who have the self-control not to get so

> carried away by the game that they forget that it is ‘only a game’, was a logical development of the distinctive function of sport, so too, in an age when participation is not always a sufficient guarantee of the rarity of the participants, those who seek to prove their excellence must affirm their disinterestedness by remaining aloof from practices devalued by the appearances of sheep-like conformism which they acquired by becoming more common. To distance themselves from common amusements, the privileged once again need only let themselves be guided by the horror of vulgar crowds which always leads them elsewhere, higher, further, to new experiences and virgin spaces, exclusively or firstly theirs… (215)

I ask the reader to consider Bourdieu’s theorization on “cult of health” and “cult of fair play” together. In describing bourgeois ways of choosing and appreciating sports, Bourdieu denoted a certain preoccupation with health concerns, including body image and mental health and also an idealization of “disinterestedness” in the face of competition. The “ascetic” qualities of this *habitus,* have made it so that training the body and disciplining the mind become “benefits of sport” and treating the game as a “pastime” (rather than as a matter of life and death) attests to one’s “self-control” and thus distinctive relation with a sport that others (with other class affiliations) might experience differently (more overtly competitively).

I argue that these two attributes contribute to conflating sports with fair play itself. I have found that the proponents (upper-middle class professionals) of institutionalized fair play in Turkish football (either through FIFA’s fair play rules or through the Violence Law) argue that sports is a natural cultivator of virtues including healthy minds, bodies and fairness. In everyday language, the word “sportsmanship” itself has come to signify fairness, ethics and respect. When I spoke with a former administrator of the TFF, he explained to me that in an ideal world, we would not even need rules of fair play since sport itself included these ideals and premises. He said, “it is unfortunate that there is even a term such as fair play. Sports equals fair play. To say that we’re looking to

guarantee fair play in football may lead us to think that football isn't already based in fair play. But sports itself means fair play. If there is unfair play, that cannot be called sports or football to start out with." Himself a licensed competitive sailor, who has participated in various international competitions representing Turkey, this athlete and former administrator for the TFF was convinced that the term fair play was redundant and superfluous given the essence of sport where fair play already existed.

Recall also how the TFF marketing director told me that fans should begin to see football not as a "matter of life and death" but more as a "joyous pastime" and how explicit he was about the ties he forged between affluence and fair play in and around stadiums. This is a man who also told me he wakes up at 5:20 AM every morning to go to the most exclusive gym in Istanbul (Kanyon MAC) after which he has a five-egg omelet and protein powder for breakfast before going to work. This man's personal choice of sporting and dietary activities and his opinion about how Turkish society should view competitive football make him a perfect example for a manifestation of bourgeois *habitus*. He trains and disciplines his body to wake up at an early hour every single day. He regularly exercises in Istanbul's most exclusive gymnasium for which he pays a considerable membership fee and in return attains various "privileges" (as stated in the gym's website) such as discounts at upscale retail stores and luxurious restaurants. He then consumes high-protein foods to preserve his muscular frame and robust appearance. When he told me about these daily habits of his, he added that he lived "*la dolce vita*" (the sweet life) the proof of which was how free he was in his command over his schedule and lifestyle which included all this exercise. Bourdieu's theory allows us to consider that this man's social efforts towards distinction through sports is exemplified

both by his choice of personal training and by his portrayal of an idealized disinterestedness in competitive football.

Bourdieu said that it is in cases where participation can no longer mark distinction that the "cult of fair play" appears as a differentiating factor between classes. The TFF marketing director is the member of the very large community of Turkish and world football. As Bourdieu denotes in line with historians of the sport, football originated as a working class sport in England. In Turkey today, the football community includes both the working classes, some fans who can hardly afford their season's tickets and who profess "crazy" love for their team for the sake of which they alter objective and standard definitions of fairness (see chapter 4). In fact when I asked my friend Bora (pursuing a PhD at the University of Chicago) what draws him to football and to Fenerbahçe, he responded "I increasingly feel like the academic in the ivory tower and football makes me feel like I am of the people again." But Turkish football also includes members of the more affluent classes both as fans and as administrators of football. As an affluent administrator, the TFF director feels a need to dissociate from certain members of Turkish football. He does this by evoking his disinterestedness (i.e. the "cult of fair play") and he compounds his class status by describing his own relation to sports and his body.

When TFF administrators, sports minister Özak and Akın (as I quoted in the previous section) say that fair play is "included" in football, they are adhering to a certain discourse about sports at the core of which they place a disinterested bourgeois notion of fair play. It is with this class-informed conception of fair play that we must evaluate their words of promoting the Violence Law. An orderly and knowable way of engaging with

the game of football (ostensibly in the name of fair play through legalized reform) is a bourgeois mission, disguised as a wish to increase security and reduce violence. This is what I mean by the "embourgeoisement" of the game.

Consider this argument in relation to the recent political history of Turkey I presented in the Introduction. I explained that especially since the 2007, the ruling party AKP has been engaged in intense efforts of governmentalization to pursue its neoliberal politics by expanding control and regulation over multiple societal sites. The Violence Law is a perfect example of this expansion and it is at once a political and an economic tool. The desire to make fans knowable (cf. Foucault 2000) is simultaneously a desire to make their bodies conform to the bourgeois standards of enjoying football and the Violence Law is the single most important apparatus with which the embourgeoisement of football is encouraged, facilitated and legally required in Turkey.

To shed light more on how the Violence Law fits in with AKP's policies, let me briefly recount what Foucault wrote about governmentality (Lemke 2001). Foucault described governmentality as both a "form of representation" and a "form of intervention" whereby the government defines a discursive field within which its exercise of power is rationalized. It does this by specifying objects about which knowledge production is possible and necessary, by delineating problems that need justifiable strategies and technologies for resolution and that call for the mobilization of various institutional apparatuses including legal forms. Within neoliberalism, governmentality also includes the creation of subject positions for responsible, moral individuals who take economically rational decisions therefore social problems may be deflected and re-known as personal problems for which responsibility belongs only to the individual. The

Violence Law is a major legal apparatus that orders and discursively defines a field of knowledge and problems. The law then pushes resolution measures which are justifiable given its discursive boundaries of anti-violence, security and fair play. This scheme also isolates football violence and defines fandom as its essential and exhaustive cause obstructing the social, economic and political causes that might inform and impact displays of physical and verbal violence in football matches.

While this is the case, and I strongly believe that this is the social, political and economic environment in which Turkish football dwells right now, Bourdieu reminds us that there is not a single class habitus with which a sport is practiced. As Turkish upper-middle class administrative affluence may define football, fair play, violence, security, civilization and progress in certain ways, there will be other members of Turkish football community who bring their social backgrounds into the experience and practice of football, continually redefining the structural qualities of this sphere:

> It can easily be shown that the different classes do not agree on the profits expected from sport, be they specific physical profits, such as effects on the external body, like slimness, elegance or visible muscles, and on the internal body, like health or relaxation; or extrinsic profits, such as the social relationships a sport may facilitate, or possible economic and social advantages. (211)

While the six-pack abs of world-famous football stars sweat inside the licensed products and team jerseys of corporate football clubs, the knock-off versions of the same shirts adorn the beer-bellies of thousands of Turkish fans in the roads of Istanbul. While the legal representation of fair play requires knowable fans with their electronic tickets, police surveillance and refined language, fans of a different habitus and appreciation of football will have alternative ways of conceptualizing fairness and its place in Turkish football. Those alternative ways of understanding and practicing fairness not only enrich

our theoretical conceptualization of ethics but they also point to a time in Turkish football when the institutionalized and formalized version of fairness (as in fair play) was not so pronounced and so endorsed by governmentality techniques. Those alternative fairness depictions allow us to imagine discursive fields vis-à-vis football that differ from the cemented truths of neoliberal AKP policies that work so cohesively with world football's governing agencies' depictions of how football should be experienced and how competition should be viewed. In the next section, I point to these alternative ways in an effort to expose official conceptions of fair play as insufficient and less than exhaustive.

Fan viewpoints on Violence Law

When the TFF marketing director told me that those who act according to *racon* would no longer be able to go to matches, I was struck by what a bluntly honest declaration this actually was. He did not seem in the least hesitant to admit that the goal of this law was to truly transform the way in which fans have learned to associate with their teams and each other over the years. He admitted to and rejoiced in the fact that the law was a full-blown attack on fan culture and socialization – something he felt was in dire need of transformation anyway.

What is worth mentioning about this man is that he described himself as a "former hooligan." He said that back in high school, he was among that class of aimless youth who would "hide flares inside sandwich buns" to sneak them in the game and light them on fire. When I asked him how his former self would receive regulations similar to this law, he said it would be impossible for that kind of mentality to understand these unless it was faced with concrete punishments. He has stories of sleeping in the stadium to secure

good seats for the next day's game. He told me that he has broken up with girlfriends because they supported Fenerbahçe and not his team Galatasaray. When he began working in this line of business, in football administration, he swore to his parents that he would never ever work for Fenerbahçe even if it meant he would lose all his money and sleep in the streets. "Now," he says, "it's all about the money, I could easily work for them." He doesn't see this change in his attitude as a diminution of his passion for his team but a maneuver towards being more mature, learned and professional. He advocated a zero tolerance policy for the current culture of fandom even though he himself had first-hand experience of what it entailed, the priorities it held dear and the nuances of its social existence. In this section, I will elaborate on what these nuances are, how the fans I worked with experience match day and what I found were their reactions to this law.

The main problem in the above depictions of fandom is that they paint a picture of fans which holds all of them equally to be hooligans. Fandom is equated with hooliganism. While the law seemingly aims to obliterate violence and disorder in football, the way in which it defines violence, disorder and the perpetrators of these vilifies all of fandom. As the marketing director puts it, the law is geared at transforming the *racon* of football in Turkey, including all of the ways in which fans have learned and established of associating with each other and their teams on match days. Portraying fans as youths without families, jobs or other social attachments, as uncivilized plunderers who take football too seriously and forget that it is just supposed to be a pastime, the advocates of this law paint a crooked picture of *all* fandom without establishing any differentiation between passionate fandom and violent hooliganism. The motivation for this is clear, the law is geared at not only eradicating physical violence in football but

also fans who are short of fulfilling the capitalist dreams of sponsors, clubs and federations. Likened to cattle, fans' practices which include drinking before games, swearing in the stadium, following a stadium leader to execute chants or informally exchanging match-tickets all become criminal activities under this law, painstakingly blunt in its goal to transform fan culture.

Since I was in the field during the period leading up to this law and its passing, I was able to gather fan opinions about it. I found, predictably, that there was no unanimous outlook on this law. Some fans seemed hopeful and thought that this law and its strict provisions would in fact "civilize" football in Turkey and make it a safer site. Other fans chose to openly critique the law, sometimes seriously sometimes by ridiculing or mocking it. I find that both of these responses are crucial to analyze. It is important to understand the ways in which some fans support the law since it shows how the law was indeed able to legitimize itself and how it contributed to fans' self-imagination and their formation of their own subjectivity. At the same time, it is vital to understand how other fans disagreed with the law and mocked it so that we can trace fan subjectivities that recall ways of self-imagining and fan culture alternative to this law's and see it as intrusive and irrelevant. As such, I argue that those who support the law are proof the power of this law (and other means of such state control and imposed transformation of subjectivities in society) and those who object to the law display opportunities of resistance and alternative imaginations of subjectivity.

When I met Tunç (whom I have written about in the previous chapter) in Kadıköy that day in August, the match-fixing scandal had already erupted and the game I opened this chapter with had taken place. Since he is a Fenerbahçe fan, I was determined to

understand where he stood on this matter, what he thought about Fenerbahçe's denigrated championship and about the law in general which had led to the persecution of his team's administrators, including the president Aziz Yıldırım. After explaining how he was very upset with what was happening to FB, he continued:

> I think in some ways, this [law] is good. There are a lot of people in these fan groups inclined to beating others up. Those who go for only this purpose. They think "there are 1000 people backing me up and nothing will happen to me at the end." Once before a game we were playing football at the Kenan Evren pitch. You know, it's right next to our stadium. A friend had come with a Galatasaray jersey but had a blue vest over it. You could see the orange though from beneath. And you know it wasn't even the *parçalı* jersey [referring to the classical design for Galatasaray jerseys], it was the orange one…They started swearing at him from the sidelines. We told them to go away. 'Cause you know people are lining up right there getting tickets [for the game]. They swore at his mother… lots of swearing. Fifty of them showed up. They came onto our pitch…started roughing him up. They told me to stand aside, I was wearing a Fenerbahçe jersey. They beat him up and left. So simple. Our friend went to the police. The police said they would come. Never did. I don't think today would be any different. But now, what is different with the law is that you won't be able to hide behind that large group and do stuff. The guy threw a beer bottle at us. What if it hit someone on the head? But where are they going to draw the line? Will there be such a serious reprehension for swearing too? That's hard to imagine.
>
> So in terms of violence, yes. Because otherwise you cannot control it. Very small things turn into really large incidents. On that day, for instance, 50 people showed up all at once. I couldn't even tell where they came from. If there were a few more of us and we beat them up, then a larger group would turn up. So it is important to punish violence. Because otherwise there is nothing to prevent it…I think I am on the side of the law, in general. If there is no police then away team fans can easily be lynched. Easily. There is swearing throughout the game. If one away team fan responds – complete lynching. For sure. Absolutely sure. This is what the situation is. On the other hand, to ban the fans who entered the pitch during the Shakhtar game from football matches for life…that is an excessively heavy [*fazla ağır*] punishment.

When talking about concrete cases of violence, Tunç found solace in the law. At the same time, he acknowledged how difficult it is to "draw the line." He knew that it was customary to swear so much in football games and thus found it "hard to imagine" that the law would persecute everyone who engages in this practice. Similarly, he thought that it would be "excessively heavy" to issue stadium bans for the Fenerbahçe fans who

entered the pitch during the Shakhtar game I began this chapter with. As upset as he was with the allegations against Fenerbahçe regarding match-fixing, Tunç was among the fans who organized marches to protest the arrests and media depictions of the situation and said he understood where the fans were coming from when thousands of them raided the pitch. Ultimately, Tunç was hopeful about this law and its promise to curtail physical violence especially since the law made police accountable and allocated more authority to them. But he still invoked a notion of excess in delineating the border around what is fair.

Contrary to Tunç's hopeful view of the law, I found that some other fans were quite bothered by the intense policing proposed by it, both in terms of including more police and security personnel in the site of football and in terms of increasing measures to access detailed information about fans. Emre and Veysel are fanmates with whom I had the opportunity to hang out before games and interview at various times (I have already mentioned Veysel in Chapter 1 and I talk about them both more in chapters 3 and 4). Emre was 26 years old when we met in January 2011. He is a web designer who was born and raised in Beşiktaş. He has been going to games with the same group of friends since childhood. His parents Filiz Hanım and Levent Bey[34] are "former leftists" and affiliates of the Freedom and Solidarity Party (ÖDP). They own a small jewelry shop in central Beşiktaş and they too are diehard BJK fans. Regarding the law, Emre told me:

> You know we wrote about this in our [online] forum, there was so much *geyik* [casual humorous conversation] over this. Everyone was like "let's just all head to the jail then, together," "reserve some cells from Metris, [35] *çArşı* is on its way!" On Twitter and such… It's just not convincing. How will they be able to stop 30,000 people from swearing all together? How are they going to punish someone individually? Alright fine, they might report to the police station if they are forced

[34] "Hanım" and "Bey" translate to "Lady" and "Sir." I use them as suffixes here for Emre's parents which is similar to calling them Mr. and Mrs. XYZ.

[35] Metris is a prison in the Esenler district of Istanbul.

> to, but it's just not believable. You know what I wrote? I said "They should just pull up barbed wire around İnönü and not let us out. Let's just live there. We'd be fine living there, eating and sleeping there!"

Referring to the advanced techniques of controlling match-day experience, Veysel told me "they talk about "hurtful words," (referring to the law's items on swearing) what is that? It is so ambivalent. Swearing is ubiquitous in our society! Look at Turkish cinema, its entire repertoire!" He adds, "it sounds like they want to insert a chip in our heads…as if all fans are potential criminals, you know, they want to blacklist all of us." Whereas the marketing director I interviewed said he was satisfied with how "clear" the law was, Veysel told me the exact opposite. His opinion was that the state had purposefully designed an ambiguous law with loopholes and vague points to be able to place blame with fans at any given instance.

Besides sounding unrealistic to some fans and making them feel like they were being blacklisted, the prescriptions of this law disrupt fan culture by going against Turkish footballing convention or *racon.* To show this, I want to give the example of one specific phenomenon that I have witnessed quite often in Istanbul's football scene which goes directly against ticket-related items of this law: exchanging tickets. Countless times, I have heard fanmates on the phone with each other asking whether there is a spare season ticket to be borrowed from someone who can't make it to the game that day or themselves offering their extra ticket to someone else. In one Beşiktaş fanmate group, my initial contact Serkan told me the following during our interview:

> If you can't make it to the game, you give the *kombine* [season ticket] to your closest buddy and they give it to someone there by the stadium. I know I'll get it back somehow. And this is not because we think the stadium should be as full as possible. It's to make sure people can go to games. We organize this. It is out of solidarity [*dayanışma*]. No one makes money off of this. There have been so many instances where I went to the game for free thanks to this system. I call up

> my cousin before the game and I ask "any outstanding cards?" And I go if there is one. We have a pool, you know. There are lawyers and architects in this pool. When I need something for work, when I need to consult someone professionally, it's again these guys I ask.

Serkan told me that he joined this "pool" of fanmates around 2005 when his brother and cousin (his cousin is Umut whom I talk about in Chapter 3) were already a part of the group and going to games every week. He said he hung out with them before and after games, participated in all their fanmate activities and through that he found himself having joined the unofficial pool of fanmates as well. He was 26 when I interviewed him in 2010. He was a college graduate, working for an international market research company in Istanbul. When he invoked the notion of solidarity, I wanted hear more. He said:

> These people know you, they know about your life even though some of them only see you once a week at the game. If you don't go for a few times, they send news and ask about you.

After talking to Serkan, I was anxious to meet other members of his fan group. One evening in January 2011, I sat with five of them, including Serkan himself at a pub in Taksim where we talked for almost five hours about their fandom, their match-day practices, memories of particular games and opinions on various issues in Turkish football. Here is a section of my notes upon returning home that night:

> These guys have a ritual of "no *kombine* left unused." If there is someone with a *kombine* who can't make it to the game, then they begin this fierce effort to make sure that someone else receives that card. Even if it means that they'll be late to the game themselves…whatever. That card must be delivered to someone. The important thing is for that one man to make it to the game. They attribute this to their Beşiktaş fandom. Some say that Fenerbahçe fans would try to sell or rent that one card. But not all agree. Actually, most of them think that anyone in Turkey would do the same thing as them. They explicitly say "this is our culture." "This is how you claim the team and own up to it." They tie it in with the stereotype of Beşiktaş as the "people's team" and say that "all comrades should be able to go to the match."

The practice in Turkish fandom today is to make sure that no season tickets are left unused and fans go out of their ways to deliver these cards to other fans who don't have tickets. This is not an effort removed from the rest of fan culture. As Serkan's mates explained to me, this is a way in which fans establish solidarity with each other; this is something they are proud of and use to prove that they are genuine people who care about each other. While this is the case, the law requires each individual to be issued with a unique electronic card, valid as a photo ID and that it will be a crime to lend your card to someone else for entry into the stadium. This is a harsh intervention into the culture of fandom in Turkey and goes completely against the customary way in which match-day ticket exchanges are organized. As the marketing director told me, it makes sure that those who act according to *racon* are displaced from stadiums. This is a harsh intervention into the culture of fandom in Turkey, carried out simply because neoliberalism does not recognize and forbids collaboration and solidarity outside the domain of commodification and commercialization, obstructing entirely the customary way in which match-day ticket exchanges are organized.

Football clubs around Europe have devised ways to adapt to regulations like these. For example in Spain, Barcelona FC fans lease their unused tickets to the club administration which then rents them out per game to fans without tickets. The leasers make money off of this and the club takes commission as well. In this profit-oriented system, there is an official way in which "no card is left outstanding" but the practice is carried out through much less personal and more formal means. In Turkey, it is looked down upon to make money off of a transaction like this. The whole point of these exchanges is to prove that the fan community members help each other out, that they

stand by each other with concerns beyond financial profit. Once again, the law, in the name of introducing order is imposing a capitalist system of gain into fandom thereby attracting negative reactions from fans.

Exchanging tickets, swearing, going to the game drunk, lighting flares when singing stadium chants and even raiding the pitch in thousands can be viewed as aspects of the *racon* of going to the match in Turkey. I don't know how many times I, myself, have let in a small child underneath the turnstiles into the stadium so that they can run around the stadium, laughingly enjoy their sunflower seeds and swear at referees. I have seen neighborhood children organize themselves in threes and fours to be able to squeeze as one group inside one small section of the revolving stadium doors so that as many of them can run through while the security yells at them. The attempt to "modernize" the site of football in the name of anti-violence, security and fairness is a simultaneous attempt to rid the site of these practices – practices which contribute to forming fan culture among which flourishes notions of solidarity, honesty, genuineness and fairness different from the way it is represented as fair play in the law.

Critique of Similar Laws in Europe

The legitimacy of the law is acquired through a discourse of anti-violence a large part of which is the demonization of fandom and its equation to hooliganism. Armstrong and Young (1997) have written extensively about the processes and ramifications of similar regulations in England, critiquing these laws and their assumptions. Their main argument is that "partisan-fanship" is systematically and calculatingly relabeled as "hooliganism" which demonizes and "vilifies" (175) fandom and its associated activities

thus criminalizing and lawfully penalizing it. Their critique is not only aimed at the increased surveillance, police force, arbitrary detentions and prohibitions from matches and public transportation but also at the misconception of the nuances of fandom and the bracketing of all partisan-fan activities under the category of deviant mayhem. Preferring the term “carnival” (183) over mayhem and disorder, Armstrong and Young state that fan behavior in and around footballing sites should be understood as “stylized social drama with script, production, direction and stage-craft with particular code and structure” (179)

Their Foucauldian analysis identifies the police, media, public commentators, politicians, social statisticians and sports officials as complicit in devising an “institutional truth” (184) about the nature of fandom and in positing it as a threat for the society at large. Engaging in what the authors call “moral entrepreneurship” (177) these institutional agents are able to assume guardianship of “moral and social welfare” (179) and instigate “moral panic” (176) and moral regulation at once. They also point out that this social and moral engineering is enmeshed significantly with the interest of capital in that sponsors and clubs benefit highly in financial terms from the regulations described. The overall attempt is thus the “embourgeoisement” (187) of the game and the creation of a newly sanctified commercial match-day ideal. Reading Armstrong and Young with Bourdieu, I agree with their insistence on the actual beneficiaries of these legal projects and find their depiction of the vilification of fandom accurate as used to legitimize and justify the rule of law in football.

Since the law in Turkey is so new, fans have not had the time to come together under formal organizations to object to its items and assumptions. In the rest of Europe however, where similar footballing laws have been in practice for longer, fan

organizations and NGOs have been active in voicing their protests. One good example is the group called Football Supporters Europe (FSE), recognized by the UEFA. The FSE was founded in 2008. It offers membership on both the individual level and the level of fan groups or foundations. One of their most recent campaigns was entitled "Save Fan Culture." Here is a part of its manifesto:

> Excessive and disproportionate use of force, unjust arrests, banned flags or banners for no transparent reason, arbitrary stadium ban procedures and worst of all, punishment of entire sets of fans for the wrongdoing of mostly a tiny minority of individuals. Practically all fans have experienced one or the other…Repression and collective stigmatisation of fans as a problem from the side of the police, authorities and clubs is certainly part in many fans lives.
>
> Life inside football grounds has changed. Increased commercialization in the past years have lead to clubs and whole leagues being more and more dependent on…private sponsors…New laws and regulations have imposed stricter and stricter forms of control or restrictions over fans all over Europe, under the pretense of increasing stadium security or safety…In consequence, the needs and wishes of the traditional, genuine fans have been more and more collectively neglected.
>
> Generally, all around Europe, new and stricter regulations are being implemented or considered – new and improved camera systems or special ID cards for fans, and many fans still have to face an everyday presence of police officers inside their stands…thousands of fans are being given stadium bans every year, often without evidence or as preventive measures, even against entire groups of supporters.
>
> Despite the situation we are facing, it is us the match-going, passionate, football supporters from around Europe that ARE the "lifeblood" of football and we should raise our voice. It is up to us to stand up wherever necessary and refuse to be treated as second class citizens just because we happen to go to a football game and fight the tightening grip of repressive means of sanctioning. It is time for us to organize and work for a common goal: to Save Our Fan Culture. (FSE 2011)

As evident from the writings of Armstrong and Young and from the FSE promotion of their campaign to "Save Fan Culture," both scholars and fan organizations who critique these laws that abruptly intervene in fan culture aiming to transform it, emphasize that a major tool of legitimization for these programs is the equation of fandom with hooliganism. I have also formulated a similar critique in this chapter. Another critique I

offer is that these laws and programs also find a way to define fairness within such strict limits that their notion of fair play seems exhaustive and thus attainable only through laws as these. In other words, not only does the Turkish law against violence and disorder in sport demonize and vilify the whole of fandom (in similar fashion to equivalent laws around Europe), it also presumes that the path it recommends is the only path to fairness. This is fairness defined as "fair play" and as used by ministers and legal advisors; it does not include the notions of fairness that evolve through fans giving each other free tickets so that "all comrades should be able to go to the match."

In their critique of legal regulations around football in England, Armstrong and Young include the following statement: "…fans know the rules of the game and know that any brawl is governed by a code much more subtle than a legal one, and that all this occurs in a domain where revenge is not pursued by seeking the protection of the law" (178). The assumption of this law and its advocates is that the legal understanding of fairness which is referred to by the phrase fair play, can be imposed on fans to teach them to be non-violent and fair in their viewing of football. The marketing director of the TFF assumes that with the introduction of this law, fans will begin to inform on each other since they know that the police has authority to punish fans who are not acting according to this law. The law disregards that "code" which is "more subtle than [the] legal one." The culture or *racon* of fandom and match-day experience are not essentially disorderly and unruly; they have codes of their own. These are codes which demand that no season's tickets should be left unused. These are the same codes that allow Tunç to think that it is too harsh a punishment to punish Fenerbahçe fans with a life-long stadium ban because they entered the pitch in protest of match-fixing arrests due to the law. These are the

same codes which Veysel and Emre invoke when they phrase their bewilderment at how the law criminalizes swearing in football chants which is the subject matter of the following chapter.

For the fans I have gone to matches with, it is not against fairness to allow small children in the stadium for free. Neither is it against fairness to exchange season's tickets or raid the pitch in demonstration of solidarity with your team. In contrast, these are the very footballing and match-day instances where notions of camaraderie, solidarity, loyalty and honesty are invoked. When FB fans sang that day about hooliganism and stabbing men, they were not testifying to the accusatory words of TFF administrators. They were rebelling against the reconfiguration of the football site using the accusations they are faced with. Their raiding the pitch was an act of rupture and disruption because it ended the game and it upset the reordering of football through this law by using the very discursive tools that were used against them to devise the law in the first place.

Conclusion

Football hooliganism in Europe is something that goes far beyond brawls and skirmishes during matches. Football hooliganism is when rival fan groups or gangs arrange times to meet on matchless days in locations away from the city center for the sole purpose of fighting. Groups of hundreds face each other in these battles and there are specific codes to the fighting. For example, some of these battles are videotaped, and it is against the rules of hooliganism to attack the cameramen. Similarly, a man who is on the ground is not to be further attacked. There are examples of this kind of hooligan violence from England, Germany, Austria, etc but no such hooligan activity is found in Turkey. As

I explained in the Introduction, there was a time when Istanbul's big-three teams' fan groups held comparable enmities and fought similarly but this stopped in the 1990s after they called truce. Therefore, some of the laws which were borrowed from Europe to curtail hooliganism are irrelevant in the context of Turkey and they only work towards stereotyping all fans as hooligans.

Having said that, there are instances of violence in and around Turkish football; I present one such example in Chapter 4 where I talk about the clash between Beşiktaş and Bursaspor fans. Usually these instances involve fans physically fighting each other right before or right after matches. They often involve injuries due to bottles or sticks being instrumentalized in the fighting. Fans also frequently light flares which they sometimes use to throw at each other. Besides these fan clashes around stadiums, sometimes there are skirmishes inside the stadium especially in the form of throwing lit flares to sections of the stadium where rival fans are seated. Finally, it is a common occurrence in Turkey's stadiums to have fans throw foreign items onto the pitch, including coins and bottles. It is for this reason that fans are banned from brining in spare change or water bottles inside the stadium. Where these scenes of violence are common in Turkey, there have also been a few extraordinarily severe situations that included stabbing and killing.

While I do argue against the stereotyping and vilifying of all fandom under the category of the hooligan, I cannot deny the existence of frequent fan clashes in Turkey's stadiums. How then, are we to argue against the Violence Law while still maintaining a stance against violence? For this, I take a cue from historian Yiğit Akın (2004b), who wrote about the worst tragedy in Turkish footballing history to date, during a match between the two Anatolian cities of Kayseri and Sivas in 1967. Akın provided the

historical, political and socio-economic factors that culminated in this football disaster which saw the death of 42 people and over 300 injuries.

Akın explained that the Turkish economy grew rapidly in the 1950s under the newly elected Democratic Party, the first challenge to the single-party regime that had continued since the foundation of the Republic in 1923. With this economic growth, there were major social changes in Turkish society in the 1950s and the 1960s that included unprecedented levels of social and physical mobility. Kayseri was among the regional centers in Anatolia that drew in high levels of migration from neighboring towns and villages. Since opportunities in newly developing city centers were limited, most migrants found casual jobs or remained unemployed. Nevertheless, the continuing improvement in the Turkish economy resulted in the creation of what Akın calls "a provincial bourgeoisie" that sought to establish itself against Istanbul's elite bourgeoisie. Akın also emphasized that especially towards the end of the 1960s, Turkey was experiencing severe political cleavages between rightists and leftists, violent manifestations of which permeated all levels of society.

According to Akın, Turkish football at this time symbolized the rise of the Anatolian bourgeoisie as the 1960s saw the mushrooming of Anatolian football clubs. These clubs were intended to aid "social integration" in recently developing Anatolian cities which could then "challenge the domination of Istanbul" both economically and in football as they strengthened "urban identities." Akın wrote, "Football brought a sense of belonging to the [Anatolian] city that had previously been unimaginable" (223).

This also contributed to heightened rivalries between Anatolian cities, especially between those that sought to become regional centers of economic and social power.

Sivas and Kayseri were the perfect examples for this. Therefore when the tragic events of 1967 took place, the rivalry had been fed with almost two decades of social, political and economic change, rivalry and struggle for power and domination. Akın wrote that some observers also attributed a religious dimension to the rivalry where Alevi Kayseri supporters were fighting against the domination of Sunni Sivas. Crucial here to underscore are the social factors that led to the particular events of fan violence in 1967. It was not aimless and blood-hungry football hooligans that sought to kill each other that day. The clashes were motivated by a specific historical contingency, the effects of which one could observe in spheres other than football as well.

When we interpret violence in Turkish football today, we must similarly take into account the socio-economic and political factors that feed it. Turkish football is by no means the only social site in the country where incidents of violence take place. News headlines depict incidents of domestic violence or police violence daily. It is not unless deeper social justice is secured that football violence too will be curtailed. Akın wrote:

> …battle against football-related violence in Turkey has been concentrated too much on simple criminal measures. Lessons on the external factors that contributed to the Kayseri disaster seem to have been ignored…If the authorities continue to ignore these conditions and insist on solving the problems only through police interventions, there is no reason to be hopeful about the removal of violence from Turkish football grounds. In such a climate, a repeat of the Kayseri vs. Sivas disaster remains a distinct possibility (230-231).

I agree wholeheartedly with his conclusion. Formulating my argument about the Violence Law, I realized quite early on that I would be critical about it and that I disagreed with most of its premises. The challenge for me was to critique an anti-violence campaign without appearing pro-violence myself. There are certain social tropes like security, anti-violence, human rights or health which when invoked easily dismiss their

counter-arguments. It is not very easy to formulate objections that appear to count against health or human rights. This is how rigid bans against smoking are successful around the world. After all, who can argue with wanting to prevent lung cancer? The solution for me was to embrace the motto "the enemy of my enemy is not necessarily my friend." Yes, I am against violence: violence of any kind, in sports or elsewhere. But that doesn't stop me from vehemently disagreeing with the way in which this violence is fought in Turkish football. In line with Akın's argument, I believe that these criminal measures only work towards stereotyping all fans as hooligans and pitting fandom against the police where both parties increasingly gear up to go to the game as if they are going to war.

This law is the proposed way to prevent violence and introduce fair play. In doing so, it commits serious infringements upon the rights and culture of fans – painting a crooked picture of their ways of association and how they invoke and make the notion of fairness. Magazine (2007) wrote that policies of neoliberalism in the late 1990s and early 2000s in Mexico created a "partial social vacuum allowing latent ideal visions and social projects to come to the fore…" (6). He especially identified the fan group with which he works as a community with a particular ideal about youth sociality that should fill this vacuum created by neoliberalism. Even though I am not able to identify a clear-cut alternative vision in its totality like Magazine nor attribute such an outlook to a specific fan group, I do contend that the alternative fairness practices and discourses I observe are catalyzed by increasing formalization in Turkish football that has been a part of AKP government's neoliberal policies. As I have repeatedly asserted, the Violence Law is the foremost tool of this formalization and regulation project. Therefore yes, there are instances of physical violence in Turkish football. My aim was not to obscure them in

this chapter. My aim was to show that the Violence is not the right way to prevent them in the name of fair play because it is a class-specific instrument to regulate and control the sphere of football and it offers a limited (official) conceptualization of how fairness is to be granted in this site.

CHAPTER 3 - FAIR PLAY vs. SWEARING? STUDYING TURKISH FOOTBALL CHANTS that GENDER FAIRNESS

Introduction

Football matches in Istanbul are public events; Istanbul derbies[36] are public spectacles. They transform various urban spaces; they figure into commuters' daily plans. Large avenues are closed off to traffic and strategically lined with policemen as fans swarm the streets in their matching outfits. Ferries full of fans slowly make their way across the Bosphorus to away stadiums, escorted by the police so as to prevent clashes between opposing fans. Fanmates gather at street corners, parks and in front of local pubs to fuel up on alcohol and team spirit as kickoff approaches. Colorful flares light up the streets, songs and whistles signal approaching crowds. There is a constant flow of telephone calls as fans coordinate their meeting spots, their timing of walking to the stadium or advise their non-fan friends on traffic jams. Taxicab and *dolmuş*[37] radios are tuned into pre-match commentary and speculations. Strangers on buses overhear each other's conversations and exchange random remarks about the upcoming derby match; they remind each other of injured players and starting 11s, and statistics for bets. Empty beer cans line the sidewalks leading to stadiums as municipal workers try to match the speed of drinkers with their sweeping (photo 9).

[36] See footnote 6 in Introduction.

[37] *Dolmuş* (literally meaning "full") are communal taxicabs with designated routes.

Photo 9: Fans have gathered to drink and cheer next to *Kazan* Pub in Beşiktaş. February 20, 2011

Football in Turkey helps build communities and footballing language in the form of fans' chants and cheers is a large part of this community formation. Football chants in Turkey include intense cursing and swearing, complete with sexist and homophobic lyrics. The Turkish Football Federation, club administrations and football's main broadcaster Lig TV have defined it as a mission for themselves to "combat swearing in football" in the name of fair play. Despite disciplinary and legal measures taken by these administrators of Turkish football, swearing in the form of collective chants and cheers continues in Turkey's stadiums. In this chapter, my goal is to show how and why fans' practice of swearing continues in Turkish football. I argue that fans continue to swear in chants not because they lack a sense of fairness or the spirit of fair play. These songs establish in-group and out-group affiliations where sexism and homophobia in fact contribute to building exclusionary fan communities. Moreover, it is through a particular and exclusionary constellation of masculinity that "fairness" among fan communities gets

defined. In other words, these songs enable us to observe how the "manly" becomes "fair."

In the last two chapters, I pointed to ways in which footballing conventions in Turkey contribute to the making of fairness as a continually emerging notion, alternative to official FIFA, UEFA or legal explications of the term fair play. In this chapter, I take one component of that official depiction: fair play's discourse on swearing and show that its assumptions about swearing (as something that goes against fair play) do not hold among fans. Swearing does not have to be opposed to fair play. In fact, it may very well be a vehicle for the creation of an alternative notion of fairness: one that is entangled with the expressed homophobia and sexism.

Swearing as opposed to fair play

The TFF identifies swearing in football chants as a major problem of football in Turkey. In 2006, the TFF Disciplinary Code increased fines and stadium bans for clubs whose football fans engage in collective swearing in chants during matches. As a part of promoting these measures and discussing related issues TFF organized a joint panel with the National Olympic Committee entitled "Combating Violence and Discrimination in Sport in Light of Fair Play" (TFF 2006). That year also saw Istanbul's big-three club presidents come together in various meetings to declare a "war on swearing" (*Hürriyet* 2006). During the 2011-2012 season, the TFF decided to replace one of the penalties for swearing fans with an alternative policy. In the earlier seasons, football teams whose fans collectively swore during a game would receive the "empty-stadium" penalty. This is when a team is forced to play to empty stands in their subsequent home game. The 2011-

2012 season saw the replacement of this penalty with a TFF policy which announced that only women and children would be allowed (for free) in the home games of teams whose fans were swearing in the previous match. With this new policy, the TFF was trying to combat swearing, assuming that women fans would not engage in collective swearing in chants. That did not go quite as planned; women fans too swore which I discuss in a later section. TFF had to revise their policy at the end of the 2011-2012 season to reinitiate the "empty stadium" ban for teams whose women fans also swore. Besides these efforts to eradicate swearing, TFF's Fair Play League "the Gentlemanly Leagues" which ranks clubs on the basis of fair play[38] knocks points off from teams whose fans have engaged in swearing during matches (TFF 2012). Ultimately, the TFF resorted to its legal advisors and the law to include items about swearing in the "Law to Prevent Violence and Disorder in Sport" (2011).

Club administrations and Lig TV have joined TFF's campaign to combat swearing, the first in the form of online warnings for fans, direct messages from presidents or footballers, stadium announcements and banners that read "love without swearing", [39] the second in the form of no-swearing messages during football programming and by lowering the volume of broadcasting when there is swearing in the stadium. These financially powerful agents of Turkish football – the federation, club administrators and the broadcasting company – all engage in various practices to curtail

[38] The level of fair play here is measured by taking into account all the penalties a team has received from the number of yellow and red cards (bookings) in games to how well the fans have behaved during matches. One such measure for fans is swearing whereby teams lose fair play points when their fans engage in collective swearing.

[39] There is a banner in the Beşiktaş İnönü Stadium that reads "*Küfürsüz Aşk Beşikt**aşk***" which translates to "Love for Beşiktaş is love without swearing." The banner includes a pun as well where the word "*aşk*" (love) is merged with Beşiktaş. The banner has been there since the 2011-2012 season and was put up by club administration.

swearing in Turkish football because they posit it against fair play. For example, in September 2010, Ertuğrul Sağlam, Bursaspor's[40] coach made a declaration for the press in order to "give a message" to all Bursaspor fans who had just celebrated the first championship in the Super League in the past season. Among other things, he said:

> …Another wish of mine is for our fans, who have behaved so well in the last season and are doing so still, to embrace their sensitivities of fair play during tomorrow's match…We don't want to hear swearing in our stadium. It isn't becoming for us. Because we are an exemplary team and we have an exemplary group of fans. As such, we absolutely demand that our fans support us within the spirit of fair play. We don't want to hear a single word of swearing, whatever the circumstances, from beginning to end, until they leave the stadium (*Sabah* 2010).

Similarly, in March 2012, before a Galatasaray derby, Fenerbahçe's former mid-fielder Brazilian Alex, tweeted the following as a part of a message for Fenerbahçe fans: "Let's not forget fair play. Let's not go overboard. Let's definitely, but definitely not swear…" (*Hürriyet* 2012) Besides these examples where coaches or footballers publicly plead with fans to stop swearing , there are instances where stadium administration and Lig TV jointly take on the mission to further the war on swearing.

The last home game of the season for BJK during my fieldwork was the GS derby in April 2011. I watched the game in the *Kapalı Tribün*[41] (the covered stands) and witnessed the kind of swearing I have been referring to. Here is one of the chants I heard that day:

Haydi sakso Galatasaray
C'mon, a blowjob Galatasaray
Al ağzına Galatasaray
Take it in your mouth Galatasaray
Yönetim, futbolcu, taraftar: Yavşaklar

[40] Bursaspor is the Super League team from the city of Bursa.

[41] The Eastern section of the Beşiktaş stadium which has traditionally hosted the "diehard fans," including Beşiktaş's most famous fan group *çArşı*. "*Kapalı*" literally means "closed" and the term is used since this section of the stands (*Tribün*) is roofed.

Your administration, footballers and fans: They're all sissies
Götoğlanı Galatasaray: Göt, göt, göt!
Assmongers Galatasaray: Ass, ass, ass!

This song, which came after other similar ones was immediately followed with a chant that translates to: "Lower the volume, why don't you lower the volume, faggot Lig TV, lower the volume! "[42] With these words, the fans explicitly targeted the Super League broadcasting station Lig TV, which mutes the sound from the stadium stands whenever the swearing gets too audible for TV viewers. I have experienced this on many occasions. Suddenly it is only the match commentator one is able to hear on TV and the entire stadium appears to have gone quiet. Knowing this, the fans targeted Lig TV preemptively with their swearing. In various games at Istanbul's stadiums I have heard stadium administrators blast messages of "please no swearing" which is usually met by yet more swearing from protesting fans. Once I heard the disapproving sounds of "tsk, tsk, tsk" announced from the loudspeakers which everyone around me in the stadium thought was just too funny, burst out laughing and continued to swear shortly thereafter.

Besides these channels by which swearing is deemed a problem and a problem of fair play at that, the Violence Law which I discussed in the previous chapter aims to curtail swearing. The law has a section entitled "Insulting Chants" which is composed of three items:

1- Fans as individuals or in groups who target a person or whose language and behavior in or around sport sites may be interpreted by untargeted bystanders as insulting will be issued judicial fines…regardless of whether there is or not complaint made against them.
2- Persons, in or around sports sites, who engage in language that insults sectors of society by discriminating on the bases of religion, language, race, ethnicity or sex will be punished by imprisonment from six months to two years...
3- If the crimes described in first and second items are written or hung up on banners or walls, then the punishments will increase by half.

[42] The original tune goes: *"Sesi kıssana, sesi kıssana, ibne Lig TV, sesi kıssana."*

What is the justification for identifying swearing as a problem of fair play? The TFF Disciplinary Code (2012) refers to chants with swearing as “bad” and “ugly.” At times we find club presidents who try to persuade fans to “politeness” by saying it isn’t “becoming” for them to resort to swearing (*Hürriyet* 2013). Also, clubs clearly have a financial agenda where they wish to curtail swearing because swearing fans are costly in the form of TFF fines. Other times administrators, coaches and players discourage swearing by calling it “unsportsmanlike” or “ungentlemanly.” Lastly, the law’s second item above associates the ban on swearing to problems with social discrimination, substantiating the problem of swearing as a type of “hate speech.” In fact, this resonates much with FIFA’s Fair Play Code (2010) which instructs against discrimination on the basis of “religion, race, sex or national origin.” It is also reminiscent of UEFA’s Fair Play Campaign called Respect (2012) which “highlights UEFA's continuous commitment to combat any form of discrimination…”

While these parallels do exist between the anti-discriminatory stance that FIFA and UEFA endorse and TFF’s legal substantiation of why swearing must be banned, I have not once heard any representative of the TFF trying to promote fair play as a way to combat social discrimination or injustice in Turkey. It would be reasonable if the TFF, club administrations or Lig TV were trying to push the agenda of “no swearing for the sake of fair play” if they also explicitly acknowledged that offensive language in stadiums was breeding sexism and homophobia in Turkish society. However, it is apparent that this has never been their concern. I would contend that the clubs and Lig TV are mainly concerned with their financial situation and the TFF is paying lip service to FIFA and UEFA by adding in an item about discrimination in the law and the

Disciplinary Code. Apart from that, there is no significant explanation offered as to why swearing runs counter to against fair play. This is clearly the discourse which the three agents of football build and reinforce but the direct opposition between swearing and fair play remains to be substantiated.

Mechanisms that Strengthen the Discourse of Swearing as Opposed to Fair Play

I was able to identify two mechanisms by which the discourse that holds swearing to be opposed to fair play is strengthened. First, this opposition between swearing and fair play holds when swearing in Turkey is presented as a *substitute* for racism in Europe. Second, this opposition holds when the linguistic anthropological notion of indexical bundling creates a specific social bundle in which swearing exists.

a) <u>"There is no racism in Turkey"</u>

One mechanism through which swearing is deemed opposed to fair play in Turkish football is an striking process of substitution. I argue that the way in which official fair play discourse in Turkey gets defined as the eradication of swearing is by positing swearing as a problem Turkish football has *en lieu* of racism. The FIFA Fair Play Code and European initiatives for fair play (Football Against Racism in Europe or the Respect campaign) focus on the problem of racism as one of the main obstacles against the maintenance of fair play in world and European football (photo 10). In Turkey, this "main obstacle" is defined as swearing by way of denying the relevance of racism for the Turkish context.

Photo 10: A screenshot of the Schalke 04 (Germany) versus Galatasaray match during the UEFA Champions League Tournament. Notice the "No to Racism" signs that surround the pitch. March 12, 2013

There are major constraints around what kind of racism is recognizable and can be spoken of *as* racism in Turkey. The dominant discourse in the country about this issue is that racism is a problem of black versus white and thus irrelevant for Turkey's context. However, there *is* a kind of racism which is relevant for the Turkish context and that is anti-Kurdish racism at both societal and state levels (see Zeydanlıoğlu 2008, 2009 for more). And this latter kind of racism gets obscured with a discourse that only recognizes racism to be a problem of slavery or colonialism. One might argue that anti-Kurdish racism is ethnic discrimination, not racism and thus the dominating discourse in the country is accurate for not calling it racism. This is in fact not true. As Maksudyan (2005a, 2005b) explains, Turkish nationalism was built on the foundation that the Turkish *race* was superior to other *races* with which it shared a land (i.e. Greeks, Armenians, Jews, Kurds, Laz, Alevi, etc) and therefore was the sole rightful owner of it. As such, the

discourse of “we have swearing *instead* of racism” is a denial of the specific historical contingency of how race has been conceptualized in Turkey since the foundation of the Republic. I raised this issue with one of the former presidents of TFF, the same person I quoted in the previous chapter. Here is a part of our conversation:

> YN: Are guidelines [from FIFA or UEFA] taken just as they are or…
> - No they are modified.
> YN: What does that mean for Turkey?
> - For example, there are severe penalties for racism in Europe. There is no racism in Turkey. So these penalties are not practiced. But there is swearing in Turkey, something that does not exist anywhere else. The law has an item about swearing. The Violence Law talks about swearing.
> YN: So but that means that since there are no penalties for racism, something like what happened with Diyarbakır and Bursa [see below] escapes penalties.
> - No no. It’ll get coded as swearing – as moral values or fan behavior. Yes, of course.

First of all, the statement that swearing is a uniquely Turkish problem is untrue. There is swearing in stadiums all around the world and scholars who have written about English football have documented this (Back 2003, Thrills 1998). But there is something more important going on here in the former president’s narrative. He says outright that “there is no racism in Turkey,” a claim which is in line with the dominant discourse about racism in the country. This statement takes racism as discrimination that happens on the basis of black versus white. There have been instances where Turkish footballers were accused of racism against their foreign (black) teammates and their defenses have been “I could not have been racist” because “there is no racism in Turkey,” “we did not grow up with this sentiment.”[43] This line of reasoning is a misrecognition of a kind of racism that is prevalent in Turkish society and that is anti-Kurdish racism.

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[43] These are the words former Fenerbahçe player Emre Belözoğlu used in defending himself against charges of racism in his altercation in April 2012 with Trabzonspor’s Didier Zokora from the Ivory Coast. The Turkish source is available here: http://www.ntvspor.net/haber/spor-toto-super-lig/62841/irkci-biri-degilim

Nazan Maksudyan (2005a) has explained that the Turkish nation-state while promising to be founded on the premise of *jus soli* (territorial citizenship) was in fact a racist project whereby the legitimate owner of the land was defined as the Turkish race. Therefore, the Turkish Republic was founded on the exclusion of both Muslim (Kurdish, Laz, Alevi) and non-Muslim (Greek, Armenian, Jewish) minorities on the basis that they were not *racially* Turkish. Today, the largest of these minorities is the Kurds and their struggle for various kinds of recognition continues.[44] The Kurdish political fight advances both as an armed struggle in Southeastern Turkey and at the parliamentary level where major demands of Kurds in Turkey include the right to defend themselves in their mother tongue in courts, the right to education in their mother tongue, the right to an autonomous region and the liberation of their leader Abdullah Öcalan who has been in prison in Turkey since 1999. The racism that lies at the core of this nation is Turk versus non-Turk racism, the most prominent manifestation of which is the Kurdish problem that occupies academic and journalistic agendas daily. Therefore, to claim that "there is no racism in Turkey" with the assumption that racism may only refer to black versus white discrimination is obscuring and hypocritical.

The instance I was referring to, in my question to the former president, demonstrates how this kind of racism against Kurds is found in Turkish football. Diyarbakırspor is a team from Turkey's Southeastern province of Diyarbakır, which has a predominantly Kurdish population. Bursaspor, on the other hand, is the team from the Northwestern city of Bursa, known to be quite conservative and nationalistic. There have been major brawls between the fans of these teams, including instances where Bursaspor fans chanted "terrorists out, PKK out" to Diyarbakırspor fans insinuating that this team's

[44] For an ethnographic account of a "tolerated" (Jewish) minority in Turkey, see Brink-Danan, 2012.

supporters were members of the PKK – the Kurdish Workers' Party, which is classified as a terrorist organization by the Turkish state. When this is the case, when we see a stadium full of home team fans chanting against visiting fans, accusing them of being terrorists just because they are fans of a team from a Kurdish town, it must be labeled racism in Turkey. But it is not labeled as such: instead, as the former president says, it gets "coded as swearing – as moral values or fan behavior" because after all "there is no racism in Turkey."

Racism against Kurds is a serious social issue in Turkey and I argue that one official mechanism to obscure this issue is by substituting this problem with that of swearing in football. Where other European initiatives about fair play define it as a part of their missions to combat racism, the Turkish identified an alternative problem and posits it – that is, the problem – in substitution to racism. This serves not only to push forward swearing as a problem opposed to fair play but also to allow anti-Kurdish racism to continue in Turkey and in Turkish football, without recognizing or admitting that there any racism at all within football.

b) Swearing and Indexical Bundling

When I spoke with Murat Aşan, the journalist I quoted in the previous chapters, I noticed that another mechanism by which swearing may be posited in opposition to fair play is by indexically bundling the speech genre of swearing with negative social categories. Such indexical bundling occurs through second-order indexicality, which Silverstein (1992) defines as occurring when speakers find social rationalizations or justifications to link linguistic form to specific social categories and reach conclusions

about the users of those linguistic forms. The way in which someone speaks ends up indirectly, or secondarily, indexing their social status, class, politics, education level, etc (for more on indexicality see Silverstein 1995). An indexical bundle, in return, is when a mental schema or map is formed about the social attributes of a person based on the way in which they use language. Here is what Aşan told me:

> MA: Football in our country can be summarized as the tyranny of a rampant minority. This is the group that swears all the time… But we are the ones who suffer the consequences. Media and administrators find themselves surrendering to these people. They are fed unearned income and free tickets. They occupy news agendas and gain access to clubs. They acquire social status and begin to control neighborhoods. These are people who use violence and thus behave against fair play… In regards to all this, my attitude is clear-cut, like Kenan Evren[45] – hang them in Taksim Square[46], see if all this happens again.
> YN: You're talking about fan groups?
> MA: Fan groups and those who swear and harass… These are the terrorists of football.

For Aşan, a football fan who swears indexes an unruly group of people who "terrorize" the site of football in Turkey by getting free tickets to matches, harassing people, asserting control over neighborhood youths and occupying news agendas. The image he paints is of an untamable group of bullies who dominate the rest of "us" as they rampage through the site of football. He asserts that this kind of fan behavior violates the values of fair play. And he associates this kind of behavior that is against fair play with swearing and thereby with *anyone* who uses swearing as a form of language.

Club administrations have released declarations that follow the same vein of indexical bundling. Here is an excerpt from an online statement, entitled "Carrying on

[45] Kenan Evren is a former general of the Turkish Army who led the military coup of 1980 and assumed the post of president in 1982. He is held responsible for suspending civil liberties and human rights during his regime which saw hangings and torture for political dissidents. At the time of writing, he is on trial for his role in the coup, possibly facing a life sentence.

[46] Taksim Square is one of the most central locations in Istanbul.

with Fair Play," that the Fenerbahçe Administrative Board (FB 2006) published following a Galatasaray derby:

> …As the entire sports community very well knows, our administration, fan organizations and our entire Fenerbahçe community have spent serious effort to turn the Fenerbahçe Şükrü Saracoğlu Stadium into a modern and civilized stadium where there is no swearing or throwing of foreign items onto the pitch. And we have come a long way in this process. We continue these efforts with great sincerity and in fact most times we feel lonely in our efforts to turn Turkish stadiums into civilized places with no swearing…we invite all sports aficionados to support our efforts to build stadiums with absent swearing but full of the spirit of fair play.

In the previous chapter, I referred to Armstrong and Young (1997) to critique how regulatory laws in football demonize and vilify all of fandom to cast them all as hooligans who rejoice in mayhem and disruption. Similar to that, indexical bundling in relation to swearing serves to create a mental schema where swearing is associated with a crude masculine character who goes to matches with the sole purpose of harassing people. Engaging in these chants gets indexically bundled with lack of education, propriety or civilization[47] at large and a disposition towards uncontrolled, physical violence, fanaticism and hooliganism.

I have argued thus far that TFF, club administrations and Lig TV have a joint campaign to combat swearing in Turkish football which they posit as an obstacle against the maintenance of fair play. I contended that, in the discourse of these football actors, there is no explicit substantiation of this linkage between swearing *per se* and a violation of fair play. For example, there are no arguments put forth that seek to curtail swearing because it may reinforce homophobia or sexism in society by virtue of circulating language laden with homophobia or sexism. Instead, these football actors apply two

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[47] Note that the image of civilization is evoked once again to other alleged lawless hooligans as I discussed in the previous chapter.

specific mechanism to cement their equation. The first of these mechanisms is the linguistic process of misrecognition or substitution whereby swearing is cast as a problem *en lieu* of racism. This serves both to establish the desired opposition and to turn a blind eye to an open sore in Turkish society, anti-Kurdish discrimination. Secondly, I showed that a process of indexical bundling works towards defining a certain mental schema in which "those who swear" exist and swearing fans are attributed social characteristics that are socially and morally undesirable. Such bundling thus also strengthens the swearing versus fair play opposition.

While this is the official discourse on swearing, my experience of this language going to matches in Istanbul has been different. In the next section, I will write about match-day experience and other social occasions where fans sing, chant and cheer for the team with an aim to show how swearing in football chants does not have to be equated to the absence of fair play as TFF, club administrations and Lig TV portray. Instead, a conjoint referential and non-referential analysis of this language[48] sheds light onto how an alternative (to official fair play) sense of (manly) fairness is created by the use of exclusionary homophobic and sexist language in fan community building.

[48] Referential analysis of language would focus on what language is "about," its content or what it refers to, whereas non-referential analysis would go beyond reference or content to investigate what else language might achieve or do in social life. In my case, I talk about the referential content of chants and cheers as homophobic and sexist. But I also talk about their non-referential function which is to build and sustain fan communities.

Exclusive Communities, Language and Masculinities

Walking down to central Beşiktaş from the Abbasağa Park area[49], it sounds like a game as one begins to hear chants and singing from fans gathered around the eagle statue in the center of the marketplace (photo 11) [50]. Making your way through the many restaurants lining up the Köyiçi area[51], it looks like a game as supporters, men and women, are all dressed in the team colors of black and white and one person's initiative is enough to spur vigorous applause and chanting from all adjacent tables. Only before a football game is it legitimate to suddenly spring up from your seat during dinner in a restaurant, begin tapping loudly on the table to sing "This is Beşiktaş here, we'll go through you all/Don't mess with us/ you assmonger Fener/[52]This life will surely end, we are your angel of death/you assmonger Fener." [53] Only before a game will you see restaurants-full of people joining in to these songs as some of the younger boys light flares outside the doors and their friends videotape them to later display their fandom on YouTube.

[49] The Abbasağa Park is located up the hill from the Beşiktaş market place. The park is a meeting spot for fans and this neighborhood has figured into Beşiktaş chants symbolizing where fans live, frequent or gather. As I explained in the Introduction, this is also near where I lived in Istanbul during fieldwork.

[50] The eagle is Beşiktaş's mascot.

[51] Köyiçi is the main street in downtown Beşiktaş, in the market place. This is where most of the pubs and restaurants are for fans to meet before and after games.

[52] "Fener" is short for Istanbul's Fenerbahçe.

[53] The original chant goes: "*Burası Beşiktaş/Alayına gider/Uğraşma bizimle/Götoğlanı Fener/Bu hayat dediğin/Elbet bir gün biter/Azrail'in biziz/Götoğlanı Fener*."

Photo 11: Eagle statue in central Beşiktaş. February 20, 2011.

Pre-gaming, the hours spent hanging out before a match, is an important social occasion among fans. This is when fans meet in pubs, parks, *meyhanes,* squares or street corners to eat, consume alcohol and to sing chants. The pre-gaming is a festive event. There are often lit flares in the air exuding colorful smoke, whistles and other loud instruments to accompany the intermittent yet constant chanting and cheering. Istanbul even smells different on match days. Even its most "modern" stadiums are surrounded with vapor, either flavorsome from *köfte* sandwich carts, or stinging pepper spray as police try to manage the crowds. The streets smell like beer and pee as men quickly chug cans of beer and use the backs of billboards to relieve themselves. In fact, I would argue that the matter of public male urinating is one of the key testaments to how football in Turkey is a masculine space. Drinking multiple cans of beer for hours before the game, men basically urinate on sidewalks and streets all over town. Their female counterparts

must calculate their drinking and hence their level of participation in pre-gaming activities, since public urination is not an option for them due to physical limitations. These hours prepare the fans for the upcoming match so they arrive in the stadium at the desired level of team spirit and fervor necessary to fuel the players on the pitch with their continuing chants.

I had the opportunity to join some pre-gaming sessions during fieldwork. One such occasion was when in February 2011, Beşiktaş was scheduled to play Karabük at İnönü Stadium.[54] On a bright but cold Sunday, I left my flat in Abbasağa to descend to central Beşiktaş shortly after 1 PM to meet with some Beşiktaş fans in front of their regular hangout bar *Külüstür* ("shabby" in Turkish). Typical for match-day mornings, Emre (the web designer I introduced in the previous chapter) and I had exchanged many phone calls to arrange a time and a place to meet. Emre's group of fans go to the Eastern section of the stadium – the *Kapalı.* Some of them stand right in the "*kutu*" (box) which is the boxed area at the center-back of this section where members of the most famous Beşiktaş fan group, *çArşı* are known to congregate. Others of Emre's group stand in different areas of the upper *Kapalı* stands. The group is composed of men and women, mostly in their 30s and 40s, and they share an e-mail list where they talk about Beşiktaş and football throughout the week. More than fifty messages may be exchanged on any day, with the conversation covering anything from a single refereeing call through random denigration of rival teams, to the problems of losing sleep over defeat.

Emre had already introduced me on this e-mail list a while before that Sunday and I had exchanged some messages both publicly and privately with individuals to arrange

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[54] Karabük is short for the team Kardemir Demir Çelik Karabükspor from the city of Karabük. And İnönü Stadium is the Beşiktaş stadium which I have described before.

meetings and interviews. Some recognized me personally and the others remembered my name when I met them before the Karabük match that day. As they gathered in front of *Külüstür*, Emre introduced me to some of their other acquaintances whose names I did not recognize from the e-mails. One of them was a retired man in his 60s who had acquired the nickname "crazy." He allegedly wore a jersey with "*Deli* Aydın" (*deli* for crazy) inscribed on the back. Emre told me, "this is *Deli* Aydın and this is his daughter: *Deli* Aydın's daughter." I never learned the daughter's name but was told that she would wear jerseys with the inscription "*Deli* Aydın's daughter" on the back. I did not have a chance to see either of those jerseys on that cold February day. Emre added, "he has a nephew too: *Deli* Aydın's nephew."

As they stood in front of the pub on the pedestrian street behind the large eagle statue, everyone was complaining about the scheduling of that day's game at 4 PM. "We're all hung-over" said Emre and "we've had to start [drinking] early today because of the afternoon game…I'm afraid that the stadium performance won't be too amazing today." *Deli* Aydın's daughter was gathering empty cans telling the boys that she can't understand how they're able to drink so much beer and that they should at least collect and throw away their own trash. I met a university student who had travelled from Eskişehir to Istanbul for that match and he told me the following:

> You know how I woke up this morning? With an incredible surge of excitement. I think I fell asleep with Beşiktaş marches in my head. I woke up singing Beşiktaş songs. As if I'm about to go on a date with my girlfriend, you know. Excited like that. Couldn't contain myself.

Just then, as I was casually conversing with various fans and listening to their stories about how they got to Beşiktaş that day or at what age they began going to games, Emre

said "come on guys, we're bored, start singing something." There was already some chanting in the air, and random rhythmic pounding we would hear from adjacent pubs and restaurants. But Emre's plea triggered a few songs in a row from the immediate crowd in front of *Külüstür*. A man whom I would later make note of as the "guy in the corner with a white sweatshirt" who had been sitting on a stoop thus far sprung up to his feet to lead the crowd into singing the following:

Soğan ekmek yiyoruz
    We eat onions with bread
Ete para vermiyoruz
    We don't pay for meat
Fenerbahçe seni sikip
    Fenerbahçe we fuck you
Göte para vermiyoruz
    But we don't pay for the ass
Fenerbahçe n'apıyorsun? oooo oooo
    Fenerbahçe, what are you doing? Oooh ooooh
Yine sakso çekiyorsun – aaaa aaaa
    You're blowing us again – aaaah aaaah
Sokayım senin yollarına
    I'll stick it in you
Ulan ibne göt kanarya
    You faggot ass canary[55]
Al ağzına kanarya – oooo oooo
    Take it in your mouth canary – ooooh ooooh
İnleme sakın böyle – aaaa aaaa
    Don't you moan so canary – aaaah aaaah

The game scheduled at 4 PM that day was not against Beşiktaş's archrival Fenerbahçe. It was against a working-class team from Karabük which had just risen to the Super League from the second division. In fact, all week-long the Beşiktaş fan group *çArşı* had published photos and comments affirming solidarity with this team, its working-class affiliation and its fans. The *çArşı* interface on their website "Forza"

[55] The canary is Fenerbahçe's mascot.

displayed a handshake between a white and a black hand (black and white for Beşiktaş and a black hand to represent the coalminers of Karabük) with the writing "people's team" on Beşiktaş's side and "workers' team" for Karabük. The interface also displayed a stadium banner from an earlier season that read "The weight on your shoulders is due to the sweat on your forehead, we greet you oh glorious Karabük" signed by *çArşı*. In contrast to most games in Turkey, there was no immediate conflict between the teams or the fans of the two sides on this particular afternoon. Emre even joked that sports commentators sounded like they were announcing the weather report as they said "Karabük fans are scattered among Beşiktaş crowds, a display of fair play." Neither the fact that the match in question was not particularly significant for Beşiktaş fans, nor that they felt politically aligned with Karabük, stopped them from singing and chanting in the above fashion. They used this opportunity of having gathered before a game with beers in hand to display their passionate hatred for Fenerbahçe.

What are we to make of this and other similar chants that involve very explicit homophobic language? Why and how do we have a group of Beşiktaş fans swearing at Fenerbahçe fans (on a day when they are not even playing against FB) in the form of calling them "whorish faggots" that they fuck without even "paying for it?" I argue that this genre of swearing Turkish football chants can be explained using theorizations on hegemonic masculinity, how masculinity relates of homophobia and how language (including humor) is constructive of gender identities.

What this and other similar songs achieve is that they create the in-group as the fans of a certain team. These fans self-identify with a certain understanding of masculinity: manly men (*adam gibi*) and crazy-blooded/hot-headed young men

(*delikanlı*). In turn, the out-group (i.e. fans of rival teams) are othered by reference to homosexuality and femaleness; they are the faggots (*ibne*). This othering is often carried out through sharing a sense of humor. Ultimately, we observe close-knit fan communities (including men and women) that use exclusionary sexual language to other certain peoples and to cement their own fandom while at the same time grounding that fandom in certain spaces (stadiums, parks, pubs and neighborhoods) in the city through sounds and language. Crucially, the sense of exclusionary and manly fandom contributes to forming a definition of fairness that is couched in terms of masculinity. As such, the practice of swearing in Turkish football may be seen as a process by which a particular masculine sense of fairness is created even though this practice allegedly defies official fair play.

In *Gender and Power,* Connell (1987) discussed her early theorization of hegemonic masculinity where she identified certain patterns of practice in masculinity that achieved to normatively rank a specific form of masculinity above others and thus hegemonically dominate both women and "subordinated masculinities." One very important quality of hegemonic masculinity she observes thus is heterosexuality. Upon other iterations of her argument and having received both praise and critique, she refined this concept in 2005 with Messerschmidt. There, the authors maintain the position that hegemonic masculinity is normative and that it is reflective of a hierarchy in masculinities in society where this hierarchical relationship is observed through one form of masculinity's "hegemony" over others. Addressing their critiques, the authors here make three important points that are relevant to my work: 1) They remind the readers that hegemonic masculinity is fluid and that there will always be room for struggle, resistance and change. 2) They assert that women's relationship to hegemonic masculinity is more

complex than being a simple relation of domination and subordination. 3) They contend that local, regional and global manifestations of hegemonic masculinity might be different from each other while at the same time feeding each other.

Besides hegemonic masculinity, Kimmel's (1994) discussion of "masculinity as homophobia" is useful for developing my argument. Kimmel argued that "masculinity is a homosocial enactment": something that men perform so that they can keep becoming real men in the face of other men or so that "other men can grant [them their] manhood" (128) Kimmel said that in this constant effort to become men, homosexuality presents itself as the largest threat. According to Kimmel, homophobia is not so much the fear of homosexual men but rather the fear of being perceived as a homosexual man: "Homophobia is thus the fear that other men will emasculate us – reveal to the rest of the world that we are not man enough" (131). He adds that in this context of fear, peers act as "gender police" for men whose presence disciplines men and causes them to act in ways that are abusive of so-called feminine traits. Since they are in a constant effort to prove they are not "sissies, feminine or gay" they overemphasize normative rules of masculinity. This is also the way in which homophobia and sexism go hand in hand in this manifestation of masculinity which others and excludes gay men and women (for more anthropological studies on masculinities see Gutmann 1997).

What linguistic anthropology has contributed to this discussion is how the words "fag" and "gay" are used in various male heterosexual settings. Studying the verbal interaction between five college students in the US, Deborah Cameron (2006) noticed that these men engaged in gossip about other men, mainly referring to them as "gay." Soon she came to realize that the term "gay" did not reference homosexuality but rather a

“failure to measure up to group standards of masculinity…” (423) Therefore “gay” was used to identify insufficient masculinity which also made available the usage of “really gay” as a phrase, proving once again that “gay” indexed a gender norm, not a sexual preference. Similar to Kimmel, Cameron asserted that a “perceived danger that accompanies homosociality is homosexuality” (429) and that “men in all-male groups must unambiguously display their heterosexual orientation” (430). [56]

Sociologist CJ Pascoe (2005) held a study where she focused on the usage of the term “fag” among high school students in California. She found that while students said one could “call literally anything ‘fag’” oftentimes this label was seen appropriate in instances displaying incompetence where the hegemonic masculine norm imposed an ideal of competence on men. She wrote, “The fag epithet, when hurled at other boys, may or may not have explicit sexual meanings, but it always has gendered meanings. When a boy calls another boy a fag, it means he is not a man, not necessarily that he is a homosexual” (342). In line with Kimmel, Pascoe also noted that the “specter of the fag” serves a disciplinary mechanism to remind boys of normative hegemonic masculinity.

In Turkey, being interested in football itself is a component of hegemonic masculinity. The image of the heterosexual football fan who goes to the game, drinks beer or *rakı*, sings and swears in order to “de-charge” (blow off steam, *deşarj*) are all components of how hegemonic masculinity manifests itself in Turkey and Turkish football. This masculinity absolutely others the “*ibne*” (the fag). For example, when I was talking to Serkan’s group of fanmates I described in the previous chapter who told me

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[56] For more for more linguistic anthropological accounts on gender see Cameron and Kulick (2003), Kiesling (2001) and Kulick (1996). Also see Sedgwick (1985) and Bourgois and Schonberg (2009) for more on homosociality.

about the ticket-exchange process, I asked them what they thought someone would miss out on if they did not follow football. Here is how one of these men answered me:

> The current agenda is highly influenced by football in Turkey. So if you want to relate to any men…if you know nothing about him, you can talk about football. Football helps you socialize with other men. Suddenly, that guy you don't know is either an enemy or your brother…Those who don't follow football, they usually have other interests, like politics…or art. But I mean, come on! There is something called football in this country! Have you not been able to catch on? At all?! There is a bit of a fagness (*ibnelik*) in those who are not interested in football.

Fans sing and construe anyone who is a fan of a different team as "*ibne*." They also sing against referees as "*ibne*." In fact, "*ibne hakem*" (the ref is a fag) is one of the most common chants in Turkey's stadiums. Another chant against refs is "what is up with you ref? You seem to be shaking your hips," (*Hakem n'oluyor? Götün başın oynuyor*). By indicating that rivals are assmongers that offer/sell their asses or by accusing a referee for shaking his hips like a belly dancer, fans use emasculating language to differentiate their team affiliations from other sectors of the footballing community. As such, the in-group fans get defined as "men" against out-group fans or refs who are sissies (*yavşak*) or fags (*ibne*). The sense of fan community thus built is a highly exclusionary community, one that uses language to other rival teams and referees (as well as other agents of Turkish football like media reps, federation or club administrators at times) as less manly by virtue of not supporting a certain team.

There are numerous examples of this in Turkish football. Beşiktaş fans have a slogan where they say "*erkek adam renkli takım tutmaz*," which translates to "a real/manly man would not support a colorful team." This slogan references Beşiktaş's colors (black and white) and affiliates Fenerbahçe's yellow and dark blue and Galatasaray's yellow and red with "colorfulness" and thus homosexuality. To retaliate

Galatasaray fans chant "*erkek adam kanatlı takım tutmaz*," meaning "a real/manly man would not support a team with wings." Galatasaray's mascot is a lion whereas Beşiktaş (eagle) and Fenerbahçe (canary) both have bird mascots which supposedly connote less manliness with their "wings" than the vicious lion. A Fenerbahçe chant against Galatsaray goes "*Ultravesti! Ultravesti*! Gay! Gay!" *Ultra Aslan* (the Ultra Lions) is the foremost Galatasaray fan group and Fenerbahçe fans have altered their name to "ul(travesti)" where *travesti* means transvestite. The additional "gay, gay," [57] are sung in English.

What we see here, with this language, is the formation of fan communities. To fully comprehend the quality of these communities, one must take into consideration the interplay between the referential and the non-referential functions of language. The non-referential function of swearing in Turkish football is that this genre of speech helps communities come together. The referential function is that this coming together is exclusionary on the basis of particular team affiliations defined in relation to masculinity.

In his 1984 article about gossip in Fiji Indian conversation, Don Brenneis critiqued the anthropological approach to gossip that only focused on the referential content of this speech genre. He argued that while it was important to consider what gossip was *about*, anthropological consideration had to stretch beyond this descriptive and referential function of language to investigate what other functions gossip had within a community. For this, he asserted that one could not divorce gossip from the social context in which it occurred as if it existed in a referential vacuum alone, that gossip was both "*about* something and something *in itself*," that gossip involved *two* kinds of social relationships (between gossiper and subject and between fellow gossipers) and that

[57] "Gay" is a word that is largely recognized by Turkish speakers in Turkey.

gossip had significant stylistic features worth discussing (488). His conclusion is that, "gossip is…an event in itself, one in which relationships of solidarity and artful complicity are each time reproduced anew" (496). In the same vein, my purpose is to show that swearing may be considered a substantial way in which fan communities are built and sustained – especially if we take into consideration the social relationship built between the executers of the chants.

Fans have repeatedly told me that they wake up with a smile on their face on match days. The entire ritual of gearing up for the football game, coordinating with fan mates, meeting hours in advance to rehearse chants and cheers is what brings the fan community together. A member of Emre's fan circle and a frequent contributor to their e-mail list, Veysel explained it to me in the following words: "The whole stadium is here [at the *Külüstür* pub] during the week; we prepare banners, we chant and compose new cheers. There is a common language." This common language builds fan groups and communities as fans gather on matchless weekdays to continue singing about their teams. For these fans , chants and cheers index everything they love about their fan communities; chants are their common language.

One other way to think about fanmates as forging communities through language and singing is by interpreting them as "acoustic communities" that form "soundscapes." Les Back (2003) and Meri Kytö (2011) are among the few scholars who have written about the football stadium as a soundscape, that is, as a sonic field with which people play out their lives. For example, talking about the atmosphere of football in England, Back argues that "It is primarily through songs and banter that a structure of feeling is produced in football stadiums" (311) He uses social geographer John Bale's (1994) work

on stadiums to assert that football grounds acquire significant emotive place in people's life histories and memories and that the sounds of these spaces contribute significantly to the creation of these fields (see also Frank and Streets eds. 2010, Gaffney 2008, Trumpbour 2007). If we are to see space and place as constantly in the making as archaeologist Tim Ingold (1993) has suggested, and not as forums detached from social life that we merely inhabit, then this making is to a large extent the continual result of the language being spoken during this process. Continuing our consideration of the non-referential function of football language in Turkey will also help us to see stadiums as soundscapes in the making, with the language spoken and sung here as a significant contributing factor in this production of space. Meri Kytö's (2011) work focuses particularly on the soundscape of the Beşiktaş İnönü Stadium. Offering an alternative and non-referential interpretation of chants and cheers, she is able to depict what this communal singing achieves for the fan group *çArşı*. As we have already seen, *çArşı* is known as a diehard fan group; it is also known to have left leaning tendencies. The group itself affiliates with anarchism and thus spells the word *çArşı*, using the specific A for anarchy, as I have explained (see footnote 27). News stories in Turkey have depicted *çArşı* as everything from a fun and creative group to a passionate and fervent allegiance, to a criminal and hooligan-like gang. Meri Kytö, on the other hand, looked at *çArşı* as an "acoustic community" and investigated the ways in which their singing brought them together as a community or a social entity (see also Karacasu 2010 on Turkish football songs and music). She focused on chants and cheers that included references to dicks and fags but instead of talking about how offensive they are, she chose to highlight what else they achieved: namely building social spaces where fan subjectivities emerge *vis-à-vis*

the creation of space as soundscape. Consider Emre's words below which point to the making of such space as he talks about what it feels like to be a fan:

> There is a café called *Sokak* Café. One of our brothers, [58] the other day, I saw that he was drinking with his daughter who's around 20. I was like "what are you doing?" He said they got melancholic because there were no games. He was like "we didn't know what to do." Beşiktaş is something you seek refuge in. Even if there is not a game, we live our Beşiktaş fandom here as if there was. We talk about old games with songs and cheers. Beşiktaş is the common denominator; the real goal is to come together. What allows us to come together and to have that language is Beşiktaş… The reason why the stadium is so amazing is because we grew up together here. Last week, we were watching the away game here on TV against Eskişehir[59] where we lost. You know what, it wasn't even half an hour after the defeat when we found ourselves singing and chanting again. Until the morning. It looked like we were celebrating championship… What's important there is the passion, the fervor. That fervor ties you here. Otherwise, seasons come and go, matches too… For instance, I don't get the fandom of Galatasaray fans… I wouldn't get them if I went to their [stadium] stands. I don't think I would… I'd be like "what are they doing?" I watch their videos with their cheers that say "OK, let's go." I don't get it. It shouldn't be like that. That's not it. I don't get Fenerbahçe's discourse. I don't get what they scream about in those [stadium]stands… *Külüstür* Pub used to be better after games. It would be better than the stadium itself. We would go and begin singing "*Gündoğdu*[60]." They'd play the original *DevGenç* version from the speakers…On match days, we come here in the morning. We drink. Then we go to the park. Then we walk to the stadium. Then we come back to *Külüstür* Pub or *Mis* Café to watch reruns and talk about the game.

Even as we begin to conjure how the language of Turkish football is crucial in community making, we must keep in mind a key element of these communities: they are exclusionary, mainly of other teams' fans. And this exclusion is phrased as an exclusion from masculinity. Emre says that "he doesn't get Galatasaray fandom" and he follows up on this by referring to how he doesn't understand what it is that they sing about. The

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[58] He's using the term "brother" as fictive kinship, referring to an older, male fanmate.

[59] Referring to Super League team Eskişehirspor from the city of Eskişehir.

[60] This is a revolutionary march from the 1960s and 70s sung then by the *DevGenç* (short for *Devrimci Gençlik* or Revolutionary Youth) fraction of the left. Beşiktaş fans have changed the lyrics to be about BJK.

example chant he gives from GS is "*Saldır! Cimbom!* OK! Let's go! Oley! Oley!" where the fans tell "Cimbom" (a nickname used for Galatasaray) to "attack" (*saldır*). Well, this is a cheer that most GS fans are not proud of since it lacks most of the passion, fervor and "creativity" I describe in this and the next chapter. Regardless, Beşiktaş and Fenerbahçe fans have altered it to mock Galatasaray fans using the word "Cincon" instead of "Cimbom." To the non-Turkish speakers, the sounds of these two words might sound similar. But in fact "cincon" sounds like baby talk in Turkish and is used by rival fans to ridicule GS through emasculation. This term "cincon" goes hand in hand with Beşiktaş and Fenerbahçe fans' referring to Galatasaray's acronym "GS" as "Gay-S." The *Gündoğdu* march, on the other hand, one which Emre says they used to sing at *Külüstür* Pub back in the day and a song which is sung in nearly every Beşiktaş game today, includes the following lyrics: "our neighborhood/district is a man's neighborhood. It makes everyone fall in love (*semtimiz, erkek semti, aşık eder herkesi*)." Beşiktaş fans thus repeatedly consolidate their manhood as fans and ground that fandom in their (manly) neighborhood. Moreover, they express these affiliations with intense emotional language, an issue I will take up in the next chapter.

As I have alluded to multiple times by now, a mechanism by which this othering in community building is carried out is by using humor. "Creativity" (*yaratıclık*) is a buzzword ideal that fan groups aspire to where the term connotes humor and wittiness. Work on hip hop (Rose 2008) and African American oral narrative poems (Jackson 2004) provides ways to view ostensibly offensive content as vehicles for art, creativity and humor. Bruce Jackson (2004) wrote about the African American oral tradition of toasting which are "acted, heard and experienced" in bars, street corners but mostly prisons.

Toasts are mainly performed by males and Jackson refers to them as “extremely misogynist” in content. He says, “As much evidence as there is for viewing toasts as the poetic literature of the street or partying black man, there is evidence to consider it, along with the worksong of the black convict in the South, as his jail testament.” He added that the “first function” of these narratives is entertainment...because they are funny” (13). He used words like “theater” and “social genre” to describe these performances that he affiliates with lower-class urban African American male communities. One crucial aspect of toasts is that they are acted out and performed with much attention to style. Being as long as they are, often reaching around 100 lines, it becomes a challenge for the performer to keep his execution of the poem fun and entertaining. It is through this social theater that some members of the community are able to “express [their] anxieties...and problems…what interests them and…what is important to them, what frightens them” (8). Therefore instead of getting preoccupied by only the referential content of toasts which are very much explicit in their exploitation of women and women’s sexuality, Jackson finds a way to talk about the role of toasts in the communities where they flourish, focusing on the aspect of entertainment, fun and humor (for a different point of view on how humor relates to offense, see Hill 2008).

Similarly, Tricia Rose’s (2008) account of hip hop is a plea to move beyond the polarized debate on this music genre that either posits it as the evil of US American social life because of violence, sexism and homophobia it inheres or defending it by way of saying these are realities of the world we live in. Her “progressive” interpretation of hip hop seeks to appreciate the “creative genius” of hip hop in a “culturally nuanced” way.

She says that this creativity and talent can be acknowledged without reinforcing social injustice or mindlessly bashing or defending hip hop.

Towards the end of my fieldwork, the culture and tourism minister of Turkey, Ertuğrul Günay, made a declaration where he said that the Beşiktaş İnönü Stadium had to be relocated since the "stomping fans [had made] the stadium gradually slip" towards the nearby Dolmabahçe Palace. Right after he made this statement, Beşiktaş was scheduled to play Kayserispor at home in March 2011 and the fans had devised a special chant for Günay in regard to his declaration. Multiple times and with great joy and laughter they repeated the following song:

Stad kayıyor
The stadium is slipping
Stad kayıyor
The stadium is slipping
Ertuğrul sana stad kayıyor
Slipping right into you Ertuğrul
Tepiniyoruz
We're stomping
Tepiniyoruz
We're stomping
Ertuğrul sana tepiniyoruz
Stomping right into you Ertuğrul

In Turkish, to "slip into" someone is a common expression in slang to say that you're sexually assaulting them. Mocking the minister and his words, by explicitly swearing at him, BJK fans were having the time of their lives. As they were singing that day, they were applauding themselves for how creative they had been coming up with this chant and how funny their play on the word "slip" was. Not only is this a protest against the proposition to destroy the stadium that fans were complicit in *making* as their home, it is also a relatively spontaneous and creative way to humorously carry out this

protest (for more on stadium as "home" see Boyd 2000 and Kraus 2004, Stokvis 2008). Yes, it might be considered offensive. But it might also be considered funny. As Tanıl Bora (2006) explained, stadiums stands are one of the richest grounds from where "public humor" emerges. The "folklore of football" has a never-ending repertoire of humor and slang.

A great example of this "creative humor" that is deployed to other rival teams as less manly is found in a series of chants against Fenerbahçe's former president Ali Şen. Mostly used during his presidency in the mid 1990s, it is still possible to find discussions and references to these chants in online fan forums today. The initial anti-Ali Şen chant went: "Ali Şen has a huge ass" (*Ali Şen'in götü kocaman*). This was met by Fenerbahçe fans who sang (to redeem their president) "Ali Şen has a huge cock" (*Ali Şen'in siki kocaman*). Then the anti-Fenerbahçe/Ali Şen chant took on the form "Ali Şen can't get his dick up" *(Ali Şen'in siki kalkmıyor*). Finally, as Ali Şen increasingly complained to the police and stadium authorities about how much swearing there was directed against him, Beşiktaş and Galatasaray fans came up with what they consider today as the most genius way to insult Ali Şen's masculinity: "Ali Şen's son is an IVF baby" (*Ali Şen'in oğlu tüp bebek*).

Susanne Reichl and Mark Stein (2005) have coined the phrase "communities of laughter" to talk about humor as a device that builds community, sometimes at the expense of excluding others. They assert that for laugher, it is necessary to have a "shared matrix of references" and that "laughter fulfils an important function in establishing, maintaining and adjusting in-group ties and group borders" (13). They find that these ties and borders that are forged by humor and laughter are in fact quite significant for

postcolonial studies since they point to particular ways of ethnic and racial othering. As such, laughing at the other strengthens in-group bonds and tightens the community against the one which is ridiculed. In the mid-90s when the IVF (in-vitro fertilization) technology was still quite new in Turkey, it clearly represented a deficient or lacking masculinity in relation to reproductive potency. BJK and GS fans used this common perception (shared references) about IVF to assault Ali Şen's masculinity where they alienated him, Fenerbahçe and alternative reproductive technologies all at once through laughter.

Tanıl Bora (2006), one of the most prolific writers on Turkish football asserts that Turkish "football culture is male-dominated".[61] He says that the traditional situation in Turkey has been that men only ask women to "tolerate" their obsession with football. Or as Gülengül Altınsay (2010), a -female- football journalist explained, men mostly see football as their "private sphere" and have been very hesitant to let women in. Bora (2013) agrees and ties this to the historical development of football in the world. He refers to the origins of the sport in England and says "the social scene in which football developed and acquired its rules was boys' schools in England. The macho and semi-military social climate of these schools determined the sociality of football from the start." (503) Bora observes the continuance of this historical ethos into present day Turkish football pointing out, for example, that players taunt opponents who don't display wholehearted fervor or aggression on the pitch as playing like girls/women" (504) He additionally observes how the language used to celebrate a score, and taunt opponents who have conceded a goal, is laden with sexual terminology. When one scores or wins in

[61] See Messner (1992, 2002) and Key, Messner and Sabo eds. (2000) for more on how masculinities are formed and experienced in sports in general, especially from the point of view of athletes.

Turkish football the words used to explained that translate to "putting it to them" (*koymak)* or "sticking it to them" *(sokmak)* or simply "fucking them" (*sikmek*[62]*)*. Bora says that the space of football is a site where men simultaneously display notions of manliness in the form of "wanting to get stronger, conquer and threaten" and also find themselves under a great threat to their heterosexuality. Resonant with the kind of fear Kimmel was describing, Bora talks about the Turkish fear of "conceding a goal from the 5th," (*beşlik yemek)*, as Turkish has it, that is the fear of conceding what in English is called "a nutmeg goal.*"* This refers to when a goalkeeper concedes a goal by allowing the ball to pass between his legs which represents getting "broken in" or "losing your honor:" especially scary for teenage boys who play ball in the streets (505).

In the next section, I will discuss how these constellation of desired and undesired masculinities in Turkey relates to the notion of fairness in Turkish football. I will show that in-group manliness or desired masculinity is referred to as "*adam gibi adam*," (a man like a man) "*erkek adam*," (a manly man) or as "*delikanlı*" (a crazy-blooded/hot-headed young man). These terms do not only refer to the male gender but also connote a sense of justness and fairness in Turkish. In contrast the less-than-manly rival or the referee are called "*ibne*" (fag) which also belongs to a repertoire of words about both masculinities *and* fairness.

[62] This particular analogy is not necessarily Turkish. Reading world-famous football star Pelé's autobiography (2007), I came across the following quote that belongs to Pelé's father Dodinho: "The greatest goal I ever scored was a one-two with Celeste: we named him Edson Arantes do Nascimento: Pelé" (9).

Turkish football masculinities and fairness

Recall in Chapter 1 when I described Veysel's desired footballer: *adam gibi* and *delikanlı* which he contrasted to "*çirkef*" (malicious and thus unfair as I demonstrated). How then is the opposition between manliness and unfairness built in Turkish footballing language? How is a sense of fairness created through the imagery of the kind of exclusive masculinity I have been describing? For this, we must study the usage and meaning of the term "*delikanlı*."

Delikanlı literally means "crazy-blooded" and it is used to describe young men, as have I explained before (see footnote 5). But, its meaning goes much beyond this descriptive reference to age. A "*delikanlı* adam" (*delikanlı* man) means someone who is tough, true to his word, has his friends' back, is honest, straightforward and charismatic. The image of the "neighborhood's *delikanlı*" (*mahallenin delikanlısı*) is also quite visually distinct. He wears black leather shoes with a round heel (*yumurta topuk*) that makes noise as he walks around. He wears a black leather jacket or a vest with a button-down shirt underneath and typically has a rosary in his hand at all time. One may perhaps imagine a James Dean look for a close approximation. He is the de-facto leader of the neighborhood guys and has authority over them.

One of the best-known *delikanlı* figures in Turkish popular culture is the character of Mükremin Ağabey (brother Mükremin) from a sitcom called *Bir Demet Tiyatro* aired between 1995 and 2001.[63] This sitcom was written by Yılmaz Erdoğan who also played the character of Brother Mükremin. Mükremin is in his mid 30s and has a younger sister. They both live at home with their parents as well as the sister's husband. The show is a neighborhood tale involving down-to-earth characters who go about their daily business

[63] *Bir Demet Tiyatro* (dir. Sevgi Birsel, 1995-2001).

in a working class, Istanbul neighborhood. Mükremin is chronically unemployed and seeking ways to get money. He spends his days at the neighborhood coffee shop, hanging out with his buddies. He is always in a tense relationship with his father due his unemployment and his father is the only authority he seems to respect. We see him in a constant effort to negotiate his *delikanlı*-ness with his unemployment and the fact that he still lives at home. Even though he is lazy, gets into brawls and spends money he borrows from his sister or father on alcohol, Mükremin is depicted as an honest and honorable man. He is the one anyone turns to in the neighborhood if they are in trouble or if they are trying to settle a dispute. He defends a nightclub singer's rights against her exploitative managers. He defends the local shopkeeper against the sly, fraudulent efforts of a crookish municipal administrator. He takes from the rich and helps the poor in a manner reminiscent of Robin Hood with an effort to restore informal yet distributive justice in the neighborhood. He is proud of his *delikanlı* identity and quite often says that he wrote the "handbook on *delikanlı*-ness" (*delikanlılığın el kitabı*) and that he would not do anything that would not become a *delikanlı* (*delikanlılığa sığmaz*).

Mükremin also construes himself as a character that is clearly opposed to other men in the show. He is distinct from Mafioso gang leaders who steal from and harass neighborhood inhabitants. Mükremin's stealing or unruliness is depicted in a much more "just" light. Moreover, Mükremin is a clearly different man from his brother-in-law (Fadıl) and his brother-in-law's brother-in-law (Kudbettin). Fadıl is the perfect image of the subordinated husband (*pısırık*) who lives with his wife's family[64] and is constantly

[64] Men who move in with their wife's families after marriage are attached a certain stigma in Turkey. There is a special term for the husband in this matrilocal arrangement: *içgüveysi*. In fact, in Turkish, a common way to indicate that you're not doing so well is by answering the question "how are you?" with the answer "only slightly better than the *içgüveysi*."

abused or ignored by his boss. He wears colorful clothes and is always found trying to flatter his father-in-law both of which are topics of mockery for Mükremin. Kudbettin on the other hand is depicted as a frail and fragile man who is constantly referred to as "taking a bath." In the scenes where he does appear, he is constantly gnawing on carobs instigating jokes about the aphrodisiac qualities of this plant. In later episodes of the show, we also find out that Kudbettin in fact was uncircumcised as a child which is followed with some humorous scenes about his circumcision ordeal as a man in his 30s. Juxtaposed against these men who are subordinated in various ways, emasculated by multiple imageries including domination by females or deprivation from one of the most significant rites of passage into manhood in Turkey (circumcision), Mükremin appears as a manly man –charismatic and authoritative in distributing justice in the neighborhood.

When fans sing about themselves as men and others as *ibne*, they refer to the image of the *delikanlı* – a courageous man, who might resort to wayward techniques but in the end uses his authority to restore a kind of order in an honest way. Within this image of the manly man is couched a sense of fairness. For example, during my conversation with Serkan and his fanmates, one of the guys, Umut (who is in fact Serkan's older cousin), brought up an incident that had taken place a few weeks before our meeting. During a Galatasaray versus Beşiktaş derby, Beşiktaş's striker Nobre had received a yellow card for having fouled Galatasaray's Lucas Neill. Upon the booking, Lucas Neill walked up to the referee and told him that the decision was faulty and that Nobre had not in fact committed a foul that deserved to be booked. The referee did not change his decision but Neill was applauded by the match commentators for his honesty which he seemed to value over the interest of his team. Umut recalled this instance as we

were discussing various ethically controversial matters (like the Alpay case for example) and he said:

> That was a magnificent move on the part of Neill. Honest. He was right/fair (*haklı*). But still, I couldn't help but sing…excuse my language… "oh how we put it to you/fucked you" ("koyduk mu!") at the end of the game [when we beat GS] That was a humane move. A *delikanlı* move. You know normally, there are not many of those at GS. You know what? If it had been a Turkish GS footballer, he would not have done it!..But they should. They should be men and act like this.

Umut praises Neill's honesty and fairness on the basis of his manliness and him being a *delikanlı*. For him, this move which was an attempt to restore justice was a *delikanlı* move, one that he would not expect of regular GS players. Archetti (1999) explained that certain constellations of masculinities came to the fore in Argentina's national identification through football, polo and tango where engagement with these activities contributed significantly to defining the Argentinean nation and delineating its conceptual borders. In Chapter 1, I explained that I do not see football as a similar contributor to defining national belonging in Turkey as in Argentina. However, I do think that the conceptualization of the *delikanlı*, even though it is not exclusively fashioned through football, is significantly informed by how Turkish football fans imagine home-team fandom and in-group support. In other words, fandom and othering in Turkish football becomes a generator of ideas and imageries that feed the concept of the *delikanlı*, a figure we encounter in various social sites in Turkey.

Also striking is how Umut is convinced that a Turkish GS player would not act like Neill. For Umut, a Turkish GS player (although there is no good reason to assume that he would be a GS *fan*) would have been more deeply immersed in the alleged qualities of GS (being unmanly or *ibne*) whereas he sees a foreign player as more transient and thus less adulterated with the *ibne*-ness of Galatasaray. In the end, Umut

celebrated Beşiktaş's victory by singing about how they "put it to" or "fucked" Galatasaray, once again pushing the image of sexual conquest over his rival. Him excusing this language in front of me is an issue I will take up later.

As both Cameron (2006) and Pascoe (2005) showed, the insult "fag" or "gay" is not the identification of someone's sexual preference, rather it is an insult to their manliness. In Turkish football, each time the referee makes a call which is contested by the home team fans, they call him a "fag." I argue that not only does this refer to the referee as less than manly, it is also a usage of "fag" (*ibne)* or "sissy" (*yavşak*) as unfair. Communally contesting the referee's decision by chanting protests for elongated periods of time is common in Turkey. These chants clearly mean that the fans think the referee's decision was unfair. The protest of unfairness is subsequently carried out by insulting the masculinity of the referee as if it is because he is less than manly that he was not able to deliver the fair decision. Although he doesn't elaborate on the contextual details of this, Eric Anderson (2002) who writes on experiences of "openly gay athletes" in heteronormative sports settings in North America, said that the phrase "that's gay" was commonly used in sports settings to refer to "unjust situations." A concrete example which illustrates how the figure of the referee, fairness and manliness come together is the case of Halil İbrahim Dinçdağ, an openly gay Turkish referee who is banned from refereeing in Turkish professional leagues.

In 2009, the then 33-year-old referee of with 13 years of experience, was banned from refereeing by the Turkish Football Federation for being homosexual and that reason alone. Dinçdağ's sexuality was outed through his note from the military excusing him from mandatory military service. The Turkish army labels homosexuality as a

“psychosexual disorder” and does not recruit homosexual men for military service. [65] After losing his job, Dinçdağ claimed he received death threats from within his community in Trabzon, was unable to find any other jobs or continue his other role as a radio host. He sued the TFF for discrimination and his case is still in court at the time of this writing, in November 2012. Dinçdağ has received support from the Turkish LGBT organization LAMBDA and other NGOs and his court case is followed closely by gay rights activists in Turkey.

Here we have case where it is in fact sexual orientation (and not a sense of insufficient masculinity as defined by the normative rules of hegemonic masculinity) which causes a man to lose his job because he is seen unfit to referee. When *Spiegel Online* (Steinvorth 2009) reported this event as “Discrimination on the Pitch,” they wrote:

> “You're gay!” is…still the worst smear fans can hurl at the other side's players, but that's how it is in Turkey -- and likely everywhere in the soccer world. Since his outing, Halil Ibrahim Dincdag has become a stranger to many. Friends have broken off contact with him, and someone on the Internet called him a “bloodless fag.” Another referee declared: “I believe that someone like that referees according to his feelings. It's entirely possible that he'd give more free kicks to a good-looking player.”

I present this excerpt because Spiegel’s quotation from a referee who comments on the Dinçdağ case clearly presents the sexual preference of homosexuality as a cause for unfairness in football refereeing. Where *ibne* and *delikanlı* (thus *ibne* and fairness) are conceptually opposed in my experience of football in Turkey, this quote in fact pits homosexuality against just decision-making because it would supposedly cause a referee

[65] See feature film (based on a true story) called *Zenne Dancer* (dir. Caner Alper and Mehmet Binay, 2012) for a critique of this military policy.

to be vulnerable at the sight of good-looking players. Thus both normatively and literally, it seems that one has to be a heterosexual, manly, *delikanlı* man to be fair.

I explained above that Connell and Messerschmidt (2005) reformed the theory on hegemonic masculinity and asserted that one must always consider this as a fluid and flexible concept, amenable to change through resistance and struggle. The Halil İbrahim Dinçdağ case has spurred just the kind of resistance and struggle from subordinated masculinities to challenge the bundle of fairness and manly manhood that I described above. Besides receiving support from LGBT groups, Dinçdağ was also backed by a group of fans. In July 2012, twelve left-leaning football fan associations around Turkey gathered to publish the following statement:

> Differences between colors, ages, religions and affiliations evaporate on the football pitch. The rules of football dictate that one plays ball with full effort and labor. This is how football unites everyone. Black, young, Asian, blond, experienced or captain…whoever works hardest deserves to play. Therefore racism, sexism and other discrimination is foreign to the essence of football and hurt it. What is real for the footballing world is labor and effort.
>
> Despite all this, racism and sexism still exist in football. Football fields and other sporting sites are used as swearing grounds for a patriarchal culture. The way football news is reported in the press also speaks to how males must rule over other sexes. Even though there are many money-mongers who contaminate football, and those who abuse football for their political goals, it has been Halil İbrahim Dinçdağ who was elected as the victim to "cleanse" football. He was banned from the football world because of his sexual identity and he has been unemployed since 2009. The only reason for this punishment has been the fact that he is gay.
>
> We like footballers who sweat on the field and referees who are fair. Halil İbrahim Dinçdağ has put labor into refereeing and has refereed fairly. This is our only truth. It is everyone's most natural right to referee as long as their calls are fair and they respect the match on the pitch. For this reason, we demand that Halil İbrahim Dinçdağ return to refereeing as soon as possible! (Bianet 2012)

This declaration explicitly opposes the assumption that a homosexual referee cannot be fair. As the Dinçdağ court case proceeded during my fieldwork, I e-mailed Emre's group of fanmates to ask about their opinion on the case. Beşiktaş's fan group

çArşı takes pride in defending oppressed groups in society. In Meri Kytö's (2011) words *çArşı* has been against "fascism, war in Iraq, child pornography, global warming," as well as declaring that they are all "Armenians, retired fold, black, janitors and Pluto (which was declassified as a planet in 2006) and other things in need of solidarity" (80). Knowing this, I asked Emre and his online fanmates whether one day we would see a banner at the İnönü Stadium that read, "we are all *ibne*," or at least "we are all Halil İbrahim Dinçdağ." I received no responses at all. This was the first and only time where nobody replied to my message. Later when I shared this story with a blogger interlocutor who had also become a close friend by then, he said "you know Yağmur, that *is the* sore spot (*bam teli*) of the stadium stands." A sore spot it is, but this did not keep twelve fan groups to publish the declaration I quoted above.

Some bloggers and news portals reported Dinçdağ's courage of coming out as a *delikanlı* move. Suddenly, the image of "*delikanlı hakem*" (*delikanlı* referee) as well as "*delikanlı eşcinsel*" (*delikanlı* homosexual) were visible in Turkey and Turkish media. These phrases were (and still are to a large extent) ostensibly oxymoronic before an instance of outright discrimination and homophobia against Dinçdağ but they became available through contesting TFF's decision to fire him. The heteronormative meaning of *delikanlı* was subverted to include the "courageous" act of Dinçdağ and to protest the unfairness he was being subjected to.

Finally in Februrary 2013, Dinçdağ (whose case is still in court) began refereeing in Istanbul's amateur "Soda/Pop League" (*Gazoz Ligi*). *Gazoz* (gassy or gaseous) literally means soda or pop in Turkish. And the *Gazoz Ligi* is an amateur football league in Istanbul that was founded in 2009. It takes its name from a colloquial saying in Turkish,

"*gazozuna*." This means that the loser of the competition or bet will owe the winner only soda and that competitiveness is not a big concern of whatever activity the sides are engaged in. The Gazoz Ligi defines itself as an alternative formation to professional sports that are increasingly becoming commodified and commercialized. As daily *Radikal* (2013) reported, "the football organization Gazoz Ligi which declared that they were willing to underscore gentlemanly and joyous football that industrial football is killing, have extended an offer to Halil İbrahim Dinçdağ to show that they are in solidarity with those that are discriminated against." The element of competition is secondary for Gazoz Ligi and this is a significant way in which they define themselves against professional football clubs. For instance, one team in this league is called "neutral/ineffective element" (*etkisiz eleman*). Other team names include *Ahparig* (meaning "we are here" in Armenian. This is a slogan in solidarity with murdered Armenian journalist Hrant Dink), *Avamgücü* (People's Force) and *Tiyatro* (Theater). These socially conscious, pacifist and peaceful names all index the non-competitive and "gentlemanly" face of the *Gazoz* Ligi.

As I have alluded to multiple times by now, the figure of the "gentleman" is used in Turkish as a placeholder for actions in accordance with official fair play. The TFF fair play league is called the "gentlemanly leagues" which is also the name of Gazoz Ligi's fair play league. As important as it is to have these outlets which have created resistance against the reign of hegemonic masculinity in Turkish football, it is still worthwhile to challenge one thing: Why is it that an openly gay referee can be housed in a non-competitive league which underscores gentlemanliness? Does this effort to stand by him really challenge the heteronormativity of Turkish football? I think the opposite. I think it

further relegates him to a "gay sphere" where there is a concern for official fair play and no real (manly) competition.

In the particularly masculine othering of the rival and the referee lies the solidification of fans' identities as *delikanlı* men. This *delikanlı* quality is once an ideal for manliness and for fairness. Thus, the swearing in Turkish football chants and cheers helps form and sustain a gendered notion of fairness where "fanly" and "manly" enmesh. This gendered notion of fairness is entirely obscured if we unquestioningly accept FIFA, UEFA or TFF's definition of fair play where swearing is essentially and absolutely presented as the opposite of fair play. Where the official and formal version of fair play once again points to a universalist depiction of how language must relate to fairness, we see in Turkish football that a particular notion of fairness may be created by evoking specific masculine imageries. The question now is, where are the women in this scenario?

Women fans, Swearing and Language Ideology

Cameron (2003) defined language ideologies as "sets of representations through which language is imbued with cultural meaning for a certain community" (447). In other words, language ideologies are a set of beliefs and assumptions we hold *about* languages. She further explains that one of the most "widespread and historically persistent" language ideology pertains to gender. There are certain ways in which we expect men to talk and these differ from the normative expectations about how women should talk. Furthermore, the norm for how men and women talk are typically in line with their social roles even though most times these differences are naturalized. Since social gender relations will vary by context, so will language ideologies that relate to gender. 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. Women's divorce from this language is naturalized as Cameron predicts; women are understood to be naturally indisposed to swearing as will be evident from a TFF policy I will share shortly.

This language ideology about women and swearing is precisely the reason why Umut excused his language when he swore in front of me. Even though we had met in a very informal setting (a bar) after dinner, I was still "interviewing" these men and they did not see me as a fellow fan. They saw me as a female researcher. Also, in that setting, I was the clear addressee of Umut's words. However, there have also been instances when fans swore next to me and did not feel a need to excuse themselves. For example, when I returned home after the Karabük match I discussed above, I took the following field notes:

> They are all holding beers and drinking hard to cure last night's hangover. And singing at the same time. Chants… One person starts with no reservations or consideration for anyone or anything else. The guy in the corner with the white sweatshirt for instance. He would just start on his own, randomly. Then others join. They swear…ass, fuck, whore, faggot… no reservations. They don't sweat it, they're not shy. They don't turn to me to excuse their language…

I believe that my presence among these men, pre-gaming with a beer can in my hand, made a difference. They considered me a fan (albeit female) and assumed that I would be familiar with the ordinariness of this language in football scenes. Also, in this setting, I happened to be included in the scene of football. The fans were not swearing in their direct conversation with me. My fan presence was ordinary so this language did not need to be excused. As I will discuss below, women fans are very much aware that Turkish footballing language includes the kind of exclusive community building I have been

referring to. They know that tightening community bonds within the fan group is highly related to reproducing this language. So as it is common for them to sing these songs, I think it is also common for their male fanmates to assume that this language is not offensive in the presence of a true football fan, even if she is a woman, given they are not swearing in direct conversation with her.

The most evident proof for how deeply enshrined this language ideology is in Turkish football came in the form of a TFF policy in 2012. As I have already mentioned, until the 2011-2012 season, the TFF used to implement the "empty stadium" punishment to penalize unruly, physically or verbally violent behavior in stadiums. Basically, when fans behaved badly, they would be banned from the next home game and their team would have to play to an empty stadium. At the beginning of the 2011-2012 season, this penalty was replaced by the "women and children only" penalty. The federation decided that they would distribute free tickets to women and children so instead of empty stadiums, the penalized games would see stands full of women and children. The assumption in this replacement of penalties was clearly that those causing problems and swearing in stadiums had to be men and that women, ever infantilized through their association with children, could show them by example how to be more peaceful and polite. Not only was this a policy that essentialized women through their supposed natural disposition to peace (here read as non-violent behavior and no swearing), it also robbed women of the right to be fans twice over: a) they were given free tickets and b) they were denied one of the main vehicles of establishing one's fandom: the singing of football chants and cheers that involved swearing.

This policy is one of the best examples to prove that the language ideology about swearing in Turkey and especially in Turkish football is that it is a male practice. The understanding is that fans are men who swear. Right after the initial implementation of the women-and-children policy, word got around that there was still swearing in the stands despite the absence of men. The Minister of Youth and Sports, Suat Kılıç responded with the following statement: "I have learned from social media that there were chants with swearing. This must be the work of men who sneaked in. I don't think women would do such a thing. If there was swearing, it must have been the men who smuggled themselves in. Still though, it is quite admirable for women to have filled that stadium. We must encourage women to go to stadiums" (NTV 2011). Even though there were accounts of swearing women fans, the minister was so keen on upholding the language ideology about swearing that he accused men of sneaking in! Ultimately, while trying to eliminate swearing because it is supposed to be ugly and discriminatory, the TFF in fact introduced one of the most outrageously sexist policies in its history.

Ironically, this policy and its first implementation were nominated for a FIFA fair play award by the UEFA. In November 2011, the Fenerbahçe versus Manisaspor game saw approximately forty thousand women and children fans in the home stadium of Fenerbahçe whose support for the team was deemed worthy of a fair play award. National public broadcaster of Turkey, TRT (2011), reported that UEFA's letter to Fenerbahçe explaining the nomination, "mentioned that the game played in unprecedented atmosphere aroused great interest" and that "women's cheerful, enthusiastic and peaceful attitude was also praised." In the first chapter I discussed how UEFA's conception of fair play and fair play awards did not match quite well with those

of Turkish fans. This is an instance where an outwardly sexist policy was considered "fair" by the UEFA and nominated for a FIFA fair play prize since it seemed to encourage women's participation in the site of football. Predictably, any notion about how chants full of swearing might produce an alternative kind of fairness was irrelevant and illegible with this depiction of fair play. Fans were banned because their language was against fair play but somehow assuming that these fans had to be men was a display of fair play.

Women's swearing during these penalty games became a more palpable issue with the second game where the policy was executed – the Beşiktaş vs. Gaziantep Belediyespor match that took place on January 11, 2012. The game took place on a freezing cold and rainy day in Istanbul and despite the fact that it was a Turkish Cup qualifier game of relatively little significance to Beşiktaş, some 3500 women and children were reported to have attended. Beşiktaş played awfully in this game despite their 2-1 win and the match was clearly marked by women's chanting and cheering rather than the game of football itself. One of the songs they sang was the following:

Ekinler dize kadar, Fener gel bize kadar
The crops reach my knees, Fener come over for a little bit
Sana bir şey göstersem, kasıktan dize kadar
I might show you something that reaches from my groins to my knees
Al bunu alamaz mısın, sen ne biçim delikanlısın?
Take this, oh can you? What kind of a *delikanlı* are you?
Çıktım taşın üstüne açtım bacaklarımı
I stepped up on the ledge and opened my legs
Altımdan geçen Fener yesin taşaklarımı
Eat my balls Fener as you pass beneath
Al bunu alamaz mısın, sen ne biçim delikanlısın?
Take this, oh can you? What kind of a *delikanlı* are you?
Portakal soyulur mu, tadına doyulur mu?
Peel the orange, can you ever get enough?
Fener sana bi koysam, Fizan'dan duyulur mu?

Fener if I just stuck it in you, would they hear it from Fezzan [in Libya]?
Al bunu alamaz mısın, sen ne biçim delikanlısın?
Take this, oh can you? What kind of a *delikanlı* are you?

Women fans used the very language of emasculatory othering against Fenerbahçe, accusing them of not being *delikanlı* enough. Birkalan-Gedik (2010) offers one way of interpreting this language. She argues that hegemonic masculinity in Turkish football works towards "de-gendering women." She says that women the language of hegemonic masculinity in Turkish football and explains that women who swear in stadiums are not looked down upon since swearing is the *racon* (see previous chapter) of stadiums in Turkey. She takes issue with this phenomenon because for her Turkish women fans' swearing with this hegemonic masculine language makes them complicit in their own othering by hegemonic masculinity itself.

I disagree with Birkalan-Gedik. Connell and Messerschmidt's (2005) rethinking the concept of hegemonic masculinity involved the assertion that it is impossible now to think about "men's global domination over women." They wrote: "bourgeois women may appropriate aspects of hegemonic masculinity in constructing corporate or professional careers" (847). I argue that women's swearing in Turkish football is how they appropriate hegemonic masculinity to construct their fandom as well as to resist against the reigning language ideology in Turkey pertaining to gender. This language ideology deems it unnatural for women to swear and thus to be fans since the practice of singing and chanting with swear words is so integral to sustaining the fan community. In

fact, here is an entry from the most popular online forum/community[66] in Turkey, written up by a woman who attended the game:

> oh yeah.. what did you think, *yaprağım* (my cock)! [67] ☺
> We were few but we were synchronized. We all knew for instance the name of each stadium section[68]. We knew it so well, we even included the Beleştepe[69]. In fact, we sang towards them for the whole night. Actually, the *Kapalı* was not so different from how it normally is except for the numbers. There were those shocked looks from security guards. There was this old auntie walking around saying "the administration called, stop swearing." [There was] the banner that read "Beşiktaş is love without swearing" that I stood right in front of… which we ignored, obviously… Oh by the way, I think we gave a nice response to TFF that discounts women as fans.

This statement turns the TFF policy on its head, disrupting the language ideology that feminizes fairness through a specific understanding of fair play as non-swearing. Women fans who accuse Fenerbahçe fans of not being *delikanlı* enough want to be included in the particularly masculine formation of fairness in Turkish football. They don't desire to be the poster children for TFF's version of fair play which the federation thinks is naturally feminine. This woman owns swearing as a part of supporting her team and she mocks official stadium banners that promote fair play as anti-swearing. She is not de-gendered, she resists the normative construction of how femininity should relate to language or to fandom. She asserts her fandom standing up to the official notion of fair play that is imposed on her by TFF's new policy.

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[66] *Ekşi Sözlük* (Sour Dictionary) is a collaborative online dictionary or forum with approximately 400,000 registered users. Besides other topics, there is a topical strand for nearly every football game (national and international) where fans are able to discuss issues pertaining to that game in their entries.

[67] "*yaprağım*" is a play on the word "*yarağım*" which means "cock."

[68] This is in reference to the "women and children" game of Fenerbahçe where the women fans allegedly could not coordinate chants and cheers because they did not know the section names of the stadium to call on each other.

[69] Beleştepe literally means "freebie hill" – Right next to the Northern Section of the Stadium is located a small hill on top of which fans with no tickets gather to watch the game for free, albeit with a limited view. The Beleştepe was crowded for this game with all the male fans who were not allowed in the stadium and women fans of the *Kapalı* made a point of coordinating chants and cheers with them.

Conclusion

The three authors I quoted, Cameron (2006), Pascoe (2005) and Anderson (2002), in reference to the usage of "gay" and "fag", all talk about the US in the 2000s. Anderson explicitly tells his readers that this is a context in which even though there is intense homophobic language, there is no outright discrimination. Gay athletes are given equal opportunity as straight athletes to participate in professional contact and non-contact sports. Some straight athletes he spoke to reported that they would not oppose sharing beds with their gay teammates (when the team travels for away games) since that might make them look homophobic. Obviously, one cannot argue that the US has resolved all issues that pertain to gay rights. However, it is clear that the level of participation in the public sphere is higher for openly gay people in the US than it is in Turkey. Currently, the US is able to discuss same-sex marriage in political forums while Turkey is nowhere near a similar social discussion. I think that this has an effect on how "fag" or "*ibne*" is used in Turkey versus the US. Cameron and Pascoe repeatedly assert that the fag epithet indexes a deviation from expected gender norms rather than being a sexual label. This is also true in Turkey; when fans call rival fans "*ibne*" they don't actually assume that rivals are homosexual. However, I also think that the referentiality of *ibne* shifts in Turkey. We are able to observe this in the *Spiegel* quote where one referee doubts Halil İbrahim Dinçdağ's capability of refereeing due to his sexual orientation. I contend that the existence of real homophobic discrimination in Turkey results in the conflation of gender expectations and sexual expectations in insulting someone as "*ibne*." While most times,

ibne refers to a state of less manliness, there are also instances where it in fact refers to one's sexuality as a cause of insufficiency.

Emir, my friend who I quoted in Chapter 1, told me about an incident between two of his fanmates at the İnönü Stadium one day. One of Emir's fanmates, Ferhat, came out as gay to his fanmates almost two years ago. His coming out was received quite well; there were no apparent fallouts or problems. At this particular game, Ferhat and one other fanmate, Burak, were arguing about one of the footballers, whether the coach should let him play or not. Ferhat was convinced that footballer needed to play but Burak disagreed. Finally, Burak apparently told Ferhat to "just shut his mouth", calling him a "pimp" (*pezevenk*). *Pezevenk* is considered a curse word in Turkish, albeit not too severe. Emir told me that Ferhat replied with the following words: "Dude, I'm not a *pezevenk*, I'm an *ibne*." Emir said that there was some nervous laughter after this and the argument was over.

Here is a situation where Ferhat self-identifies as *ibne* (meaning homosexual) among his fanmates for whom *ibne* is oftentimes a gender-norm insult, meaning less than manly. I have argued that within this gender-norm insult is also couched an insult about fairness. *İbne* is not *delikanlı* and hence not fair like *delikanlı*. Ferhat is shifting the football usage of the term *ibne*, reminding its fan users of its sexual meaning as related to but different from its footballing usage. He is able to do this because the sexual referentiality of *ibne* is still very much present in the Turkish context, as a result of ongoing homophobic discrimination. Therefore, I think that Ferhat is also able to divorce the fairness insufficiency connotation from *ibne*. He is able to exist as an *ibne* fan within the in-group where *ibne* is a sexual term. Since when *ibne* is solely a homosexual

referent, its anti-*delikanlı* insinuation disappears. This, we are also able to see in how Halil İbrahim Dinçdağ was called a "*delikanlı* homosexual" when he "courageously" came out on TV. Ultimately, I contend that in Turkish, *ibne* is a shifter (cf. Silverstein 1992); what it refers may change based on speaker or context. There is a social effect to this shift. Most times in football, *ibne* is considered the anti-thesis of *delikanlı* which also robs the *ibne* of a certain kind of manly fairness. However, when *ibne* can reclaim its literal sexuality (due ironically to the presence of discrimination), then we witness the discursive availability of fair *ibne*s in Turkish football.

In this chapter, I have argued that a sense of alternative, manly fairness can be traced in how fan communities other rival communities and referees through football chants and cheers. In a sense, this othering is instrumental in sustaining fans as "communities of practice" (cf. Wenger 2007) where their singing and chanting helps them to repeatedly learn the ways in which they differentiate themselves and simultaneously ground themselves in certain spaces in the city. While formal fair play, in the form of TFF policies identifies swearing as violating fair play, I showed that formal fair play (that is supposedly defied by swearing) once again exhibits a limited conception of how fairness is formed in Turkish football. Football language thus allows us to investigate another dimension of the tension between formal and informal conceptualizations of fairness in Turkish football.

I have stressed that for a fuller understanding of why Turkish fans keep singing these songs, one must consider both the referential and non-referential functions of language. A purely referentialist analysis might lead us to conclude that these chants are offensive to many and thus should be banned, missing the community building function

of chants and cheers. A purely non-referentialist analysis, on the other hand, would fail to explain why fans use specific words and insults to create and sustain their fan communities. Yes, singing brings them together but why do they have sing about dicks and fags? I have argued that the emasculating language they use against their rivals works towards relegating rivals to a category of less manly where this undesired masculinity also connotes a deficit in fairness. The in-group, in contrast, is constructed through songs as a group of *delikanlı*s who are both appropriately manly and fair as a result. It is this *delikanlı* fairness that formal fair play misses, thereby banning swearing in football. Ultimately, I have concluded that even though the contrast of *ibne* and *delikanlı* in Turkish football is a contrast both in terms of manliness and fairness, there are also instances where the referentiality of *ibne* may shift. This results in a subverted expansion of the category of *delikanlı* in football, this time able to accommodate homosexuals.

CHAPTER 4 - IS ALL FAIR IN LOVE?

Introduction

I met Ebru on the day of the Beşiktaş (BJK) versus Trabzonspor (TS) derby in early March 2011, at the bottom of the Barbaros Boulevard in Beşiktaş from where we headed off to the *Kartal* (eagle) Restaurant, one of the many *meyhanes* that line Köyiçi street and host fans before home games at the İnönü Stadium .The derby was at 7 PM so we had a considerable amount of time to eat a late lunch, drink *rakı* and beer, and to sing and talk about Beşiktaş until the time for the 10-minute walk to the stadium, alongside hundreds of other fans on the Dolmabahçe boulevard, a street which has come to signify for Beşiktaş fans the ritual of reaching the game as they finish up their drinks, singing and chanting there (photo 12).

Photo 12: The *meyhane* scene in central Beşiktaş before a match. April 30, 2011.

Ebru is in her mid 50s and she has been going to Beşiktaş games regularly since 1983. She and her husband are staunch fans and have made sure that their two daughters also support Beşiktaş – without "pressuring" them, she stresses. Ebru is also an affiliate of the leftist Freedom and Solidarity Party (ÖDP) and a contributor to the left-leaning daily *Birgün*. On our first meeting she had explained to me that she attends public demonstrations every May 1st (International Workers' Day) in her BJK jersey. In Istanbul, it is quite common to see different groups represented during May 1st demonstrations. Among them will be football fans of various teams as well as contingents from political parties, NGOs, union representatives, etc. If the stereotype of Beşiktaş as the "people's club" or the "workers' club" holds, Ebru is definitely a manifestation of it; she is a fan who forges a strong link between her political identity and football team affiliation.

At the *rakı* table that day in March, Ebru told us a story to illustrate how devoted she and her husband are to the team, recollecting the military coup of 1980 when her husband was arrested along with thousands of others in Turkey on charges of leftists conspiracies against the state:

> I hadn't seen him in days. Finally they took me to where he was being held, I saw him behind the bars. There were bars in front of him and another set in front of me, with all this distance in between. I was pregnant. The first thing I said to him was: "Metin scored." I didn't ask, "how are you, have they beaten you, what have they done to you?" The first thing I said was "Metin scored."

One might think that Ebru and her husband are "fanatics" who are quite confused about their priorities in life if they are willing to talk, and talk first and foremost, about football in the midst of political turmoil that affects them personally. In fact, most often when I tell people what my research interests are, the assumption is that I study "crazy

fans" who have lost touch with reality or with what really matters in life. "I just don't understand what the big deal is" might be the phrase I've heard most when non-fans express disbelief at the intensity of fandom in Turkey. The typical non-fan depiction of football is "it's just 22 men chasing a ball, right?" What I intend to do in this chapter is to give voice to such "craziness" and to show how it exists in the same conversation with notions of fairness, contributing to the ways in which that fairness is made. The discourse of falling in love with one's team and being blinded by mad love for the team impacts how people invoke the concept of fairness. Because this maddening, blinding and sacrificial love ends up being the caliber by how they evaluate actions as fair or not. Loving the team becomes a filtering discourse for the judgment of fairness. Moreover, the discourse of football love is employed by sponsors and marketers of Turkish football. In this chapter, I examine the discourse of fans' love for their team, and then I interrogate how fans' love for the team comes into conversation with an alternative discourse of love invoked to market football. I will argue that the tension between fans' love relations to their teams and more commercialized conceptualizations of football love will offer another lens through which to view formal and informal notions of fair play and fairness meeting and clashing. Towards this goal, I will study a discourse that surrounds Turkish football: The discourse which defines football as an object of love. Understanding this discourse will cast light onto how certain actions (on and off the pitch) that seem to contravene FIFA, UEFA, TFF or legal descriptions of fair play are experienced as fair by fans because they love their team. It will be through the conflicting discourses about fairness and love that we will see fairness as a site of struggle and negotiation once again.

Theoretical Background

As Lutz and White (1986) explained, the 1980s saw the beginning of anthropology's interest in studying the emotional in social life. This interest was mainly triggered by a shift in the approach to emotions as not a purely biological or natural category but one which is cultural and social. The naturalist approach sees emotion as experienced uniformly across cultures since emotion is thought to be a product of universal human nature. This stance had made the emotional unavailable for cultural inspection or anthropological study before the '80s. In their review, Lutz and White establish that anthropology has benefited from interpretivism in rethinking emotion as embedded in socially constructed categories and in de-essentializing emotion. This has led to the conclusion that emotion is about social relations where emotional meaning systems reflect and help structure those social relations. Besnier (1990) also asserted that the opposition between emotion and cognition whereby emotion is assumed to be a natural category opposed to reason and rationality is a Western construct. He drew attention to the ways in which the social and the affective were linked and how emotions and social life are interwoven.

Lutz's (1988) ethnography *Unnatural Emotions,* is key in understanding what this shift means in terms of approaching emotions. There, she exposes the predominant way in which emotions are portrayed in "Euroamerican culture." She says that in the West, people (both in the everyday and in the social sciences) tend to assume that emotion is dichotomous to reason. In this dualism, emotion represents the irrational, uncontrollable and the vulnerable, whereas reason represents control, rationality and strength. Rather than taking these assumptions as given, she urges the reader to "deconstruct" them. She

says that emotions “index social relationships rather than personal states” and that emotions’ meaning emerges out of social life rather than being “pre-cultural.” Thus, the way in which rhetoric about emotions has been constructed in the West can give us clues into existing societal dynamics and power relations within which emerged such a discourse. As an example, she presents gender ideologies. Since emotion is linked to the female (and reason to the male), the negative qualities of irrationality, uncontrollability and chaos are also mapped onto the female which maintains existing social domination of males over females in “middle-class Euroamerican” societies. At the same time, the female is redeemed by the opposition of emotion to estrangement, a testament to the “double-edged” character of discourse of emotions in the West. Ultimately, Lutz (1990) argues that any discourse about emotion is simultaneously a discourse about gender since assumptions of emotionality tend to include assumptions about gender categories too.

In 1990, Lutz and Abu-Lughod contended that despite the recent works in the anthropology of emotion, the reigning dualisms remained and emotion was still conventionally relegated to the category of the natural (with the exception of works like Scheper-Hughes 1985). To overthrow these naturalistic takes on viewing emotion they offered the solution of studying discourse (cf. Foucault 1972). Accordingly, the way in which ethnography may relate emotion to social life is by studying both discourses on emotion (“local theories about emotions”) and emotional discourse (“situated deployment of emotional linguistic forms”) (13). These are both social practices with “effects” in the world and thus the anthropology of action seeks to see what such discourse *does* in the practicality of the everyday.

In my study I employ this line of anthropological thinking and this approach to the study of emotion. Therefore I ask the following questions: What are emotional discourses in Turkish football, and which linguistic forms do they use? What is the dominating discourse on emotions in Turkey and specifically in Turkish football? Given this particular discourse on emotions, what can we conclude about the emotional discourses of Turkish football? In other words, in a situation where people have specific views as to what emotions are, what social effects do their emotions achieve? My short answers to these questions will be that the emotional discourses in football are discourses of love in the form of fan chants, banners, everyday conversation as well as marketed love from the side of sponsors, clubs and media. Certain assumptions about what love entails (discourse *about* emotion) have the social effect of producing and defining notions of fairness as well as formal fair play.

Love Discourse: Crazy, *arabesk* love

Emotional discourse is the "situated deployment of emotional linguistic forms." The emotion I concentrate on in this chapter is love in its various kinds so here I use the term "love discourse" rather than emotional discourse. Below are two examples of BJK chants where love discourse is employed. The first one is sung especially on cold and rainy winter days as a way to incorporate the uncooperative weather into the football event and turn it into a poetic advantage. The second one is performed more often in and around Beşiktaş İnönü Stadium. It was composed during the 2008-2009 season and quickly became a hit among fans after fan group *çArşı* published it in their online forum under the headline "you are my whitest hope in the midst of my blackest fate." Soon

after, singer and BJK fan Birol Can recorded the song and the stadium administration at İnönü began blasting it on loudspeakers during half-time for all to join in.

Yağmurlu bir günde görmüştüm seni
I saw you on a rainy day
Üstünde çubuklu formalar vardı
You were wearing your striped jersey
O anda tutuldum, aşık oldum ben
I was stricken that moment, I fell in love (*aşk*)
Hayatın anlamı siyah beyazdı
The meaning of life was black and white[70]
Ölümle yaşamı ayıran çizgi
The line that separates death from life
Siyahla beyazı ayıramaz ki
Cannot separate black from white
Her yolun sonunda ölüm olsa da
Even if all roads end in death
Sevenleri kimse ayıramaz ki
No one can come between lovers (*sevenler*)

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Sen benim her gece efkârım, gözümdeki yaşım, sigara dumanım
You, the melancholy (*efkâr*) of my every night, the tears in my eyes, the smoke from my cigarette...
Sen benim damardaki kanım, alnımdaki yazım, Şanlı Beşiktaşım
You, the blood in my veins, my destiny, my glorious Beşiktaş
Kalbimin en orta yerinde, büyük bir yangın var, alevler içinde
Right in the middle of my heart is a big fire, all in flames
Beşiktaş sana yemin olsun, bitmeyecek sevdan, mezarımda bile
Beşiktaş, I swear to you, your love (*sevda*) will never die, not even in my grave

a) *Arabesk* love

Love in these verses is referenced by three different terms in Turkish: *aşk*, *sevmek* and *sevda* and it is clearly entangled with a sense of melancholy, suffering and imminent death. The term "*aşk*" in Turkish is used to refer to "falling in love." The verb "to love," *sevmek,* is used in the first chant above to describe two people who love each other in a romantic sense, as lovers. The lovers in this case are the team and the fan. Finally, the

[70] Remember that black and white are the colors of Beşiktaş.

term *sevda* is a more melancholic kind of love involving longing and passion. In Turkish, we talk about "*kara sevda*" (black love) to refer to unrequited love and the misery it engenders. This terms is almost reminiscent of the Portuguese term *saudade* a state in which one's romantic love for someone is at once intense and tragic, tragic in the most aesthetically pleasing way possible.

I call the love invoked in these verses *arabesk* because they have frequent references to death, suffering, loss, damnation and hopelessness. *Arabesk* is a Turkish music genre that is characterized by these themes. The immense popularity of this music genre in Turkey in the 1970s has led people to talk about an "*arabesk* culture." Martin Stokes (1992, 1993, 2010, Ahmed and Donnan ed. 1994) has written extensively about the place of the *arabesk* genre in Turkish urban culture since its popularization from the '70s, drawing attention mainly to how the genre has been received as a threat both by governments and urban intelligentsia. This has been for the reason that *arabesk* is a genre of the underclasses, flourishing in the squatter settlements that have housed rural-to-urban migrants since the 1950s and thereafter. *Arabesk* films that feature popular *arabesk* singers depict stories of failed urban integration and a protagonist bound by his or her unchangeable, grim fate. Fatalism is a defining component of the *arabesk* genre and has carried over significantly to the arena of football. What is crucial to note is that the *arabesk* protagonist has *lost* in the face of life. He has been dealt a bad hand and he is the ultimate victim. A popular chant which is sung by all fan groups in Turkey begins with the words: "We are fans/we are used to suffering."[71] The misery-filled content of some Turkish football chants where fans keep mentioning the sacrifice, suffering and death that

[71] The original song goes: "*Taraftarız biz, çekeriz cefa*."

they are willing to endure for the sake of the team [*takım uğruna*] has led me to label the kind of love they profess, *arabesk* (photo 12).

Photo 13: Beşiktaş İnönü Stadium. The banner reads: "We didn't find Beşiktaş in sunny days to abandon it when the dark settles in." March 19, 2011.

Apart from general content, Turkish football chants have also directly borrowed from Turkish *arabesk* music. For example, Galatasaray fans regularly sing the refrain "may those who do not love you die" (*seni sevmeyen ölsün)* which is also the name of one of the most popular *arabesk* songs from the late '80s. This sense of victimhood is invoked time and again in football chants. A common slogan that Beşiktaş fans have is "we love you not so you can make us happy." The idea is that the true football fan suffers. His loyalty is unquestionable and yet he is always wronged – wronged by the administration, wronged by the federation, wronged by the referees and made to suffer through the defeats of his own team. The way in which *arabesk* feeds football fandom

reinforces the identification of the fan as the essential victim, ever crushed and ever mistreated. The sense of victimhood, sacrifice and the desire for retribution *arabesk* engenders will be important for the discussion of fairness below.

The relationship between *arabesk* and football may be compared and contrasted to Archetti's (2003) discussion of how tango relates to football in Argentina. Archetti explained that similar to football, tango also plays an important role in building and sustaining national imagery and community in Argentina. He further notes that these two spheres in fact feed each other in two specific ways. First, football players at times attribute their specific playing styles to their familiarity with dancing tango. Therefore the uniquely Argentinean football style that is based on spontaneity and creativity is associated with how bodies are able to get acquainted with a certain malleability through tango. Second, Archetti explains that there are tango songs that are composed for football teams, styles and players. Tango, considered to be an authentic Argentinean invention and export to the rest of the world, is thus able to pay homage to the uniquely Argentinean style of playing football strengthening the national narrative which informs Argentinean identity.

My finding is different from Archetti's in that I don't find a conjoining of *arabesk* and football for the sustenance of a particularly Turkish national narrative. Instead, I find that socio-economic suffering caused by rural-to-urban migration in Turkey from the 1950s onwards provides a repertory of language about suffering which football fans are able to draw on. In that sense, Turkey and Argentina both offer ways to see how a music genre and football interact albeit differently.

b) <u>Crazy love</u>

As I explained above, the Turkish word used for "falling in love" is *aşk. Aşık*, in turn, literally means "the one who is in love," but also indexes an abnormal mental state wherein the person in love is also considered mentally unstable or crazy. *Aşk* is the kind of "mad" love Majnun ("madman" in Arabic) possessed for Layla in the classical love tale, *Layla and Majnun* (see Nizami 1997). I found that besides the presence of hopelessness and misery, there is also a large component of madness in the way in which Turkish football fans engage in love discourse. One song that is sung by fans of each of the big-three teams goes like this: [72]

Sevdim seni bir kere, başkasını sevemem
I loved you once, I can't love another
Deli diyorlar bana, siksinler değişemem
They call me crazy, let them fuck me, I won't change.

This is the kind of love inside of a notion of "defect" or an incurable "sickness" is located. Here, the fan is inflicted with the disease of fandom and their madness is a condition which they must live with. The word "deli" *crazy* sometimes becomes an identifying feature of the fan himself - and his family, as in the case of *Deli* Aydın, his daughter and his nephew I referred to in the previous chapter. Thus, the emotional discourse in Turkish fandom is crazy and *arabesk* love. The effects of this and its relation to fairness will become clear when I tackle Lutz and Abu-Lughod's second question, the discourse *about* emotions. For that I will turn to ethnographic examples.

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[72] This is an adaptation of a Turkish pop song, the original lyrics of which say "I don't care, I won't change" rather than "let them fuck me, I won't change."

How far would you go? Love, Team and Family

The way in which love contributes to the emerging definition of fairness is by shaping the limits around what a fan might do or say for the sake of the team or when the team is involved. In other words, love becomes the caliber of fairness. It defines the boundaries within which actions remain fair. I found that fans draw these boundaries by pitting their personal, familial life against the team. They try to prove their ultimate devotion to the team by comparing it to some of the people they love most in their lives: girlfriends, husbands, parents, etc (similar to how Ebru was proving the intensity of her and her husband's fandom by sharing their story juxtaposing football love with personal and familial safety). Similarly, I once heard a story from a female friend who told me she was especially touched because her boyfriend said he loves her more than BJK. To elaborate, I return to my day with Ebru and her fanmates.

We met Ebru's friends around the corner from the small restaurant where a few of their other fanmates had already met and started drinking on the mezzanine overlooking the entrance. The walls of the restaurant were decorated with photos of the Beşiktaş squad from various seasons. Two framed photos of Atatürk[73] on either side of the entrance produced somewhat of a sense of an official welcome into this space. Atatürk's serious glare was surrounded by photos of a different genre in which hundreds of intoxicated fans were pictured dining here before and after games. The coexistence of colorful fan photos next to Atatürk's black-and-white portraits induced a somewhat schizophrenic feel to these walls, the portraits of Atatürk being reminiscent of those

[73] Mustafa Kemal Atatürk is the leader of Turkish Independence, the founder and first president of the Turkish Republic. His presence continues to dominate public life in Turkey in the form of photos, quotations, various Republican celebrations and official state discourse. For more on this see: Navaro-Yashin 2002 and Özyürek 2006.

familiar from schooldays and brought quickly back to this very informal and boozy drinking scene through visual cues. There was also a medium-sized eagle statue sitting on a ledge on the wall. The one large table and the few smaller ones by the entrance, as well as the table right next to ours on the upper floor were full, mostly with men but also women in their Beşiktaş jerseys. Even though I didn't know anyone else in the restaurant at the time, I would meet one man who happened to be sitting at the table next to ours, two months later at an away game in Kayseri. Looking back on the photos from that day in March, I would be pleasantly surprised to see for myself the "nucleus" fan cadre that fans repeatedly reference in describing their community of fans who attend matches.

I sat there among this group of friends and fans as smoke from illegal indoors smoking shaped clouds above our table and *rakı* bottles were emptied out and the alcohol fumes used for daring shows of fire-lighting. There was much laughter, and intermittent chanting and singing with multiple tables joining in to beat the rhythm on the tabletop and start swearing at one of the archrivals (Fenerbahçe or Galatasaray), neither of which was even the team Beşiktaş was playing that day. There would be slight shushing of verbal obscenities but in general there was the understanding that on match day, right before the game, it is perfectly fine for a group of adults to suddenly jump up from their seats in a restaurant, start screaming at the top of their lungs while clapping their hands and calling out to Osama bin Laden to bomb the home stadium of Fenerbahçe.[74]

Ebru's story about her husband's arrest and their subsequent meeting in the holding cell achieved the impact she intended at the *rakı table* and got nods and empathetic sighs all around. Hearing this story as an affirmation, Ebru's fanmate İbrahim

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[74] There is a cheer which ends with the lyrics "Osama *baba* (father), do us a solid and bomb Kadıköy" where Kadıköy indicates the Şükrü Saracoğlu Stadium, home grounds of Fenerbahçe in the neighborhood of Kadıköy.

turned to me and said, "it's beyond *aşk"* you see. There he was referring to both how loving Beşiktaş is something that even the word "*aşk*" is insufficient to describe and also to how Ebru's love for the team exceeds her love for her husband. Ebru's love for Beşiktaş impressed and awed her fellow fans at lunch, but it was also obvious and expected, as such love is for all those who claim to be true fans.

At the *rakı* table that afternoon before the Trabzonspor game, Ebru introduced me to one of her friends and fanmates Yasemin, another woman football fan, with the following words: "this one too is sick (*hasta*) and unsalvageable (*iflah olmaz)* like us." The term *hasta* in Turkish, while it literally means "ill" or "sick" may also denote the condition of being afflicted with madness. This is how Ebru used the term. Yasemin is in her 40s. When I met her, she had recently gotten a divorce from her husband and was trying to find a job to sustain herself and reunite with her two sons. At the time, she was living with another divorced woman for which Ebru lauded her, calling it "women's solidarity." Yasemin is a high-school graduate with computer skills but explained to me the difficulty of finding a good job without knowing how to speak English. She was receiving state alimony but said it would be cut off after three years of being divorced and that the state was not willing to allocate "a single penny's worth of pensions" to women who had never worked. And "guess what?" she said, "my husband was the precise reason why I couldn't work." She also talked about how she had to ask for his permission all the time to go out, "it was between his two lips, you know, he would say, no you're not going…It was outrageous. I couldn't take it anymore. He loved me you know, he didn't want to let me go. But I said 'no, it's over.'"

Up till this point, Yasemin's story is not all that striking. Women's job opportunities in Turkey, especially for the undereducated, are limited and the kind of spousal relationship she describes where the husband assumes the role of the absolute patriarch is quite common. What *is* striking is how she continued to narrate her story of divorce. She added, "plus he was not understanding at all about Beşiktaş. He didn't care about football and he would provoke me on match days. We would lose and he would laugh and joke about it. It was so frustrating. When we lose, I don't want to hear about how badly we played and how we can never win. I'd be so angry and he just wouldn't stop, he just didn't get it."

That afternoon, as I sat with Ebru and her friends, I became more and more aware of the fact that fans were pinpointing the extent of what they would do for the team. As I had become exceedingly intrigued by this notion, I blurted out the question, "how far would you go for Beşiktaş?" Toasting his *rakı* glass without skipping a beat, Ebru's friend İbrahim told me, "you would even divorce a woman. I did it, and here – this one did it too," referring to Yasemin.

The emotional discourse of Turkish football fandom quite literally juxtaposes a fan's romantic love for a person with the team. Novelist Elif Batuman (2011) has published a piece on the Beşiktaş fan group *çArşı* in the March 7, 2011 issue of *The New Yorker.* When I met with her to talk about her experience interviewing some football fans, she said that one of the questions she asked these young men in their early 20s was about how they fit dating into their busy schedule of going to games, talking about football and playing football or football video games. She said they typically complained, with genuine grief, that "women always want you to choose. Me or Beşiktaş? Why do

they bother to even ask? It's so obvious what we'll say. Why do women always ask this? Why do they always want us to choose?"

In the same vein, the curator of the Fenerbahçe Museum, Ahmet Bayram said the following to me, "The sentence a woman should never utter is: 'me or Fenerbahçe.' Because the odds of her losing out are very high. Do not put anything in parallel with Fenerbahçe. Nobody will jump in your arms and say 'oh it's you my dear.'" He then told me the story of a fan he knows:

> When he was engaged, his fiancée complained about how they would never get together over weekends since he would always be at a game somewhere. Finally she got him to promise that they would go to a fish restaurant on the Bosphorus the coming Sunday, "it's a bad season anyway" he thought and agreed. She was thrilled, they confirmed again on Tuesday and the date was on. On Wednesday the guy's friends called from the stadium as they were buying train tickets to travel to the away location where Fenerbahçe was due to play in the weekend. "You want us to buy you a ticket as well?" they asked but he said, "no, I have made plans with my fiancé." After much disappointment on the part of his friends who gave him a hard time for having "sold them out for a girl," he agreed to at least meet them at the train station restaurant and drink with them before they caught their train. He took his Fenerbahçe scarf just in case, he said "it must have been the devil seducing me." They ate, drank, sang Fenerbahçe cheers and marches and he was "in the mood for a game." At that point he exclaimed, "I am going with you guys." Jumping through hoops to find a train ticket at the last minute, he postponed calling his fiancée. Finally, 15 minutes before departure, he called her. She said, "I cannot believe this." He responded, "please understand, it's a sickness." She warned him, "look you're about to lose me. Me or Fenerbahçe?" At that moment he screamed, at the top of his lungs, "Fenerbahçeeeee!!!" He claims not to even remember this episode of bursting out and screaming. He said, "I must have lost myself, lost control completely. It's my friends who tell me the story today of how I yelled." Then he spent 15 days apologizing and ended up marrying the woman.

The stories above span across decades, football teams and genders but the common point is that sacrifice of personal life is presented as the ultimate measure of a fan's devotion for the team, proof of the sincerity and intensity of their fandom. This is a context through which fairness acquires meaning and relevance since certain romantic or

familial sacrifices are justified for the sake of the team. As Ebru's fanmate Vedat told me at the *rakı* table that day, "you know why nothing can rank above Beşiktaş, it's because you can give the most important thing up for the sake of Beşiktaş. Family included. You can quit alcohol or smoking but no one can make you quit Beşiktaş." This context also provides a substantial part of how love itself is conceptualized. Besides the *arabesk* component, football love is also a "crazy" sentiment, likened to sickness, addiction or some other form of imbalance in one's mental state.

What does this crazy and *arabesk* love achieve in terms of fairness?

I now identify two types of footballing instances where emotional discourse was recalled to provide fairness explanations and justifications for why someone does what they do. As I detail these instances, I will weave in a discussion of discourse about emotions. The first type is when a fan deliberates on whether a violent action is fair or not. An example would be when rival fans clash before or after games and these physical brawls are justified on the basis of how much they love their team. The second is when a fan interprets instances of on-or-off the pitch cheating as fair. An on-the-pitch example of cheating would be a player faking a fall to win a penalty kick for their team (diving); and an off-the-pitch example of cheating would be match-fixing or doping.

a) <u>Violence, Fair Play, Love and Fairness</u>

Football violence in the form of fan clashes goes completely against the definition of fair play in terms of how FIFA (see fair play code in chapter 1), UEFA and TFF define it. For example, "Respect," UEFA's fair play campaign says:

> Respect is a key principle of football. Respect for the game, integrity, diversity, dignity, players' health, rules, the referee, opponents and supporters. Our message is clear: zero tolerance against racism, violence and doping. Football unites people and transcends differences…UEFA will not tolerate violence either on the pitch or in the stands. Football must set an example (UEFA 2013).

Similarly, various acts of violence are punishable by the Violence Law in Turkey which is the enforcement tool TFF uses to disseminate its idea of fair play (as I explained in chapter 2). Violence is an antithesis of fair play given how this term is defined and employed by the governing bodies of football.

In this section, I will talk about a case where one of my fan interlocutors and a member of Emre's fan group, Akif, narrated an incident of football violence through his undying love for Beşiktaş. He begins telling me about how loving Beşiktaş is, for him, equivalent to being romantically involved with a woman. This display of the loving fandom quickly turns into a story of how far he would go for the team, at which point he starts to talk about a recent skirmish that took place between fans of opposing teams: Beşiktaş and Bursaspor.

Akif is a bank employee in his early thirties, a devout Beşiktaş fan who has been going to games since the age of five when he "ran away to the stadium in his indoor slippers and they just couldn't stop [him.]" He tells me that he has been to every single Beşiktaş game, including away games. This declaration, of course, I take less factually and more ethnographically. He adds that he hasn't been able to take time off from work to go to Kyiv for the upcoming Europa Cup game but that he's already planning his trip to England for the next stage of the competition when Beşiktaş, upon eliminating Dynamo Kyiv, is supposed to play Manchester City. [75]

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[75] This never happened. BJK was eliminated by Dynamo Kyiv and never ascended to the next stage.

I met Akif early February 2011, on the bright but cold Sunday when Beşiktaş was scheduled to play Karabük at 4 PM, the match I talked about in Chapter 3. I was standing in front of *Külüstür*, which is a regular hangout spot for Beşiktaş fans, not only on match days, but also after work on weekdays, for celebrating birthdays and even engagements. *Külüstür* is located on the third floor of an apartment building and its windows overlook the large eagle statue right in the center of the Beşiktaş marketplace. This unpretentious neighborhood bar with its wooden tables not only provides a space where fans to get together, drink and socialize but it is also where they hold debate on new recruits and the progression of the team. On that particular day, Akif approached me, intrigued by my research topic. Insisting that he and his friends could "write my thesis for me," he went on to explain what it "feels like" to be a fan. Without a single prompt from me about love, this is what he told me:

> It is love…just something…*else*. You know how you have a lover, you fall into *sevda,* you fall in *aşk,* there is electricity, you look her in the eyes… It is the same thing. You know how you would go anywhere following that lover… for her sake [*onun uğruna*]… It's just like that. I would do anything for Beşiktaş…

This is where Akif drew the line between his kind of Beşiktaş fandom and the love FB or GS fans feel for their respective teams. He claimed that those who support Galatasaray and Fenerbahçe would not understand this kind of selfless love. During fieldwork, I quickly found that a large part of establishing your own fandom is negating the fandom of others and especially the fandom of rival groups for their teams. As such, every team's fans claim that their fandom is truer, more loyal and more selfless than the others'. In this fashion, Akif went on to explain to me that in the Beşiktaş stadium everyone stands shoulder to shoulder, watching each others' backs, sharing the same piece of bread: "No Fener fan would do that" he said.

At this point, as he worked to convince me that he is in fact a true fan, Akif switched subjects and began telling me about an incident that had taken place around the Beşiktaş stadium two months prior to that day's game. First, I will describe the incident in Akif's words and later I will explain my own match-day experiences of the same incident. Akif said:

> Our friends were imprisoned after the Bursa game. It could have been me. I wish I were there. I would be in prison too. Because we're against the wrong. Any kind of wrong. Listen, can you imagine this? Excuse my language[76] but these dishonorable (*şerefsiz*)…these faggot (*ibne*) Bursa fans….[77]
> My friend…he had his girlfriend with him, his fiancé and they were harassing her, yelling obscenities. They attacked them, roughed them up because they were wearing Beşiktaş scarves. I wish they died. There I said it. I wish they died. Because why? Because they are doing a wrong… I would go to prison for that.

I asked him whether he thought it was worth it and he said, "yes bro[78], it's worth it (*Değer abi)*."

Ebru had told me a story where her and her husband's love for the team seemed to rank above their physical well-being and Akif's story says it is worth it to go to prison to correct a wrong inflicted upon his team. In both cases, the fan's understanding is that as shocking and impressive as these statements might sound to an outsider, they are easily accommodated and indeed expected by the fan community. These individual statements are continually fed by new chants, banners and marketing campaigns (which I talk about below) and so a discourse of insurmountable love for the team keeps building and strengthening. New enmities are formed and fairness acquires new practical precedents

[76] Recall my comment about swearing in my presence in Chapter 3. Even though there was ample unexcused swearing in the pre-gaming before the Karabük game, Akif felt a need to excuse his language when he swore in direct conversation with me.

[77] "Şerefsiz" is a quite serious insult in Turkish. "Bursa" is short for Bursaspor.

[78] It is common in Turkish to call someone, a friend "abi/ağabey," literally meaning "older brother" regardless of gender.

through calculations of retaliation and retribution. Below is my experience of the same Bursaspor game Akif was willing to go to prison for.

Beşiktaş played Bursaspor (Bursa) on December 5, 2011. I went to that game with two of my friends, a Galatasaray fan, Metin, who nevertheless had a "soft spot" for Beşiktaş having grown up in the neighborhood, and a Bursaspor fan, Cem, who sat in the home team supporters' section with us despite his fan affiliations. Even though the main rivalry in Turkish football is among the three Istanbul teams, there is also a specific enmity between Beşiktaş and Bursaspor dating back to the 2003-2004 season at the end of which Bursaspor was relegated from the Super Lig to second division professional football. Bursaspor fans claim that Beşiktaş was involved in match-fixing at the end of this season, one of the consequences of which was the relegation of Bursa. Voice recordings have since surfaced to prove the claims of the Bursa fans, but Beşiktaş denies the allegations and points the finger at another team for the alleged match-fixing that produced this predicament for Bursa. The enmity between fans of Beşiktaş and Bursa intensified after the 2003-2004 season until in the 2006-2007 season rival fans were banned from entering each others' stadia during away games. Thus, even though a section of the stadium is normally preserved for fans of the opposing team in every stadium, whenever Beşiktaş and Bursa played, their fans wouldn't be able to travel to the away location. In the 2010-2011 season, the Turkish Football Federation (TFF) attempted to mediate this feud by lifting the ban and allowing Bursaspor fans to come to the Beşiktaş game in Istanbul. This was the game I was at with Metin and Cem.

Metin, Cem and I met in central Beşiktaş at noon on match day as this too was an early afternoon game. We sat in one of the neighborhood breakfast cafes to have bread,

feta, olives, tomatoes and cucumbers. Nostalgic accounts of the neighborhood of Beşiktaş retail stories of shop owners and restaurant managers distributing white feta and black olives for the colors of Beşiktaş on days of victory, so we joked among each other as to the composition of colors on our plates as we ate. I was wearing my Beşiktaş jersey but my two friends were both inconspicuously dressed. Cem remarked that he was ready to "pretend all the way" that day, to keep his mouth shut and just watch the game. (During the match, he even joined in the Beşiktaş chanting in the stadium despite being a Bursa fan.) Eating our breakfast, we also saw two men in Fenerbahçe jerseys enter the café. I wondered out loud as to what they might be doing there and why in the world they would walk around this neighborhood in those colors. "They must be trying to prove a point" Cem said, "being like, look at us, we can exist here in your space." "I guess," I said, "or maybe they lost a bet."

We paid the bill and left our tables to begin walking to the stadium. There was the usual singing and chanting along the Dolmabahçe road, lined with plane trees and now strewn with beer cans, photos of Atatürk loomed above the sidewalk where fans walk and the last Ottoman Palace of Dolmabahçe's glorious gate greeted them from the seaside across the road. As we started approaching the stadium, the sidewalk got more and more crowded with both fans and the policemen who were on duty that day to make sure there would be no violent incidents between rival fans. We were about to turn the corner at the end of the road to start walking up the hill to stadium gates when the crowd directly in front of us turned around and started running away from the stadium. Smelling the ever-familiar scent of pepper gas, I immediately put my collar up to my mouth and turned around to run with the rest of them. A few minutes later, now positioned safely across the

road on the opposite sidewalk, we watched as smoke, pepper gas and tear gas surrounded the stadium and herds of fans ran away to protect themselves. At that moment, we did not quite understand what was going on but it is safe to say that, as frequenters of football games in Istanbul, none of us were taken aback. We knew exactly what to do and we were able to guess why this was happening.

It was only after the game that we found out exactly what had happened. Apparently, Beşiktaş and Bursa fans clashed just as the Bursa fan buses arrived and were being let into their section of the stadium. [79] In Beşiktaş fans' version of events, they argued that Bursa fans got out of the buses carrying *döner* knives[80] at which time they were met with Beşiktaş fans swarming the police barricade with rocks and bottles. We happened to be walking to the stadium as the police countered both groups all with batons, pepper gas and tear gas. The skirmish ended with four people in the hospital, three Bursa fans, one with knife wounds and a 32-year-old female Beşiktaş fan who had been hit over the head with a bottle. Two Beşiktaş fans were convicted after the incident, the friends whom Akif refers to in the quote above. This incident is a significant example of love discourse for me because Akif talks about it as a benchmark of what he would do for the sake of the team; but it is also a very important event in itself since it was perhaps the last straw that broke the camel's back, leading the Turkish Parliament to pass the Violence Law.

This incident exemplifies the very kind of violence that fair play laws and regulations are written to prevent. A typical case of fan rivalry turns into head injuries,

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[79] Home and away fans do not sit together in Turkish football stadia. There is a special section that is usually surrounded by fences where away team fans sit.

[80] *Döner* is a kind of Turkish kebab and it is sliced with knives that may reach one meter in length.

hospitalization and incarceration and it is safe to say that this is precisely the kind of situation that football federations and parliaments around the world, including Turkey are trying to prevent for reasons of fair play, peace and non-violence in sport, especially football. Akif tells me however that the Bursa fans were "dishonorable," [*şerefsiz*] that they were "doing a wrong" and that he wishes "they died." He thinks it would be "worth it" to go to jail for this cause in which he believes. In fact, he wishes he could have been there when his friends got into the brawl so that he could participate in beating up Bursa fans. Why? For the sake of Beşiktaş and for the sake of love for Beşiktaş which he says he "would follow anywhere" and could make him do "anything."

For someone like Akif, fairness is defined not through an abstract notion of non-violence but through the practical and experiential precedents that have been set in the history of Beşiktaş and Bursaspor. His sense of fairness, of what is justifiable action and what is worth doing, is inseparable from memory – memory which is the ongoing culmination of preceding acts and practices that take place between the teams of BJK and Bursa. Their harassing his fellow fans practically establishes the kind of relationship they and he will have and obliges him practically to retaliate and thus seek justice, make right and make fair. This is very much in line with an action or practice-based approach to ethics (Lambek 2010).

In the Introduction, I explained that I decided to write about football love during my day at the airport with BJK fans, waiting for new player recruits to arrive. At Istanbul's Atatürk Airport that day, glass doors were shattered because too many fans leaned on them and jumped about as they sang and chanted. Flares were lit at the airport, and the vans there to pick up the players were damaged, their windows broken in, by

boys jumping up and down on top of them. (see photos 3 and 4 in the Introduction). The media reported these as incidents of uncontrolled vandalism and violence. But what I witnessed that day was a large group of people proudly talking about how "crazy" they were to be there and how passionately they loved their team.

Obviously not everyone is going to condone these actions. Recall Tunç's words in chapter 2 when he talks about the necessity of the Violence Law so that fans can no longer approach rival fans with the sole purpose of beating them. The reasoning behind not wanting to approve of "violent" actions is rather obvious. What is more curious is why and how people *might* engage in these actions. Some people *do* sing about how football is "stabbing men" (see chapter 2). And my purpose in this section is to highlight the prevalence and relevance of the discourse of crazy love in giving license to violent actions, in justifying and sustaining them.

If Akif's action of retaliation is violent, it is still fair since his unending love for the team allows for him to establish and reinforce the stance that he would do "anything for BJK." When Lutz (1988) discussed the Euroamerican discourse on emotion, she stressed that a component of that was to see emotion as incontrollable, chaotic and irrational. I found something similar in the Turkish context. Football love is a crazy kind of love. Craziness as a defect or a condition legitimizes actions that might otherwise seem to defy fair play, like beating fans and causing head injuries. This is not a fairer kind of fairness than the fair play agendas of FIFA, UEFA and TFF. It is an alternative emergence of fairness from within fan practice that is shaped in a discourse of love. For the anthropologist, the key point is to understand justice as a constellation – a constellation of the abstract theories that have defined it across documents and centuries

and the kind of practice-based and biased formations it acquires on the ground through experiences like that of Akif's. The negotiation I keep referring to is thus layered. One layer is how different actors in different positions and ranks of the football scene will present different criteria in their justification of fairness. The other and equally important layer is how official conceptions of fairness (fair play) will come into conversation with on-the-ground emergence and evolution of the fair and the ethical.

b) Cheating, Fair Play, Love and Fairness

Besides instances of violence, the context of on-or-off-the-pitch cheating provides fertile ground to investigate how love, loyalty and devotion for the team composes the definition of what is fair. There are multiple potential instances in football which one might call on-the-pitch cheating. Stalling for time when your team is ahead, faking an injury when you have the score advantage, diving inside the penalty box and trying to win your team a penalty kick, or even executing a free kick at a spot closer to the rival goal than where the foul happened are all examples of what might count as on-the-pitch cheating. As for off-the-pitch cheating, the best examples would be match-fixing, incentive bonuses (paying off the rival of your rival so they play better) or doping. All of these actions are deemed against fair play in the various fair play documents I have been referencing thus far in the dissertation. What I'm looking at in this section is how fans interpret these actions, as fair or unfair, and how these interpretations come into conversation with their discourse of love for the team.

A common stereotype of fandom is that fans only care about winning and that they will justify instances of cheating if those contribute to victory. In this chapter, I

present the back stories of these justifications which I argue are enmeshed with discourses of love. Yes, it might very well be true that fans at times are blind to the unfairness of cheating for the sake of victory. But this “blindness” is usually overemphasized in common wisdom at the expense of understanding the various “how”s of the way in which deliberations of fairness come about. These are not simple instances of “I want to win so I will cheat.” More likely, they are stories of negotiating morality and moral sacrifice for what the fan believes is a higher cause, a cause that is driven by intense emotion and resulting loyalty for the team, the community and the history that the team represents.

For this, I will turn to recounting an evening I spent at a Beşiktaş *meyhane*. This occasion was divorced from any particular football match. I was having dinner with a friend and his uncle who is a prominent journalist in Turkey and a Beşiktaş fan. After we were through with dinner, my friend’s uncle insisted that we walk over to another *meyhane* to speak with the owner (whom he knew) who could provide me with valuable information towards my thesis. Needless to say, I was delighted about this opportunity and began searching for my notepad as we made our way over to Taner’s restaurant a few feet away from where we initially were.

Taner owns one of the most famous *meyhanes* in the Köyiçi Street of Beşiktaş – in fact back in the 1980s, this used to be the only pre-game destination for Beşiktaş fans, compared to the tens of restaurants they now enjoy for drinking *rakı* and singing about their team before and after games. Taner is a former amateur football player and a mechanical engineer. Quitting both careers, he took over his father-in-law’s small *meyhane* in 1977 and began renovating and refashioning the place until it became one of

the landmarks of the Beşiktaş marketplace. As his restaurant grew more popular, Taner increasingly came to represent the Beşiktaş marketplace drinking scene and its fandom. For a brief period, he was also a sports writer and commentator on TV. On his website, Taner mentions that he has always remained close to the Beşiktaş football scene to appease his passion for football and the team. My friend's uncle introduced us saying that Taner is a "sick" (*hasta)* Beşiktaş fan and until about 10 years ago he would always hang out with the team itself, going to away games as well: "He prepped the changing rooms and stuff," "you can spot him in all the championship celebration photos. And now since he's been out of the picture for about 10 years, he desperately needs an audience." I was this audience for Taner on that cold January night in his restaurant in Beşiktaş as he, in his semi-intoxicated state told me the following story, briefly prompted by my saying I was interested in the concept of fair play:

> To talk about justice and fairness, it would be meaningless for you to begin from the contemporary. To get a sense of morality…you have to begin from the past. Oh what I have not done for Beşiktaş. The game against Adana Demirspor, the 0-10 game… Back in those days there used to be two footballs to play with. One for them and one for us. We wrote "BJK" on ours with a marker. I asked the ball-boys how much they made in a day. '20.' 'Here you have 200.' So that they pass the ball in with our advantage in mind. At this moment in the story, he took a piece of bread, kissed it and touched it to his forehead (a gesture to indicate he swears by the holy bread), "the things I have done for Beşiktaş," he sighs, "there is nothing I haven't done."

The game between Adana Demirspor (from the southern city of Adana) and Beşiktaş in 1989 is the game with the largest margin of victory in all of Turkish professional football history. Some Beşiktaş fans are proud to talk of this victory; others believe it is obnoxious to take pride in defeating a weak team, let alone one that is famous for being a working-class team of miners, as Adana Demirspor. The accuracy of Taner's story of that game is not so important here. What is crucial is that a conversation about

fairness and morality suddenly turns into his personal account of "the things [he] has done for Beşiktaş." The story is at once a proof of his "sick" fandom and a testimony to how legitimate and fair bribing small boys can be when understood from within the frame of this untamable fandom. There is a sense of moral sacrifice here. The man is not unaware of how this might be an ethically controversial situation. Yet, the ethical problematic is circumvented through the making of fandom – fandom which is made through communicating to those around you that you are ready to engage in sacrifice for the sake of your team because of and in the name of your "sickness."

This rhetoric about sacrifice is possible by the discourse of *arabesk* love. The discourse about *arabesk* love is that it is a selfless kind of love, unrequited yet persistent. Those who love in the *arabesk* way are victimized by their love and constantly engage in various sacrifices for it. The miserable condition of the *arabesk* lover is readily available for football fans who have made it a linguistic feature of their fandom to sing melancholic songs of love and suffering for the team. From within this discourse emerges a sense of fairness that is couched in terms of sacrifice and deems cheating as a possible and legitimate option to ensure the success of the team. One might ask if t would be as legitimate or fair to commit similar actions of dishonesty for the sake of love for one's family or country? I think they might. Note how I showed that national loyalty itself is a part of footballing convention in chapter 1 and explained in this chapter that love for family is *the* measuring stick for how much one might love their team. The reason why their family is a frequently invoked measure is because these people also love and care for their family; otherwise they wouldn't compare it to the team they hold so dear. So

yes, football might not be exclusive in the way in which the discourse of love enmeshes with notions of fairness but it definitely is one of those rich and significant social sites.

One major context of off-the-pitch cheating in which emotion was a criterion of fairness was when the match-fixing scandal broke out in Turkey in July 2011. As I explained in chapter 2, Fenerbahçe was the foremost team affected by the scandal since their victory in the championship was allegedly fixed. Their president Aziz Yıldırım was immediately taken into custody and later served a one-year sentence in prison. During the period that the revelations of match-fixing broke, I wanted to understand how fans felt about the whole situation – an entire season of success denigrated with charges of match-fixing, with multiple administrators jailed, including their beloved president. When I talked to fans, they mostly expressed shame and bewilderment. They were saddened by the fact that the "honest labor" of their coach Aykut Kocaman was being wasted. They were ashamed that their team's name was mixed in with this dishonesty. At the same time however, they were angry – they were furious that years of match-fixing in Turkey had gone by unpunished and that April 2011's law against violence in sport had caused brought their team to go down. "Everyone has been doing it but it was us who got punished" was a common remark I heard. Besides the fury, shame and near disgust I recorded, I also heard immense support for the president, Aziz Yıldırım. Fans poured onto the streets of Istanbul, protested outside of courts, lit flares at Fenerbahçe's training grounds, visited the prison, and organized marches and demonstrations involving thousands of people. The Fenerbahçe paraphernalia store, Fenerium, immediately printed Aziz Yıldırım's photo on a t-shirt that sold thousands and fans even wore Aziz Yıldırım masks to the first home game after the scandal broke (see chapter 2). There was no

denying what had happened, for there was the evidence of clear voice recordings proving certain arrangements that had been made and had impacted the result of certain games. Nevertheless, fans continually asserted that "whatever he did, he did for Fenerbahçe." Some said this excused his actions, others said it did not but they could "understand" or "empathize" regardless. Watching out for the interest of Fenerbahçe and doing something out of love for Fenerbahçe seemed fine in this dog-eat-dog world of football.

c) Are we judging?

As I recount here stories and incidents where people draw on the concepts of love to substantiate their deliberation of fairness, it might sound to the reader like they use these notions to *excuse* various acts of physical violence or cheating. Just because someone thinks it is fair to injure someone for the sake of love for a football team might not, in everyone's opinion, justify their actions. I surely do not argue that they do. I don't since, as I explained in the Introduction, this is the not the question I am interested in asking. What I aim to do is to show the social life behind how they *do* for those who *do* argue as such.

Students of mine who have been exposed to my argument have objected saying that you can't just "make" a concept that already has a definition. "Just because people think red is green, does not make green; it only means that they are wrong" one Istanbul Bilgi University student explicitly told me in a class on sports ethics. My answer was and is, that for an anthropologist it would be fascinating to see how it is that a large group of people call their reds "green" and why. Besides when ethics in society is the issue hand, that "initial" definition is much less definitive and alternative conceptions a great deal

more abundant than laws and conventions initially wish to recognize. Adding the normative question to my main concern is always potentially available for those who volunteer to do so, especially if they wish to think about the FIFA and UEFA guidelines to determine what standard and universal fairness *should be* in sports. My aim is to be able to bring such normative assessments, into conversation with my description of how I have observed practices of fairness to emerge on the ground. The portrayal of this conversation is my critical and analytical analysis of what I have been referring to as the negotiation of fairness. Apart from that, I ask the reader to not expect passages of judgment in regard to the stories I told above.

Gender and Emotions

In the previous chapter, I documented a particular constellation of masculinity we see in Turkish football fandom: exclusively *delikanlı* on the basis of othering the *ibne* as a gender normative category. I also explained that there have been instances where women fans experience their fandom in line with this masculine fandom which they interpret as a resistance against a gender normative "feminine" fandom. How does this *delikanlı* fandom with its implications about fairness come into conversation with the discourse of love which also contributes to defining what is fair in Turkish football?

While Lutz (1990) has argued that discourses on emotions are at the same time discourses on gender, it is much easier to find literature on emotion and women than it is on emotion and men. This speaks very much to the naturalized feminization of emotion Lutz herself critiques. I was able to find one study that brings together football, emotions and masculinity. Social psychologists Walton, Coyle and Lyons (2004) conducted a study

in England with groups of men to understand the way in which they constructed themselves *vis-à-vis* emotions and masculine emotionality. They conclude that according to the men they interviewed, the two social situations where they felt comfortable showing emotion were football and death. Otherwise hesitant to embrace identification as emotional beings, these Englishmen were adhering very much to the Euroamerican discourse on emotion as Lutz explained it. They found it permissible to "be upset" in football which may "come out in anger" but they would not label this as violent (407). However, they would term violent other similar expressions of anger that took place outside of the sphere of football, for instance in a nightclub.

In my research, I found that some male fans told me stories that pointed to the same permissibility of male emotion and public display of male emotion in football. One Galatasaray fan I interviewed explicitly told me: "Every emotion gets intensified in football. Love, treason…these exist in life. They are a part of life. But I'm not usually very able to express my emotions. It's much easier in the stadium." Similar to how the Englishmen in the study above depicted football as a place for emotion, the space of football in Turkey seems to be a place where the ideology of "men don't cry" is broken. Showing emotion seems not to index emasculation, as long as it is contained within football. Moreover, we must keep in mind that football is a space where men fall in love with male imageries. The team is construed as a man, the footballers are men and yet male fans can openly sing about falling in love with the team using the *arabesk* genre of melancholic unrequited love. For example, a common cheer in Turkish stadiums that asks for a specific footballer or coach to greet the stands is calling out to them singing "I love you XYZ" (in English). Once walking out of the stadium after a Beşiktaş victory, I even

overheard a young man express his appreciation of Ersan Gülüm, Beşiktaş's defender, with the following words: "Ersan! I want to kiss your balls!" This ostensibly homoerotic language does not seem to contradict fans' depictions of themselves as *delikanlı*.

One reason for this may be that a *delikanlı* sense of fairness and love's contribution to defining fairness in fact overlap. Fans are able to accommodate going the distance for their team or self-sacrifice for the team within a notion of *delikanlı* fairness as well. When Akif told me his interpretation of the Bursaspor game admitting that he would gladly go to prison for this "just cause", he likened himself to William Wallace in *Braveheart* (1995).[81] Right after he told me how angry he was with how the Bursaspor fans allegedly harassed his friend's girlfriend he said:

> You know like, I am…*Braveheart* is…you've seen the film right? There too, they wronged his love and he went and took vengeance. Honor (*namus*), you know. That's like us. We care about honor. They too. That's why…I think I'm similar to him. Because we are against the wrong, any kind of wrong. Why? Because we are Beşiktaş fans. If we see a wrong, we will object. This is what it means to be a Beşiktaş fan. A Fener fan would not do this!

Akif's self-identification as a Beşiktaş fan and othering of Fenerbahçe fans is depicted both in terms of his unending love for the team which deems fair certain violent actions (as I explained earlier) and also in terms of how this love-based justice is an honorable and manly cause since it involves defending the one you love. Forming an analogy between William Wallace's wife and his team, Akif is able to posit "taking vengeance" as a manly act towards restoring honor. Thus, in his narrative, we are able to observe the coming together of love and manliness as both contributors to an alternative formation of fairness, different from official fair play.

[81] *Braveheart* (dir. Mel Gibson, 1995)

One day my friend Metin (the Galatasaray fan with whom I went to the Bursaspor game) took me by the hand and introduced me to all the shopkeepers of Beşiktaş. He knew the neighborhood better than me, despite my living there during fieldwork, because he had grown up right there in central Beşiktaş. One of our pit stops was the small teashop in front of a silversmith selling mostly small trinkets and simple jewelry. Although I already knew Emre, this is where I met his mother and father, the owners of this shop. I sat with Emre's parents and we chatted casually over tea about football, the neighborhood and Beşiktaş. Just then their acquaintance Yasin came by. He was rather upset that day, as his mobile phone had broken. Yasin didn't stay with us for too long because of his preoccupation with his phone, but in the few minutes he stood there, he told me the following:

> Being a Beşiktaş fan is being a maniac. It is a mania. I guess we were more manic before. I'm 29 now, there's the girlfriend, you know. Back in the day, I used to care none about no girlfriend. I'd tell her to mind her own business. Because you get from Beşiktaş what you can't get from a girlfriend. Can you tell her everything? No. There, you can. You can swear. What you can't get from life, what you can't get from work… There, you can do everything you can't do in life. There, you can do everything you can't do with your girlfriend… The other day, some friends and I were discussing about why we are Beşiktaş fans. Are we masochists? Do we enjoy pain? No. No UEFA cups. I've been going to games for over 10 years, I've only seen two championships. So why? Why do we still support the team? Because you see, those that would leave have already left. Not everyone can be a Beşiktaş fan because not everyone can endure this pain. Not easy.

Yasin's narrative brings together the component of crazy love (mania), *arabesk* love (masochism and pain) and the fact that football provides him an outlet where he is able to do things he can't in life, where he is able to do things that he can't do with his girlfriend. In a sense, he allows himself to get emotional in this site. He allows himself to suffer, feel

pain and express those emotions whereas in the life of girlfriends and work those emotions are not available to him. Lutz (1988) says:

> …the occurrence of emotion may ensure immoral behavior or even relieve the person of moral responsibility…emotion is associated with self-indulgence; thought with discipline and self-denial. To the extent that morality is culturally defined as self-control in the interest of higher good, emotion's culturally defined self-indulgence is antithetical to it (76).

Even though she is referring to the Euroamerican context, I found this reigning discourse to be relevant in Turkey. Discourse on emotion does impact moralities in Turkish football where the enabling effects of both crazy and *arabesk* love gain even further power due to how masculinities associate football to a space of "self-indulgence." As Tanıl Bora (2013) says, football for Turkish men is a "place to go wild." But this self-indulging wildness is not without a cause. In a sense men indulge in the opportunity to do something wild for the sake of the team. This wildness definitely has an effect on what they consider fair, and this differs from the fair-play ideals of disinterestedness as imposed by FIFA, UEFA and TFF. The wildness at once contributes to the continual making and proving of fandom by pitting it against personal life and also justifies certain actions that are done for the sake of unreasonable and self-sacrificing love since this kind of love is available for *delikanlı* masculinity.

One other question to ask in relation to the emotionality of fandom is if women's emotional fandom differs at all from men's emotional fandom. In general, I did not find this to be the case. Women as well as men sing the *arabesk* and crazy love songs I have documented in this chapter. As examples of Ebru and Yasemin show, they too pit their personal life against team love to prove how loyal their fandom is. But there has been one instance where I saw a "more feminine" display of team love.

When we left *Kartal* Restaurant with Ebru and her friends and proceeded to go to the Trabzonspor game, I had the opportunity to observe Ebru and how she acts inside the stadium. At one point during the match, she individually yelled to a Beşiktaş player, İbrahim Toraman, with the words: “go on my love, come on!” Calling players one’s “lion” (*aslanım*) or “ram” (*koçum*) are common in Turkish; this is how one urges players on or shows them support. “My love” (*aşkım*) on the other hand is very intimate language, something one would only say to their significant others. Even though “I love you XYZ” might sound like it is a similar expression of love in the stadium, it is not. “I love you XYZ” is a rehearsed chant that in sung in English by entire choruses. Ebru, on the other hand, stood out as a single female voice when she screamed out “my love” as a motivator for a football player. This shows that while women’s fandom also includes positing love as a caliber for the fairness of one’s actions, it may also take on differing linguistic forms to express that love.

Fair Play and Marketing Football Love

The emotional discourse I have been talking about is not solely created and reinforced by fans. Football love is marketed. Football is marketed through love. And various other products are marketed through football love. Clubs want to make money off of the love fans feel for team. Sponsors want to be included in the love fans feel for teams by inserting their own product into the equation. And the media (mainly the one channel that has the rights to air league matches – Lig TV) wants to benefit financially from this love. In *Carjacked,* Lutz (2010) discusses the political economy of car love by showing how this love is marketed. I want to discuss the political economy of football love. I will

argue that the kind of love official fair play desires is a kind of "sane" love which sponsors and Lig TV market prefer. This is opposed to the crazy and *arabesk* love I have been describing which contributes to fans' definitions of fairness.

I was able to speak with representatives from both Türk Telekom (TT) and Ülker, major sponsors of Turkish football. Ülker, the food brand of Yıldız Holding, a corporation with revenues approximating $6 billion in 2010,[82] is one of the leading Turkish brands in the food sector; at the time of my interview in June 2011 Ülker sponsored five football teams (Fenerbahçe, Galatasaray, Beşiktaş, Trabzonspor and Bursaspor) and the Turkish national team. Türk Telekom, the leading brand for communication technologies in the country (with a revenue over $6 billion in 2011[83]), sponsored four of these teams as well (except of Bursaspor) and is the first brand in Turkey to be the name-sponsor for a football stadium, Galatasaray's Türk Telekom Arena. I spoke with the head of the sponsorship department at Ülker who attended our meeting with one other representative from their department, and I spoke with a representative from the sponsorship department at Türk Telekom.

The main thing I learned in these conversations is that the concern of a brand is to implicate themselves in the love that fans feel for teams. What the sponsors are trying to do is to insert themselves into the intense love relationship fans forge with their teams. The kind of emotional attachment they seek, the kind of brand loyalty they strive for is already there between the fan and the team, all they need to do is to put their name somewhere in that relationship so they can "turn fans into customers" as the Türk Telekom representative told me. To do this they use one major metaphor: "touching the

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[82] Source: http://english.yildizholding.com.tr/en/index.aspx

[83] Source: http://www.teknokulis.com/Haberler/Kurumsal/2012/02/15/turk-telekom-12-milyar-ciro-yapti

fans." Their campaign strategies and sponsorship organizations are all geared at this very tactile purpose; they want to "touch" people.

This metaphor was striking for me. In my interviews with fans, regardless of which team they supported, they referred to a phenomenon of "industrialized football" (*endüstriyel futbol*). This term is the code word in Turkey to signify the increasing commercialization and globalization of football including everything from growing numbers of foreign recruits (as players or coaches) to the existence of fan paraphernalia stores displaying expensive price-tags (see McManus 2009, 2013 for more). What I kept hearing from fans around and above the age of 30 was that as children they had been used to being able to "touch" the team. This meant that training grounds were within easy reach in the center of the city where fans could go watch the footballers and get autographs. It also meant that footballers lived lives that were comparable to fans in similar neighborhoods since their salaries did not amount to millions of dollars. Fans would run into footballers at local grocery stores, casually chat with them and feel that they shared a common world with them, that their football idols were reachable, fellow human beings like them. This nostalgic discourse, an example of which was Veysel's description of desired football players in Chapter 1, is crucial to underline since it is a way in which fans dissociated from *endüstriyel futbol* which I will argue promotes a sane kind of love attached to formal fair play.

While the fans I quoted above hang out in working class neighborhoods, calculating whether they can afford to buy very expensive seasons' tickets and resorting to buying jerseys off of the black market since they cannot pay hundreds of dollars for one shirt, players in their beloved teams make tens of millions of Euros. While Ebru and

her fanmates hang out at the Beşiktaş market place among fish mongers and pay around 40TL per person for lunch, that season's star Beşiktaş player Guti[84] lived in a gated community and dined in restaurants where two glasses of wine cost that much. In fact on the day when I interviewed the former president of the National Referees' Council, I ran into Guti himself at the pricy Masa Restaurant in İstinye. I saw him because he had to get up from his table to greet Roberto Carlos[85] and his family who were sitting at the table next to ours. That day, I saw three other famous Turkish footballers and the main host of football programming for Lig TV during my lunch hour interview. [86] This was clearly a different football site than the *Külüstür* Pub or *Kartal* Restaurant where I never once ran into a Turkish football celebrity.

In this kind of a setting, it becomes a priority for sponsors to bridge the social and economic gap that exists between the fervent fans and their heroes, the footballers of the team they are in love with. At Ülker, the head of the department explained to me that they have a campaign to "directly emotionally touch the fan" called the Dream Prize with an "intention to include the corporation inside the love that the fan feels." Here, he explains, they offer prizes that "money can't buy:"

> Tickets, seasons' tickets, jerseys…those they can buy. But in these various contests the prize is to meet the footballer, to chat with him, dine with him, to watch the game at the bench, to get your kid to stand with the footballers during the recital of the national anthem at the beginning of the game. We try to insert our brand inside the passion and joy of the match day…We want to enter their homes with the shirts that they purchase…They lose sleep because they will meet

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[84]Guti is José María Gutiérrez Hernández, a footballer recruited by Beşiktaş after his 16 years with Real Madrid.

[85] Legendary footballer Roberto Carlos da Silva Rocha played for Real Madrid for 11 years until in 2007 he was recruited by Fenerbahçe.

[86] I tried to approach these footballers about conducting interviews but my efforts did not pay off, and I couldn't even talk to these celebrities. As I explained in the Introduction, I was not able to get hold of any Super League players to interview.

> Alex,[87] there are people like that and when you can touch them, their lives change. They say “Ülker did this for me….Ülker makes me happy”…when we see that our online campaigns receive thousands of participants, we know we’ve touched them in the right places, that we’ve touched them right to contribute to a change in their lives.”

The Türk Telekom representative presented a similar narrative saying that their “goal is to establish long-term bridges between the brand and the fan.” She told me that TT prides itself in being the “biggest fan” of Turkish football; their slogan “Football, you are Everything to Us!” is now a jingle that has caught on in every stadium (photo 14). She explained that their aim was to create fan-specific campaigns for each fan group, taking into consideration their peculiar qualities and sensitivities. She gave me a few examples which she said achieved the goal of “renewing [the sponsor’s] contract with the club and also…touching the fans…[by]…making their wildest dream come true.” Here is one such example:

As Türk Telekom, they organized a competition whereby they sought the “most creative” banner from BJK fans for one of the upcoming games. The winning banner read “With victory our love increases, with defeat our loyalty,” and it was displayed on a 15 × 1m banner at the Beşiktaş versus Fenerbahçe derby in February 2011. The winning author in turn received a customized jersey and got to watch the game in the VIP section.

It was two weeks after the display of this banner when I met Ebru before the Beşitaş versus Trabzonspor game at *Kartal* restaurant. Here is a section of my field notes from that day:

> At one point this guy Murat came over to our table…He kept cozying up to Ebru with bursts of “my sister Ebruuu!” and Ebru reciprocated. Then he screamed “with victory our love increases, with defeat our loyalty!” Ebru started to applaud, touched. She forced me to note these words down as she literally opened up my notepad and started tapping on it to make sure I didn’t miss the quote.

[87] Footballer Alexandro de Souza was Fenerbahçe’s most popular player between 2004-2012.

At the time, I did not realize that this was the result of a campaign organized by Türk Telekom. Speaking with the sponsorship department representative three months later, I understood that fans' discourse of love was certainly related to and reinforced by the marketing of football love. For example Lig TV's pre-season commercials for the 2012-2013 season included fans of various football teams around Turkey recounting stories of how much they love their team. The ads featured instances of what they have done for the sake of the team. The stories included onerous away game adventures, financial sacrifice, tattoos in the shape of home stadiums, and other match-day, championship or cup memories. All the commercials ended with Lig TV's punch line: "For some, love is a six-letter word" (football in Turkish is spelled as *futbol*).

Photo 14: Fenerbahçe Şükrü Saracoğlu Stadium. In the background is the Türk Telekom slogan that reads "Futbol sen bizim herşeyimizsin" (sic); "Football you are everything to us!" July 21, 2011.

The kind of love promoted by sponsors, Lig TV and clubs and the kind of love that fans express are both similar but significantly different from each other. The difference relates to the differences I have been highlighting since the beginning of this dissertation, between official notions of fair play and on-the-ground emergences of fairness. The fans' love is the kind of mad or hopeless love that contributes to legitimizing violent actions and cheating. Definitions and deliberations of fairness necessarily come into conversation with the creation of this extreme space, especially given dominant discourse on emotion and masculinity. The understood meaning of what love may allow you to do shapes what fairness is. On the contrary, the kind of love people at Ülker and Türk Telekom were telling me about is a sane kind of love, one which is divorced from making footballing a site where "men can go wild." What the latter care about is how an intense yet containable kind of love can be turned into money.

For example, the Beşiktaş CEO told me that the kind of fan they prefer is "*tam*." This is the Turkish word for "full," he also used the word "*tam*" as an acronym for "*taraftar* (fan), "*abone*" (member [of the club, paying fees]) and "*müşteri*" (customer). As much as sponsors and clubs want "fully" fervent and passionate fans to remain in stadiums so that they can create an enjoyable atmosphere (which itself provides marketing advantage) and willingly participate in sponsors' campaigns, they also need these people to remain sane and promote a peaceful image of football so that their club doesn't receive fines for unruliness and the brand names are not associated with acts of violence. Where fans' love is inextricably linked to the creation of the footballing space as one of battle and sacrifice, money makers prefer to tap into a particular aspect of that sentiment, one from which they can financially benefit.

In fact, this saner conception of love is in line with how governing bodies of football describe “love for the game.” Through social responsibility projects, FIFA and UEFA try to promote a “culture of football” to unite peoples and foster peace through a shared “love of football.” The last item on FIFA’s Fair Play Code reads: “Football has an incredible power, which can be used to make this world a better place…Use this powerful platform to promote peace, equality, health and education for everyone…” The institutionalized and universalist understanding of fair play promotes a sane kind of love which the football community must share in their approach to football. Combining this emotional discourse with the idea that values of fairness inhere in the very idea of sports itself (see chapter 2), the international governing bodies of football are able to link love to the ethical standards of fair play.

Conclusion

Eva Illouz (1997) wrote about the connection between romantic love and late capitalism where she argued that even though the values and characterizations of capitalism and romantic love seem opposed to each other, romantic love is in fact experienced through market-based consumption in late capitalism. Capitalism features a relationship of mutual interest between two parties who buy and sell to make profit. Trading partners is allowed and encouraged to maximize one’s profit. Romantic love on the other hand “evades the conventional categories within which capitalism has been conceived,” since one’s partner is imagined as unique and irreplaceable. Also, as Illouz explains romantic love relationships are conventionally thought of as irrational and sacrificial, in this sense transgressing the values of capitalism. However, Illouz argues

that "late capitalism promotes a powerful utopia of love promising transgression through the consumption of leisure and nature." As such, late capitalism offers a way to establish romance by supposedly escaping the sphere of production but it firmly grounds romantic love in the sphere of capitalist consumption. Capitalism thus commodifies love.

Magazine (2007) described the specificity of the Mexican fan community he worked with as a group of people who highlighted the importance of emotional support in fandom. He wrote, "According to these fans, the importance of being youths is that because they and the players have not yet been influenced by corruption and clientelism or dulled by scientific objectivity of democratic rationality, they are closer to something inherently and basically human: emotion." I have not found that an emotional discourse of fandom is particular to any one team in Turkey; they all use this language of crazy and *arabesk* love. Moreover, my interest lies not in differentiating forces of "rational" or "objective" order in football from "emotional" ones. Rather, I am interested in delineating the fairness effects of these notions as discourses. Therefore, I argue that the tension between fan conceptions of football love and sponsors' depictions of football love is the precise tension between the values of romantic versus commodified love. These two different but interrelated conceptions of love also lead to different formations of fairness. Where fans irrational and sacrificial love leads them to a sense of fairness that justifies violent acts or cheating as fair, sponsors' promotion of marketable and commodified love directs us to a sanitized notion of fair play. Fans thus invoke nostalgic accounts of relating to their team to escape not only a marketable football love but also to resist a formalized version of fairness as fair play.

Expressing one's relationship to football as a relation of love is not unique to Turkey. Everywhere from Argentina to England, Belgium, Spain and Italy there have been documents of players or fans expressing their love for the game, for the team or for specific footballers (FIFA 2010). Resistance to "modern" or in Turkey's terms "industrialized" football is not unique either. The football NGO I mentioned in Chapter 2, Football Supporters Europe, have claimed it as their mission to fight increased commercialization in European football. Their fan members from around Europe get together to organize conferences and discuss strategies to "reclaim the game."
In Turkey, the globalization and commodification of football has gone hand in hand with its rapid legalization and formalization. As I have explained before, football (and sports in general) is one social site among many where AKP government has extended its regulatory control over the past decade. I argue that the resistance to these developments in Turkey can be witnessed in the form of professing a certain kind of football love. Tanıl Bora, entitled his 2006 book on Turkish football *Kârhanede Romantizm* (Romanticism in the Factory/Brothel). In Turkish while *kârhane* literally means factory, over the years, this word has experienced a change in meaning to refer to brothels: *kerhane*. With this, he meant to point to the existence of romantic football love which admittedly exists within a profit-oriented world of global football. In turn, I have argued that the shifting experience of football in Turkey which we can observe from differing notions of love (romantic or capitalist) has also led to a tension between configurations of fairness.

In this chapter, I studied the emotional discourse of Turkish football and the variant kinds of fairness it engenders or creates as effect. Fans' emotional discourse of love posits love as a site of *arabesk* sacrifice or crazy mania. This understanding of

sacrifice and mania allows fans to conjure their notions of fairness as shaped by intense emotional fandom they experience. I showed that this love informed fairness is also in line with the *delikanlı* fairness I described in Chapter 3. On the other hand, the marketers of football love have a discourse of love that is sane and peaceful. This saner kind of love resonates with the official descriptions of fair play. In chapter 2, I argued that the legal regulations towards fair play have specific financial interests and that FIFA, UEFA and TFF push fair play agendas with an effort towards the embourgeoisement of the game. In this chapter, I showed that a discourse of sane love is a component of this project and we might juxtapose it to fans' crazy and *arabesk* love and the resulting configurations of fairness.

CHAPTER 5 - REFEREES AND EMBODIED FAIRNESS

Introduction

The referee[88] is the only fan-less football actor in the entire social site of football. Surely there are archrivals and long-standing enmities that produce much hatred towards various players and teams but referees occupy the peculiar position in football where literally no one is on their side. [89] The referee's own lack of partisanship is essential and permanent as it defines the profession. Writing about refereeing in England, Colwell (2000) goes as far back as 1871 to underscore how the profession of refereeing has been characterized by neutrality. Two of my interviewees, one a former footballer and the other a current assistant referee in the Turkish Super League put it very clearly for me using the same Turkish proverb, "Refereeing" they said "is the condition of being able to please neither Moses nor Jesus."

This chapter is about referees in Turkish football and the contribution of their presence in football to the continual definition of fairness. In the previous chapters I have brought to the fore various ways in which informal formations of fairness come into conversation with codified, formal and institutionalized norms for ethics. The latter have been in the form of legal prescriptions and fair play guidelines. In this chapter, I will

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[88] Four refereeing personnel officiate a Turkish football game: the "referee" (central referee on the field), two "linesmen" (assistant referees, running the touchlines on either side of the field) and the "fourth official" who stands by the benches, off the pitch. UEFA has trialed a new practice of assigning six referees to a match. This was implemented during the EURO 2012 tournament, with two additional assistant referees positioned one behind each. This practice is not yet widespread across Europe and has not started in Turkey either.

[89] Some referees are well-known and may count as celebrities, for example Pierluigi Collina, but they don't have any fans.

show that the body, person and profession of the referee is in fact a site on which this very tension between formal and informal definitions of fairness unfolds. This discussion will allow us to pinpoint the role of the referee, as the ultimate decision maker on the pitch, within the larger framework of intensifying regulation and formalization in Turkish football I have been referring to throughout the dissertation.

The 2012-2013 FIFA document entitled "Laws of the Game" [90] describes the "authority of the referee" as the following: "Each match is controlled by a referee who has full authority to enforce the Laws of the Game..." The fourth item of the FIFA Fair Play code (2010) says: "Referees are there to maintain discipline and Fair Play. Always accept their decision without arguing…" The non-partisan referee thus implements the rules of the game and ensures that the match is carried out in line with fair play. He has the authority to begin and end the match, he makes decisions about free kicks, throw-ins and the validity of scores among other things. He is also charged with the duty of penalizing footballers who act contrary to the rules of the game or who otherwise incite disciplinary issues on the pitch. How does the presence, profession, role and person of the referee affect and mold the definition of fairness on the pitch? Overall in this dissertation, I argue that fairness cannot have a set definition independent of context, rather I illustrate the various ways in which fairness is continually made. In this chapter, I build on that argument by showing that the definition of fairness is also tied to the person, the mind and the body of the referee who adheres to specific conventions of refereeing in Turkey and makes on-the-pitch decisions.

[90] The document can be accessed here: http://www.fifa.com/mm/document/affederation/generic/81/42/36/lawsofthegame_2012_e.pdf

Social Atmosphere of Refereeing in Turkey

In his riveting commentary on football in *Soccer in the Sun and Shadow,* Eduardo Galeano (1999) says that the referee's job is to "make himself hated." The referee is thus, "an abominable tyrant who runs his dictatorship without opposition, a pompous executioner who exercises his absolute power with an operating flourish." The referee facilitates the "universal sentiment in soccer: Everybody hates him." Galeano later explains that referees run the most, sweat the most and suffer the most, all for the sake of participating in this game, knowing that they will never be allowed to play. For "when the ball hits [the referee] by accident, the entire stadium curses his mother" (10). Galeano ends his depiction of the referee with the following argument. He says that "…fans would have to invent him if he didn't already exist. The more they hate him, the more they need him" (11) for placing blame and holding an agent responsible for whatever unfolds on the pitch.

Colwell (2000) writes similarly about football referees in England. She says that referees at the élite level are under constant scrutiny which leads to criticism much more often than applause. She gives multiple examples from managers in England who have released statements expressing their dissatisfaction with the referee's decision making which have led to many instances of "referee bashing" (201). Although Galeano is talking about "the referee" with no specific cultural contextualization, and Colwell is giving examples only from the English context, the portraits they outline are quite accurate in the case of Turkey. During my year of fieldwork in Istanbul, I went to 34 football games for 23 of which my field notes include remarks about the referee in some

respect. Most of these notes document a decision that was disliked by the majority of the fans and resulting reactions. Fan cheers in Turkey that object to the referee may include anything from somewhat more subtle lines such as “the ref needs glasses,” “ref, your hips are shaking”[91] or “ref, where is your mother from?” to much more blunt chants such as “Turkish refs murder football,” “the ref is a fag,” and “ref, I’ll fuck your mother’s ass.” Besides individual outcries from dissatisfied fans, these chants are commonly sung by thousands for minutes on end, personalized for each referee by calling out their names. The police often find themselves needing to physically shield the officials against coins or other items being thrown onto the pitch. Assistant referee Tolga Engin told me that he is “used to rubbing spit off the back of his neck” at every half time and final whistle. He said it happens“ All the time – we’re used it by now, it’s a part of the job…They throw lighters and coins too.” Another assistant referee, Başar Güven, told me that the rule for referees is to arrive at their destination as late as possible and leave as early as possible so as to avoid interactions with city dwellers, footballers or club associates. “We have to, forget about wandering around town before the game…”

As I mentioned above, there are numerous instances when the referee’s decisions are protested with reference to his specific person. Turkish Super League referees are public figures; followers of football know about their careers outside of football and would recognize them on the street. Fans associate specific referees with specific styles of refereeing, an issue I will revisit below. Some tolerate minor fouls so as to not stop the game, others take every opportunity to book players. These refereeing styles are objects of public scrutiny and referees are very much in the public eye. Moreover, some such

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[91] As I explained in Chapter 3, this is used as a remark to emasculate the referee by calling him a “bellydancer.”

songs of protest stick and carry on for generations even after the referees in question have retired. For example, today, BJK fans sing the following song about Galatasaray:

Parayla şampiyonluk ne kadar kolay
　　How easy is it to be champions when you pay someone off?
Şerefsizsin Galatasaray
　　You are dishonorable Galatasaray
Vahap Beyaz, Ahmet Çakar
　　Vahap Beyaz, Ahmet Çakar
Şerefsizsin Galatasaray
　　You are dishonorable Galatasaray
Parayla şikeyle şampiyon oldun
　　You got your championship with money and match-fixing
Şerefsizin kralı oldun
　　You are the king of all dishonorables
Şerefsizler şike yapar
　　Those who are dishonorable commit match-fixing
Şikeyi de Galatasaray
　　And Galatasaray was match-fixing

[emphases added]

This song is one of several football chants that BJK fans still sing about the 1992-1993 season when they lost the championship to GS and claim that this was a result of match-fixing on the part of GS. Other chants sung against GS include references to specific games where the match-fixing supposedly happened and assert "we will never forget that season and we will fuck GS over". The particular song just quoted implicates by name two famous Turkish referees of the era, Vahap Beyaz and Ahmet Çakar. BJK fans clearly imply that these referees played a part in the "dishonorable" acts of GS. As I explained in the previous chapter, match-fixing is an example of cheating in football and goes absolutely against the values of fair play as it is defined officially. By associating specific referees with these actions that contradict fair play, BJK fans include the specific persons and decisions of referees in how they judge the fair conduct of a football game.

That is, although the referee is supposed to be a mere figure representing the institution of refereeing which is supposedly characterized by impartiality and universal fair play, fans still personalize their protests against his decisions as if to equate his person with the decisions he makes.

Even though Galeano describes hatred of the referee as a universal sentiment and documentaries like *The Ref*[92] (about Spain) show that Turkey is not the only place where referees have to deal with pressure from stadiums stands and tension in regards to their calls. However, Başar Güven still distinguishes Turkey from 'Europe' when talking about how refs are viewed and treated. He praises European football for putting less pressure on their referees. He said:

> This all has to do with the city and upbringing. We were in Europe once for a return game where the first leg had ended 2-0. The second leg saw a score of 3-0 on the 94th minute. Then on the 6th minute of extra time, they scored and it was 3-1. The team that was previously ahead through the aggregate score was eliminated right there, only on the 96th minute. The home team fans still applauded the rivals. This was a game in Latvia, in Riga. Such a thing would be unheard of in Turkey, impossible. It was an immensely important game you see, the winning team qualified for the Champions League. They were applauded. And we went to dinner out on the town. Just like that. Easy.

Güven's depiction of refereeing in Europe recalls to mind European aspirations in Turkey and in Turkish football which I discussed in Chapter 2. His opinion was that a "European upbringing" assured for the kind of behavior he observed in Latvia. The image of a civilized Europe, as opposed to a backwards Turkey, is too available in Turkey and people draw on this image to describe their ideal about how societal relations should be organized. I don't doubt that Güven's account of his experience in Latvia is accurate. But I do argue that his idealization of Europe frames the way in which he differentiates

[92] *The Ref.* 2011. ESPN Classic.

Turkey from Europe. Yes, Turkish referees might feel that the refereeing atmosphere in Turkey is especially hostile. But news reports from all around Europe, as well as the few academic publications on refereeing show that referees in general suffer from continuous scrutiny and criticism about their decision making.

What I have witnessed most in stadiums in Turkey is that referees are derided when they decide against the home team[93] which is of course to be predicted. However, there are instances when thousands of home team fans will object to the referee in Turkey even if he has made a decision in favor of the home team. This occurs when fans believe the favorable call was a result of the referee's manipulability. In Turkish there even a label for such a referee: He is an *eyyamcı* (see below). Objectivity is a significant ideal for referees. This not only means that the referee is not picking sides, but it also means that the referee makes decisions about football incidents taking into account that incident only. In other words, if the referee made an erroneous call at one point of the game, he is expected to forget that error immediately so that his following decisions are not influenced by his remorse. If fans think that the referee is trying to compensate for a previous erroneous decision in his following calls, they will degrade him for being amenable to manipulation. And the label for this kind of a referee in Turkish is "*eyyamcı*."

[93] In Turkey, the home team must allocate at least 5% of its stadium's seating for away-team fans. In derbies, this translates to about 2,000 away-team fans against 40,000 home team fans. In some seasons, as in 2012-2013, the TFF has banned away-team fans from going to home stadiums of archrivals, the idea being to prevent violent fan clashes (see discussion in Chapter 4). In games where one of Istanbul's big-three is playing an away game against a less popular team from Anatolia, one might find a large concentration of away-team fans in the stadium, as the big-three fans are willing to travel and can buy up spare seating capacity beyond the normal allotment when home fans do not take these seats. But in general, stadiums are predominantly filled with home-team fans; it is the home-team fans I refer to when I talk about fans protesting the decisions of the referee during a match.

"*Eyyam*" or "*eyyamcılık*" is posited by fans as one of the worst qualities a referee might have. *Eyyam* is the plural for *yevm* in Arabic (borrowed into Turkish) and translates to "days." While the Turkish usage as an accusation in football is not straightforward, the idea is that a fickle referee decides on a football incident taking into consideration the rest of the "day" (or the match): he referees the entire day at once rather than sticking to interpreting each individual situation in an objective vacuum. That fans should object to *eyyam* might not sound so strange. What is less expected is that fans will object to a refereeing decisions that shows the referee for being amenable to influence *even if* their home team benefits from the referee's compensatory call. If the referee is trying to mend a previous wrong call by deciding in favor of the home team, the home team fans might still be angry with him for being guided by the a prior call and for being less than objective. An example might illustrate this concept better.

On November 8, 2010 I went to the Beşiktaş versus Kasımpaşaspor (Kasımpaşa) game by myself. It was a terrible game for Beşiktaş fans, not only because the score was an unexpected 1-1 tie against a team that had been doing very poorly in the league, but also because the referee was highly unsatisfactory in their opinion. Here are my field notes upon returning home from the game:

> There was not a single good play, no opportunities to score, no damn thing. What a shitty game. And then, we conceded a goal. Everyone was outraged…Two men behind me went totally insane towards the end. One of them turned purple from swearing. The other kept screaming "shoo shoo" as Kasımpaşa approached [as if to chase away dogs]. They were standing on their seats and swearing. I thought their lungs were going to burst. People hated that Kasımpaşa stalled for time with a free kick. Then, when our goal was not accepted, they really went mad…Then Guti missed a penalty kick on the 96th minute and everyone lost it. "You bring us here every fucking week, fuck that pussy" yelled the guy behind me. "You're all sons of bitches" sang the entire stadium. There was booing and silence upon the end of the game. The ref who didn't allow our goal but later called a penalty kick in our favor was derided for being an *eyyamcı*. Everyone was just incredulous as

> to how we tied…And this continued as people left the stadium. I heard someone say "I'll fuck that goal you conceded Rüştü [Rüştü was the BJK goalkeeper]" Then, walking home I heard one guy walking alone and swearing to himself under his breath with his fist squeezed tight.

On the second minute of extra time after the full 90 minutes were over, BJK scored but the ref didn't allow the goal, calling offside. As fans began to call him a son of a bitch for this call, the 94th minute saw the ref awarding Beşiktaş a penalty kick. This is when the entire stadium began chanting the words "*Eyyamcı* Bülent," calling out to the referee by name, Bülent Yıldırım. My notes refer to how angry the fans were when BJK's Guti missed this penalty kick. The crucial point here is that BJK fans who were so upset with the match and their team's performance, did not celebrate a dramatic chance to score in the 96th minute with a penalty kick. They protested this decision of the referee because they thought he made this call only due to the fact that he hadn't allowed BJK's goal four minutes previously. Bülent Yıldırım's decision to award BJK with a penalty kick was interpreted as him making decisions under the influence of previous calls and this was condemned by the protests of "*eyyamcı*" from the stands.

It is not expected to hear fans protesting a referee's decision in their favor but the accusation of *eyyam* allows for this. Two things stand out here. One, fans don't always protest decisions against their team. Two, the one thing that will make the fans protest a decision in favor of their team is if they think the ref is fickle or not objective. When I interviewed the former president of the National Referees Council, he told me that Turkish fans never question *how* they have won as long as they win. He said that "the standard viewer does not see the error committed in his/her favor," and that "they don't have the spirit of fair play." My example shows, on the contrary, that fans are sometimes able to identify errors committed in their favor as errors nevertheless, especially in cases

where this error is committed in compensation for a previous call. Whereas my interviewee defined fair play as being able to concede that the ref was on your side, the fans' protests against manipulability show that their conception of fairness of a referee call has to do with how objective and unattached to previous calls the referee can be. The concept of *eyyam* is a factor that ties fairness of on-the-pitch decisions to the person of the referee in Turkey. The protest of *eyyamcı* is only meaningful if fans believe that the ideal referee should be immune to all influences. And this standard is one that fans may prioritize over the victory of their team. In turn, this creates a football environment in Turkey where the ref may be derided in the stadium not only when he decides against the home team but also for it.

Theoretical Background

This chapter is theoretically guided by an anthropological effort to push the boundaries of what we imagine as personhood and self. These familiar notions which every person identifies with and employs a usage of can in fact be experienced differently in different social contexts and situations. Medical anthropology has advanced with this specific premise, for example, that human suffering and disease cannot be universal across the world. Writing against the 19th century creation of the body as a purely biomedical object of inquiry (Lock and Farquhar 2007), medical anthropology sought to illuminate the ways in which individual suffering is tied to social suffering whereby the embodiment of disease and suffering is necessarily entangled with political struggle (Kleinman, Das and Lock 1997). This premise itself brought medical anthropology to the point of recognizing different ways of existing as persons altogether: healthy, unhealthy,

dead or alive (Lock 1996). Seeing that anthropology could contribute to understanding how societies may differently define life and death gives me the opportunity to use this intellectual legacy towards thinking further about social personhood. What about a social situation is it that contributes to a person's self-definition as a full (or fragmented; see Van Wolputte 2004) human?

To this insight about the anthropological significance of the bodily experience of the self depending on social context, I add Csordas' (1990) conceptualization of embodiment. Csordas brings together Merleau-Ponty's (1962) phenomenology and Bourdieu's (1977, 1990) practice theory to arrive at the conclusion that "…the body is not an *object* to be studied in relation to culture, but it is to be considered as the *subject* of culture, or in other words as the existential ground of culture" (emphasis in original) (5). If we can bring together the two ideas of how bodies are inscribed with the social circumstances within which they experience the world and the theory which pushes for grasping a culturally constructed notion of personhood rather than seeing it as a fully biological verdict, we may begin to theorize the connection between the personhood of referees and the fairness of their decision-making. This helps see fairness (in the referee's decision making) emerge as an embodied notion. It takes the body, the self and societal construction of the referee as a basis to study fairness.

Referees' Personhood: Referees See, Referees do not hear, Referees cannot talk

It is important to evaluate the referee, his profession and his social personhood within this environment of essential and continual degradation. Therefore, first I will discuss the components of the referee's personhood given the football environment in

Turkey. Later, I will talk about the referee's profession: his official duty to conduct the game in accordance with the rule book, the performative (cf. Austin 1962) nature of his profession and how often I have heard referees being charged with the duty to "distribute justice" (*adalet dağıtmak*) on the pitch. I argue that the way in which the referee conceives of his person through his senses, his peculiar position of affecting change on the pitch and expectations from him to be an ideal arbiter give fairness a personified and embodied aspect. Besides the negotiations I have outlined in previous chapters, a contributor to the continual definition of fairness is its embodiment by the particularly shaped personhood and profession of referees.

a) Referees see

I asked Turkish Super League referee Selim Baydar how he would evaluate the performance of a fellow referee after a game. He told me the following:

> One – I look at how he's positioned. Is he watching the game from the right angle? Sometimes you might be positioned right but your angle might be off. The angle is crucial. The camera's angle and the angle of my eye are different from each other. What I see is different. The man passes me by in 1/10th of a second. That's it. It's done. Then you have the focus of the eye. You focus on one spot and the rest becomes blurred. Say you're looking at the feet and he pulls the other guy's shirt – then you can't see. So, it's three things: Where you're looking, the angle and the distance. These are key. But usually it's what you see first. What you think first is the best decision. Penalty! Red card! You call what you see first.

Referees define themselves as a set of eyes and their decisions as ideally based on such visual perception. "Calling what you see" is their mission, the highest goal they might wish to achieve. Not only is this a self-defined duty but it is also the expectation that fans have of referees. Former president of the Turkish National Referees Council told me that even though it sounds too ambitious it is accurate to say that referees' mission is

to “distribute justice.” “But” he adds, “as much as he is able to see.” He continued, “what is important is that he is just upon seeing. He is not responsible for not delivering a call if he was not able to see. What is unforgivable is if he doesn’t call it despite seeing it. That, you cannot accept.” In my talks with referees it became clear that there are two levels of understanding or evaluating a referee’s job. First, the referee is responsible for positioning himself well and making sure that he creates the physically optimal environment to be able to see. Referee Necip Koray tells me that after a game, he watches the rerun to see “if he [has consistently been] at the right spot[s].” “If I am at the right spot and I gave a wrong call, *then* what was the problem?” “Was a player blocking me?” “Or if I *was* able to see, was my brain unable to see right?” I will talk more in detail about the “rightness” of the referee’s call below. Only once the axis of physically being able to see versus not able to is established comes the evaluation of fairness or rightness. The referee is charged with the responsibility of seeing and then calling what they see towards the establishment of absolute truth, meaning absolute justice. Kazım Akman, another referee tells me,

> You try to be just. You do what you think is right. Sometimes it is not the right call. You have to make a decision in a very short period of time. It has to do with the eye. And the brain’s capacity to evaluate that. The eye might evaluate it right but the brain might not follow. Or the eye might see wrongly. Sometimes you give unjust decisions without intending to. You have to see everything that might be problematic. But the ref is sometimes charged with the duty of deciding on what he could not have seen. Well, he just couldn’t see. Everyone says “he saw it but did not call it.” They think you pick sides. But maybe his angle wasn’t right and he couldn’t see. When he can’t see, it appears as if he is being unfair to you but the angle of the ref is different from that of the fans. You have to take the right position and be at the right spot but sometimes you feel like you’ll be in the way of the footballer and then you have to move. You can’t always call as it is. What’s important is that you call what you see.

Discussion of absolute truth and accuracy are abundant in football. “Was that a goal or not, did the ball pass the goal line or not? Was that the hand moving towards the ball or the ball that hit the hand? That was clearly a foul but was it intentional or not? Did it happen inside the box or outside, etc.” These discussions are sometimes followed with debates about whether more technological devices like instant replays may be introduced to the game to increase precision in judgment.

Instant replays of critical moments in a sporting event are typically used to show noteworthy instances – positively when highlighting a piece of skill, say, or negatively when highlighting a player mistake or bad refereeing call – that escape the general live broadcasting of the entire event. The elaboration and increasing use of this technology is markedly correlated with the increase in televised sports and viewing figures. Besides this use in television broadcasting, instant replays are also officially used by some sports leagues to achieve refined decision-making. In the USA, these leagues include the National Hockey League, National Football League, National Basketball League and Major League Baseball. In these leagues, instant replays or video referees may be consulted to decide on disciplinary punishments for players, the timing of a move or a play or the validity of a goal. In tennis (as well as some other sports like cricket), the “hawk-eye” computer system is used to follow the trajectory of the ball and to decide whether the ball has landed in or out. Whenever these systems are included in matches for adjudicatory purposes by leagues, they require the game be stopped momentarily so that the referee(s) may decide based on video footage and then rule towards how the match will proceed.

The use of similar technologies in football to facilitate decision-making by referees is not allowed by FIFA. However, as I mentioned above, debates about this issue are plenty, and they especially heat up when re-runs reveal instances where referees have made erroneous calls. When I spoke with referee Necip Koray, he explained that various different techniques have been tried out in football to ensure better accuracy and precision. He said:

> For a while Brazil had this attitude, they wanted to test everything out, be the pilot country for all these methods. They tried taking time out once per each half of the game, just like in basketball. Then, two years ago they tried it with the referee spray-painting the exact location of where a fouling incident took place, so that the subsequent free-kick could be executed from the right spot. There was the experiment with inserting a chip inside the ball during the Under 17 World Cup. It didn't work out. Back in the day in Italy, they tried to have two main referees on the pitch, one for each half of the field. But you see, football has a system and if you mess with it too much, it just won't work…

The technology debate I've come across most in Turkey is whether FIFA should allow the introduction of instant replays where a team has a right to challenge the call of the referee for a set number of times during the game, after which the referees have the opportunity to watch the play in question to deliver a more accurate judgment. As mentioned above (see footnote 87) the solution UEFA has offered instead of replay technologies is to add more referees to increase the total number of referees for a football match from four to six. While not common across leagues around the world and not implemented currently in the Turkish Super League, this practice took effect during the EURO 2012. The new the fifth and sixth officials are placed on either goal line to facilitate a better assessment of the validity of goals. Necip Koray explained this as such:

> This is being tried out right now. I think that it'll enter the rulebook after being tested out in EURO 2012 and it'll be implemented all over. The original idea was to be able to understand if the ball passed the goal line, to decide better. But these linesmen will be helpful in assessing situations and plays that take place in the

> penalty box as well…Platini said, "instead of replays, I'll add more referees. I'll add more people." Because football is such a game…that if you stop it [and drag it out], it will lose its charm, its excitement. It's a flowing game.

As Necip Koray says, UEFA president Michel Platini[94] has time and again declared that he prefers adding in more referees than introducing machines to enhance better seeing and judgment. Whatever the method, be that the introduction of replay technologies or having additional assistant referees by the goal line, all efforts are geared towards increasing the capacity to see and thus arrive at less adulterated truth. The debates are about whether we need to assist referees so that they can make more accurate decisions that better represent the objective truth. The goal is to arrive at this objective truth as quickly and fully as possible. And the assumption is that more ways to see, be it through videos or the eyes of more people, will enable achieving this goal. When I asked Tolga Engin what his thoughts were on having six refs on the pitch, he said, "I've worked at games like that, it's really helpful. Imagine, you're conducting the game with six sets of eyes instead of four. It improves the positioning and running capacity for the referees. You have three angles through which you can see a lot more clearly what's going on in the penalty box, and if there is good coordination in that team of six then you can make the most accurate decision…"

Discourse about refereeing depends so much on the precision of sight that referees conceptualize their role in football as being the set of eyes in this game. In turn, their eyesight becomes the single most important vehicle of their jobs: to implement the rulebook, to maintain discipline and fair play and to "distribute justice." This is how

[94] Platini is a former player, having been a superstar for France, leading the team to the 1984 European Championship and third place in the 1986 World Cup. Since his playing career ended he has coached France, organized the 1998 World Cup in France and been president of the French Football Federation. He has also chaired FIFA's Technical and Development committee.

referees evaluate their own and fellow referees' performances. The first step in the assessment is whether he was able to see. Only then comes the question of whether he was fair or not. And the verdict for this second question is "fair" as long as the referee honestly called what he was able to see. Thus the person and body of the referee are linked, through sight, to the deliberation of fairness.

b) Referees do not hear

Besides this near obsession with their skill and necessity to see, referees also always talk about their ability to block sound. They claim that they simply don't hear the kinds of offensive chants that rise from the stadium stands which I described in chapter 3 and at the beginning of this chapter. I have found that the denial about hearing these chants has to do with two things: 1) By claiming that he doesn't hear the cursing from the stadium, the referee is able to assert that he (and his decision making) remains unaffected by the swearing no matter how offensive it might be to him or his family, 2) The claim of not hearing these chants simultaneously achieves the referee's self-positing as supra-human or as the *institution* of refereeing rather than as the *person* of a referee. This distinction will be important for subsequent discussions.

When I asked referee Selim Baydar what he thinks or feels when thousands of people swear at him in the stadium, he told me "You don't hear, you don't get affected. You get used to it, it's a part of the job. We are all professionals there." As I have witnessed multiple times and as Meri Kytö (2010) explains in her article about the "acoustic community" of the Beşiktaş fan group, Turkish fans (of various teams) are especially proud of how loud they can cheer in the stadium. In October 2007, Beşiktaş

played English team Liverpool at home and beat them by 2-1 in the UEFA Champions League. That day, Beşiktaş fans reached 132 decibels with their cheering which marked them as having broken the world record, albeit unofficially, for being the loudest fans ever. The obsession with being loud and measuring decibels grew as videos of this game were circulated online and as Liverpool players testified to the intensity of the atmosphere. Beşiktaş fans designed banners for the following games that read "The sound level you hear is accurate, do not adjust the settings of your TV" and the number 132 came to symbolize the passion with which Beşiktaş fans could cheer for their team.

In March 2011, I went to the Galatasaray (GS) versus Fenerbahçe (FB) derby which draws the highest number of spectators to the stadium and attracts the largest community of football followers to watch the match on TV in Turkey. This is the most fierce football rivalry in the country. For that match which took place in the home stadium of Galatasaray, GS had brought in official representatives from the notary to register the volume of GS fans' cheering. Far from being a spontaneous display of loud fandom, this time fans were specifically instructed at three different instances during the game to chant and cheer at the top of their lungs so that the notary could record their volume. While the first two attempts did not measure up to the current world record, the third one did and GS fans acquired the official status of loudest fans at 131.76 decibels. Following this event, Beşiktaş fans consoled each other that they had in fact reached the higher volume, even though theirs was not officially registered and recorded. Fans' decibel battles continue in Istanbul and fan mates regularly bring up these incidents to prove their own fandom more passionate, more fierce and more heartfelt (photo 15).

Photo 15: Scoreboard at Galatasaray TT Arena Stadium reads "At 20:50 and 21:30 hours, we will attempt to break the Guinness World Record for loudest cheering in a stadium. Everyone whistle together!" March 18, 2011.

In the midst of this obsession with sound, volume and loudness in Turkish stadiums, I found that referees quite easily claim they can block the sounds from the stands. Wishing to understand better just how it was possible that referees, especially linesmen who stand so close to the stands by the touch lines, "do not hear" the fans, I asked Kazım Akman to enlighten me. He said, "as long as there is no physical contact, you don't hear the swearing, the screaming. We don't try especially hard not to hear. We are just not affected." Tolga Engin similarly avowed, "We are able to block that sound out when we achieve the right level of concentration…"

The claim to not hear the chanting is an embodied physical claim that immediately becomes a professional claim. The referees whom I have spoken with have consistently told me that they concentrate so well that they "do not hear" the chanting, meaning that their physical body does not process the sounds. This adds to the definition of their personhood by supplementing the image of the referee as a set of eyes by a removal of his ears. On top of this physical claim comes the professional statement that referees who are accustomed to the environment of football in Turkey learn not to be

affected by swearing in the stadium during their decision-making. Admitting to hearing the stadium would be a confession of being amenable to influence (from the stands) in cases where the aim of the stadium is to put the referee under pressure so that he may decide for the home team. Therefore the denial of hearing the sounds of the stadium is simultaneously a physical claim *and* a professional claim which guarantees that the referee is doing his job well, as objectively and as unaffected by fans as possible.

This quality of being immune to the sounds of the stadium is complemented with the conviction that the addressee of fans' offensiveness is not in reality the referee himself. Once at the BJK TV station, I was speaking to a reporter who later helped me set up interviews with BJK's trainer for the youth squads. When I explained my research to this reporter and somehow we began to talk about referees, he said something which I found quite striking, "referees," he said "have a totally different headspace, they are like machines." The more I thought about it, the more I was convinced that this supra-human affiliation and the machine analogy were accurate in describing how referees conceived of their personhood given their profession in the football environment in Turkey. As we were talking about fans trying to put pressure on referees and the swearing in the stadium, Necip Koray told me the following:

> [During the game] you don't even understand what they're saying – when you're concentrated on the game like that… you don't even hear them… Plus, they're not really swearing at you there. They show their reaction the way they've memorized to do so. You know that. That's how it is in football.

Koray dissociated from his person to tell me that the swearing was directed at "the referee" (or the institution of refereeing) rather than himself as a person. In a sense, he transcended his person as he claimed he was not the addressee of these words. Koray's father has also been a prominent referee in Turkey during the 1990s, and Koray told me

about times when he would be in the stadium stands as people around him swore at his father refereeing on the pitch. When I asked him about these instances, his response was similar, "they are not really swearing at you [the person of the referee] there. You know this." Having learnt to dissociate his father's person from the institution of refereeing or from his professional job, Koray has also been able to practice this same detachment in his own person, successfully shielding himself from the sounds of the stadium. His self is thus shaped by a very particular relationship to his profession, a part of which is a specific configuration of his senses, both visual and aural. His profession almost endows him with the ability to conceive of himself as beyond-human with very particular ways of interpreting his human sensual qualities. And this particular constellation of senses that are mapped onto referees give us clues to understand how we think of his decision-making, rationality, manipulability, emotionality and ultimately his fairness.

c) Referees cannot talk

Thirdly, besides striving to be perfect seers but not hearing, referees cannot talk. UEFA (2003) bans referees from "giv[ing] interviews or mak[ing] public statements about any of the decisions they take during UEFA matches." Federations around the world, including Turkey comply with this approach in regard to national games. In fact Necip Koray told me that only in the Netherlands do the referees have a right to give post-game interviews. What marks referees significantly is that even though the entire football community talks about every aspect of their decision making for the entire week until the next weekend of matches, they themselves are silenced completely and banned from delivering any comments or explanations.

Two main media of Turkish football are TV programming and newspapers. Major football teams in Turkey, including the big-three in Istanbul belong to clubs with their own TV channels. There are subscription platforms which have their own multiple TV channels that only air shows about football. There are also Turkish news channels with their specialized sports sub-channels. Besides these, a number of other Turkish channels air programs on football throughout the weekend, but mostly on Mondays. These programs recap the games of the week and include discussions of refereeing calls. A typical program on football that focuses on the games of the week has a host and two or three other commentators who may include journalists, former players, former coaches or former referees. These shows freeze-frame, rewind and replay all the critical plays of any given game so that a number of commentators may discuss whether the referee's decision regarding that play was correct or not. It is common to see multiple rewinds and replays of a single instance from different angles so that commentators may reach a more accurate deliberation. The events under question may be anything from a goal that was disallowed by the referee to a simple foul or offside call. In fact, one reason why referees are personally known and recognized in Turkey is because they are regularly talked about in these shows.

Together with news stories discussing the games of the week, including the decisions of the referee, Turkish football media are abundant with critiques of referees and complaints about them. While footballers, coaches or administrators who are critiqued by the media have access to the same outlet of the media to counteract accusations and critiques, referees have no way of redeeming themselves in the face of these assessments, at least not until they retire and assume the seat of commentator

themselves. Once at a Galatsaray game, I saw then GS striker, Arda Turan, turn around to the press section of the stadium to gesture "write this down, would you" after he had scored a goal. This gesture of his came after he had been harshly critiqued by the press for not playing well enough for weeks. In a sense, he silenced them by scoring his goal and then telling them to write about it. Turkish fans have a cheer for when they want to protest against the media, they sing: "*ibne basın bunu da yazın*," a rhyme that translates to "faggot press, why don't you write about this too?" When I saw Arda gesturing his remark, I immediately thought about how *as a player* he had the voice to phrase his comeback, telling the media to "write about this too." Referees, on the other hand, do not have this option. Weeks and seasons go by with Turkish football media delivering harsh critiques of their decisions and they are banned from defending these calls. My friend Cem (with whom I went to the Bursaspor match described in Chapter 4) put it very clearly for me when he said, "the referee is lonely throughout his career. Everyone is talking about him. Then what does he do? He retires and goes on TV. He turns against himself. He becomes one of the people who is talking about referees. Because he cannot talk as himself." The referee that is a special set of eyes is thus otherwise a deaf mute.

I haven't found that referees complain about this. Just as having identified the visual and the aural as components of their personhood, their oral attribute or rather the lack of it is an aspect of their personhood given the specificity of their jobs. They tended to think that releasing statements after games to defend their decisions would incite even more debates and drama over their calls and they were at peace in the presence of this ban. Başar Güven told me, "what are you going to release a statement about? The decision has already been made. It's useless. Plus if you did, someone is bound to pick it

apart and misunderstand. It would drag things out too much. I mean there are times when some referees go on TV for interviews, but that is different. They don't do it to analyze games. I'm talking to you here, today. But I'm not talking about games." As he said, this issue became relevant as I tried to arrange interviews. All the referees I talked to wanted me to confirm that I would be using pseudonyms, telling me that they could only give this interview because I was working on an academic project and reminding me that they were banned from speaking otherwise.

Referees' Profession: Performative calls and right decisions

J.L. Austin (1962) has put forth the idea that language has a function alternative to referencing or describing objects in the world, namely that it can also affect change in the world. Using this theory, in this chapter I describe the referee's calls as performative. When the referee makes a call to validate or invalidate a goal, when he instantiates a penalty kick, a free kick, a corner kick, a throw in, a disciplinary punishment, extra time, or any other footballing instance, he is furthering the game. The referees calls make the game move forward, they make it happen. Footballers advance the game by playing football, obviously. But their actions do not get officiated or recognized unless the referee tolerates, affirms or rejects them. In practice, a footballer could score a perfectly legitimate goal but it would not affect the scoreboard unless the referee allowed it.

I have found that this performative quality of the referee's calls has an effect on the way in which he interprets his decision-making and his decisions. Recall how Başar Güven told me that it would be "useless" to release statements after a game since the "decision is already made." These words are critical. They point to how the quality of

being immediate and finished also attributes the quality of rightness to the referee's decisions. The decision is correct in virtue of having been fully and completely decided. The ideal for a referee is to call it as he sees it and to move on. Referees do talk about "being human" and thus prone to error but this kind of evaluation happens retrospectively, once the game is over and they are able to watch the reruns. Moreover, if the retrospective evaluation of the game results in the referee identifying an erroneous call, this does not produce a regret about the past, it only produces caution for the future. Moving on and being at peace with a decision you have made is critical in refereeing, otherwise the referee faces the danger of *eyyam*. If he allows himself question his decisions while the game is still ongoing, he might let this doubt affect the rest of his calls. The profession of refereeing categorically abolishes doubt since all decisions are right by virtue of having been decided. Regret is irrelevant. For the duration of the game, decisions are immediate, momentary and complete. Their having been made is the guarantee of their rightness. Their having been made composes the game and they can only be questioned once the game is over.

One of my first interviews during fieldwork was with a former administrator of the Turkish Football Federation, the sailor I quoted in chapter 2, who explicitly told me that sport was essentially virtuous and that for anyone who understood this core quality of sports, the rules of fair play would be redundant. I wanted to present him a hypothetical situation where a footballer faked an injury and convinced the referee. It often happens in world football that a player will pretend to have fallen down, especially in the penalty box (diving) when challenged by a rival so that his team can be awarded a penalty kick. If the referee doesn't believe that the fall was genuine – if he thinks it was a "dive" – he

will penalize (book) the fake dive. If the referee believes that the faller was in fact fouled, then he awards the faller's team a free or a penalty kick. As one might imagine, there are multiple instances in any given season where a footballer dives and the referee believes him. I wanted to raise this issue with my interviewee to watch how he would arrive at the concept of fairness and how he would defend his position. I began: "Say, the ref made a wrong call…" He interrupted me and said, "what does that mean? If he made a call, then that's the call to be made, it is the right call." I didn't quite understand him and I stubbornly continued, "No, I mean, say that the striker was diving…" He said, "who is to say, if the referee has not called it?" Meaning in football is made through the calls of the referee. The striker was not diving unless the referee called it. The performative nature of the referee's calls makes it so that his call and his call alone can deem something a foul or a fake. Furthermore, his calling something is final. His calling something makes the thing and therefore it is final and right. Referee Necip Koray told me outright and clearly, "All decisions taken are correct. They are absolutely correct. That's what I saw and so that's what I called."

Once again, this does not mean that referees do not retrospectively evaluate their performances. They do and in these evaluations they do pinpoint erroneous calls. However, this kind of retrospective self-critique does not challenge the momentary rightness and legitimacy of a decision given on the pitch. Here is how Tolga Engin talks about mistakes and erroneous calls:

> Sometimes you make mistakes but they must be confined [within a particular decision]. For example, in the last game [where he was a linesman]…Remember the incident with Burak? [95] I was right in saying he pulled the guy. And there was another component of my decision that was right. But in fact it had all happened

[95] Tolga Engin is referring to fotballer Burak Yılmaz who played for Trabzonspor during the 2010-2011 season.

> outside of the penalty box. From what I saw, it was inside. And that's what I told Necip [Necip Koray, the main referee for that match]. There, I was wrong in one part of a decision. You referee 30 games per season. In one of them, you make a mistake about one part of one call. That is normal. Am I going to sit here and sob because I made a mistake in the last game of the season? No. I am still at peace in finishing this season. I think it was a successful season. They always ask you, "how do you feel when you make a mistake?" First of all, it's very hard for me to tell that it was a mistake. That's what I saw and that's what I called. I don't have the opportunity to watch it over again. I have to make that decision in one millisecond. And it's not like I was making it up. I gave that decision because I thought it was the right decision. Life goes on. But sometimes some outside factors signal that you were wrong. The footballer approaches you during halftime. The fans start singing "it was actually a penalty." You get the message. But a person with the right character does not make another mistake to compensate for that initial one. The Champions League Statistics from 2 or 3 years ago says that referees make 270 calls in any given game. Some very simple but still, that means 3 decisions per minute…You make so many decisions… In one game, I can make 1 significant, 5 insignificant and 10 very insignificant mistakes. That makes 16 mistakes out of 270 which is still pretty good…A good referee…ok, he doesn't make many mistakes. But what is more important is that he does not compensate one error with another. He doesn't let a mistake walk all over him. He does not let go of the game.

From Engin's honest reflection about decision-making and potential errors, it is possible to better understand the logic of "all decisions taken are correct." The referee simply cannot afford to label a decision as wrong during the game because it will cause his concentration to falter, affect his subsequent performance negatively and basically destroy the rest of the game for him. All of these only make sense when we consider the ideal to which referees are held; they must be immune to influence, they must be rational and objective decision-makers. At the beginning of this chapter, I argued that referees' jobs contribute to defining their social personhood and I described this through referees' relations to their senses. Here, I add that the profession of refereeing shapes the personhood of the referee off the pitch as well. After these comments, Engin told me the following: "Fast decision-making is helpful in business life as well. To make decisions quickly and to stand behind them. I made a decision. It might be the wrong decision. But

for that moment, it was the right decision. No problem, no worries at all." This kind of cementing one's decision as categorically right highlights the referee's role as a constituter of effects in the football game and clearly affects how these men live their lives outside of football too.

The reason why I began this chapter by describing the refereeing environment in Turkey is because I believe the intense pressure from stadiums and the media contribute to referees' imaginations of themselves and their profession. In fact, I think that a substantial part of the performance of being a fan requires that you engage with the game, and a part of this engagement is to protest the decisions of the referee. Therefore, Turkish fandom actually emerges partly through this conflict with the referee; as Necip Koray said "[Fans] show their reaction the way they've memorized to do so. You know that. That's how it is in football." Having said this, I also think that there is something universal about how the performativity of the referee's decisions contribute to the rightness of those decisions. This conviction of mine was confirmed when I came across the following anonymous quote in a football blog I follow:[96]

> The first umpire said, "There's balls and there's strikes, and I calls 'em like they is."
> The second umpire said, "Well, I think it's a bit more complicated than that. There's balls and there's strikes, and I calls 'em as I sees 'em."
> The third umpire smiled. "Well, there's balls. And there's strikes. But they ain't nothing until I calls 'em."

The third of these lines where the umpire states that nothing *is,* until he calls it is actually a quote attributed to legendary Major League baseball umpire Baseball in the early 20th century, Bill Klem. Apparently, once during a game, Klem took a particularly long time

[96] *There are No Fours: "Aesthetics And/Or Justice"* May 5, 2010, URL: http://therearenofours.blogspot.com/2010/05/aesthetics-andor-justice.html

to call a pitch. When a player impatiently asked him, “well, is it a ball or a strike?” Klem replied, “Sonny, it ain’t nothing ‘til I call it.” [97]

Rationality, Rulebook and/versus “Distributing Justice:”

In this section, I elaborate on the profession of refereeing, focusing mainly on two aspects: The ideal of rationality they are held to and the unofficial description of their job as “distributing justice” (*adalet dağıtmak*). I have found that the football community in Turkey (and referees themselves) imposes an ideal of rationality on the referees’ carrying out their jobs which is opposed to emotionality (quite in line with dominant discourses on emotion as I described in chapter 4). The best way to implement this kind of rationality is for the referee to follow the rulebook in decision-making as prescribed by FIFA. Secondly, I have heard both referees and other football actors liken the job of the referee to that of the judge, where the referee is charged with “distributing justice.” And a an anthropologically intriguing deliberation unfolds when these two duties are at odds with each other and “distributing justice” does not seem to coincide with the rulebook.

The referees I have spoken with all imagine themselves as visual and non-aural beings. This imagination facilitates the assertion that the referee’s decisions are rational – rational as opposed to emotional. The “machine” I have referred to above is a machine that follows the rulebook, in the most straightforward and rational way possible. By listening to referees talk about their profession and personhood, I was able to understand how they conceive of rational decision-making as opposed to emotionality in refereeing. This leads me to argue that for referees, it is rational decision-making which leads to fairness in conducting a game.

[97] Find quote here: http://www.biographybase.com/biography/Fish_Stanley.html

In chapter 1, I discussed how various football actors may have different interpretations of rules and which sets of rules they adhere to in the service of fairness on and off the pitch. While the rulebook or the "laws of the game" may be taken as one set of rules to ensure fairness in play, other football actors like players, fans or coaches may present what they call are the conventions or the "unwritten rules" of football to defend their understanding of what is fair. As I introduced in this chapter, FIFA defines referees' jobs as enforcing the laws of the game and maintaining discipline and fair play. Speaking with referees, I am convinced that these arbiters of the game conflate the two clauses of their job description so that the maintenance of discipline and fair play depends on (is equated to) the enforcement of the laws (rules) of the game (of football). Right at the beginning of my interview with referee Selim Baydar, he explained to me the position and the role of the referee this way:

> The referee is one part of the game of football. He is a side element. The main elements are the teams. On the pitch, there are mainly the two teams. They are in conflict with each other. The referee conducts this conflict within the framework of the rules. The referee must decide in accordance with the [rule]book. According to the book.

I have heard similar descriptions of their job from other referees and I will present these below. Before that, however, I wish to introduce another way in which the referee's job may be described: the mission to distribute justice.

In Turkish, the word referee (*hakem*) and the word judge (*hakim*) derive from the same root of "*hüküm*," meaning "rule" or "judgment." The similarity of the terms facilitates the judge/referee comparison in Turkey. When I spoke with fans, I heard time and again that their expectation from the referee was for him to be a good distributer of justice. Once in passing, a fan and Beşiktaş blogger Mete told me that it was justified for

players to act out on the pitch if they witnessed that justice was not being distributed fairly by the referee. The term "distributing justice" is established as a common phrase to describe the referee's job and to understand their position in football. Given this phrase, I asked all my referee interviewees how they conceptualized their jobs: as following the rulebook or as distributing justice? What I found was that for all of them following the rulebook came first and they only described their job as distributing justice when they interpreted that mission itself as derived from following the rulebook. At other times, when distributing justice potentially had connotations that diverged from following the rulebook, the referees trusted the rulebook to maintain discipline and fair play and did not consider it their job to otherwise defend justice. Using personal initiative in cases where the rulebook did not seem to point to what would be considered distributing justice was then labeled emotionality, thereby opposed to rationality in decision-making and thus regarded as unfavorable. Consider my conversation with Necip Koray:

> YN: Do you see your job as distributing justice?
> NK: Yes. Football is a game of errors. There are no goals without errors… The referee is there to implement the rules. He cannot decide emotionally. There are rules. They are set and simple. The referee implements them. And so, he is the person in charge of maintaining justice there.

This is an example of a case where the referee believes that distributing justice and implementing the rules are one and the same thing. He achieves justice through applying the rulebook and therefore has no problem defining his job as distributing justice. To understand better what he means by emotionality, I asked him about a deliberate booking incident. A deliberate booking is when a footballer deliberately violates football's rules because they *want* to get booked in a particular game. A player might willingly seek to get booked when this booking would be the last of a series of bookings culminating in the

penalty of missing the next game. Players sometimes calculate the timing of their bookings during a season so that when they receive the penalty of missing the next game, this corresponds with a relatively unimportant game. While the UEFA has a punishment in its Disciplinary Code for deliberate bookings, TFF only introduced this in the 2011-2012 season. When I was in the field, these instances of players' manipulating their bookings were not punishable by the TFF. When one such incident happened, I raised it with Necip Koray:

> NK: There are regulations. There is nothing there against the rules. This happens in Europe too.
> YN: But do you think that it is against fair play for him to get booked on purpose there?
> *NK pauses and is silent.*
> NK: This has to do with the regulations. It doesn't have anything to do with refereeing. That is why I was silent. There is nothing there that the ref can do. He must book the player. He must punish him. There is no emotionality in refereeing. Imagine that a footballer scores and to celebrate he takes off his jersey to reveal a "No to War" undershirt. If I book him there, does that mean I am pro-war? [No]. No emotionality. The regulations say, "you book that who seeks a card." Or imagine. He scores and goes to the stands to kiss his mom. Am I going to think, "oh what a lovely old lady?" and not book him? No. The UEFA's rules are simple. There are seminars. And the referee implements those rules. Everything is clear. And the referee is the person who implements those rules. There is nothing else he can do. "Oh but he's a nice guy, he's young, it's his first foul." No, I can't think like this.

In this passage Koray gives hypothetical examples where a mission to "distribute justice" might lead to decisions that differ from the rulebook. One might think that it is a better distribution of justice to not book a footballer who protests against war or one who celebrates his goal by kissing his mother. Necip Koray evaluates these considerations as "emotionality," for which he allocates no place in his refereeing or decision-making. Where emotionality or personal incentive might lead to an evaluation of fairness that is different from the rulebook, I found that referees privilege the rules and the rulebook in

their deliberation of what is fair. In the last chapter I talked about how football offers fans who adhere to certain notions of masculinity a space where they can afford to show emotion. Contrarily for "professional" referees, football deprives these men from being able to act in line with emotion since emotion signifies a lack of self-control and reason.

I raised the issue of deliberate bookings with all the referees I talked to. The dilemma of the referee here is whether or not to book the player who has cheated the system to calculate and arrange the time of his "misses the next game penalty" or not. On the one hand, since the player has done something to deserve a booking, the referee must book him. On the other hand, since the referee knows that the player has only committed this action because he has been scheming about when he misses the next game, the referee might choose to not book the player for whom the booking is in fact effectively an award. When I asked Tolga Engin about his attitude towards this situation, he spoke in line with Necip Koray:

> TE: Sometimes the player gets booked on purpose…The rule of the game says to book him. The ethical evaluation comes after. The public may decide that. As a referee, he does that, he gets booked. Simple.
> YN: So as a referee, you can't refuse to book him and tell him that he will miss the game he wishes not to.
> TE: No. I'm not distributing justice. I don't have that kind of a power to judge or that capacity. The rule says, you book. There is not a parenthesis there that says, "oh but look if the player has ulterior motives, then you may not book."

With these words, Tolga Engin dissociates from the mission to "distribute justice" since that mission seems to point to a decision that differs from what the rulebook says. Even if the referee knows that the player is cheating the system and abusing a loophole, his may not react to this by stepping outside of the system. His decision-making remains within the framework of the rules even if he knows that what might ideally distribute justice is a different call. What is worth noting about Tolga Engin is that he has a tattoo of the fair

play symbol on his shoulder. This man has literally inscribed his body with the ideal of fair play and its representation of rule-bound fairness in football.

Selim Baydar told me, “when they explicitly do something to seek a card, you have to book them. Otherwise, you are not a just referee.” I asked him whether he felt fooled in instances like this. He responded, “he is only fooling himself. Everyone knows everything, we have to book that person. We can’t bend the rules as we like.” My strong impression from my conversations with these referees was this: The professional duty of the referee is to follow the rules. This leads them to comply with the standard of rational and objective decision making. This, in turn, leads to the maintenance of discipline and fair play on the pitch for which they are officially held responsible by FIFA. There will be instances where this leads to the fair distribution of justice. And that is nice. But there are also instances where it will not which they cannot professionally afford to worry about. As Tolga Engin says “ethical evaluation come after” – after the official professional role of maintaining fair play according to the rulebook has been satisfied.

I have found that referees in different footballing contexts have different conventions they adhere to in relation to how they follow the rulebook. I was able to discern this through an incident that took place as I was writing this chapter. In March 2013, Manchester United (of England) and Real Madrid (of Spain) met for a UEFA Champions League match, the result of which would decide which team would proceed to the next round of the tournament. The referee was Turkey’s Cüneyt Çakır, one of the most experienced and high-profile referees in the country. The teams were tied 1-1 until the 56th minute when Cüneyt Çakır sent off Manchester United’s Nani (Luís Carlos Almeida da Cunha) with a red card after his aerial charge against Real Madrid’s Álvaro

Arbeloa. Real Madrid then scored two goals in a row, winning the match 2-3 and eliminating their English rival in the Champions League. What received most attention and occupied news agendas in all three countries subsequently was whether Çakır's decision was fair or not in sending off Manchester United's Nani because of the foul he committed.

The highly controversial decision was despised by the English football community in general. BBC Sport (McNulty, 2013) reported the following about James Ferguson, Manchester United manager: "Ferguson's body language after Nani's dismissal screamed anger and injustice and he had good reason to feel United could well have been taking their place in the latter stages until the referee's intervention." *Daily Mail* (Ashton, 2013) similarly published online:

> Sir Alex Ferguson was too choked to speak after Nani was unjustly sent off for a high kick on Alvaro Arbeloa as Manchester United were knocked out of the Champions League by Real Madrid. Ferguson's assistant Mike Phelan admitted that Ferguson was 'in no fit state' to talk after Jose Mourinho's side beat them 2-1 at Old Trafford to secure a place in the quarter-finals. The players were banned from speaking publicly, even though a number of them confronted Turkish referee Cuneyt Cakir at the final whistle.

One Manchester United fan even called the police to demand justice be restored in the face of a crime that Cüneyt Çakır had committed against Nani and his team. Obviously it is difficult to assert that every single person in England was against Çakır's decision. However, it is accurate to say that this red card caused intense controversy and multiple football actors disagreed with it.

Meanwhile, Turkish public opinion seemed to side with Cüneyt Çakır. The reason put forth was that the studs under Nani's shoes had injured Arbeola during this foul and the rulebook clearly stated that this action deserved a red card. Various sports journalists

and other referees released statements supporting Çakır and his decision. The Turkish football community's stance can easily be attributed to the fact that people regarded Çakır as a representative of Turkey and Turkish football in this very important international match between two of the best teams in the world. Everyone wanted Çakır to do well. What is crucial for this chapter however is that those who supported Çakır were able to justify their position based on "what the rulebook says." Çakır seemed to have done nothing wrong given the fact that the rules don't specify anything about the player's intention in such a challenge; they only say that a person whose studs injure another player during a physical challenge needs to be booked. The final verdict about Nani's card came from UEFA in the form of agreement with Çakır. UEFA declared that they had no problems with Çakır, or the send-off since it was in line with the formal rules of the game.

Colwell (2000) offers one of the very few discussions about football referees in the social sciences. There, she talks about referees' decision-making as based either on the "letter" or on the "spirit of the [football] law", that is the rulebook (201). This distinction mirrors the distinction between rules and conventions I discussed in Chapter 1. She explains that most times referees in England can be accused of sticking to the rulebook too rigidly and losing "their common sense" in regard to how the game should actually be played. At these times, the public opinion will remind the referees that a part of their job is to make sure that the game flows with as few interruptions as possible. She adds that, since the "spirit of the law" is not fixed in writing as the "letter of the law" it also causes controversies when referees allow the game to proceed despite a foul because

not everyone agrees on whether the spirit of the law would have dictated an interruption or a continuous flow at that particular instance.

While this tension between the spirit of the law and the letter of the law exists within the English football community, it is also possible to establish a more-or-less agreed upon footballing convention in that context. In fact, I believe that Çakır's decision was met with much negative reaction in England because it was too strict of an interpretation of the rules as compared to what the English are used to. Referees interrupt football matches much less frequently in England than they do in Turkey. It seems like the referees in England engage in a constant effort to make sure that they don't call fouls or bookings unless these are absolutely necessary. I have been able to observe this simply by following the English Premier League on TV. In contrast, as I showed above, Turkish referees are very much bound to the rulebook, they see their job description as following the rules, *mot-à-mot*. And this results in more frequent interruptions in the game than are found in England. I argue that this attachment to the rulebook also contributes to referees' self identification as being mere reflections of the institution of refereeing rather than being individual personalities on the pitch. They increasingly dissociate from their individuality by construing themselves as supra-humans who follow the rulebook. Nevertheless, fans constantly remind them of their individuality by designing and executing personalized chants against referees. The tension between the rulebook and distributing justice is a version of the tension between the referee as institutional machinery versus the referee as human. And observing this tension through how referees construct their personhood and profession in Turkey gives us yet another opportunity to see more formalized, institutionalized and codified notions of fair play come into

conversation with alternative formations of fairness as referees make decisions on the pitch.

Conclusion

While referees' depictions of their *ratio* as a completely objective tool of decision-making is quite Cartesian, their references to their bodies and senses beg to differ. Referees forge a link between the rationality of their decision and their visual and aural qualities. They can see thus they are rational. They don't hear thus they are rational. [98] The way in which referees form and forge their profession through a specific relationship with their senses and personhood is proof of how literally embodied fairness is. I have argued that this embodiment is linked to the way in which social refereeing conditions in Turkey push for specific sensual self configurations for the referees.

Secondly, the performative nature of the referee's calls makes it so that he constitutes the game through his decision-making. Procession in football is dependent on the referee's calls. This makes referee the immediate personification of "maintaining discipline and fair play and implementing the rules." His job description is mapped onto his body, his calls. Fairness in his decision making thus emerges in the form of the referee through his bodily making of the game.

Referees refer to their body and senses not as a site of flaw or bias. They manipulate and fragment their bodily image to achieve a notion of superhuman and machine-like rationality and objectivity. Yes, the fairness of their decision making is

[98] While it seems conflicting to posit rationality as derived from the sense, Descartes himself tackled this question and found a reconciliation. He considered vision itself as a construct of the rational mind which grounded true vision in reason to reach truth through inner illumination. Thus his ocular-centrism remained in accordance with his mind-body dualism.

embodied but their particular bodies and body-images are shaped very much by the social pressures of the site of football in Turkey. The social pressure on refereeing pushes them to conjure their personhood through specific configurations of the senses and it is on these configurations that rest the objectivity of their decisions and emerge the fairness of their decisions. They are in a constant navigation and imagination of the specificity of their embodiment of their decision making. This navigation is heightened in Turkey because referees are recognized and derided personally by fans. Their efforts to establish their rational and fair decision making must battle these personalized interpretations of their selves to be able to re-imagine themselves over and over again as institutional representations of refereeing, with bodies so long as those bodies see, not hear and not talk (and in the case of Tolga Engin, carved with the representation of fair play).

A concrete question of fairness in football arises with the referee's decision making. As the person officially in charge of ensuring the rules are followed, maintaining fair play and conducting the game in an unbiased fashion, his decision making processes allow us to think about fairness. He is the one who decides what is officially fair or just. In the final verdict about whether he has made the right call, whether he has been fair to both sides or not are included certain ideals about the job and institution of refereeing. Referees must be immune to influence from the stands. They must be rational. They must not be emotional. They must follow the rulebook even in cases where "distributing justice" may lead them to take other decisions. This is what will guarantee their self sustenance as institutional representation of refereeing rather than being (sensually) vulnerable personal targets for fans. These ideals are prescribed by themselves and the footballing community. And referees have devised ways in which they interpret their

personhood and their bodies to be able to satisfy these ideals. It is only through a specific fashioning of their senses that their jobs can be performed well. Thus the fairness of their decision making gets tied to these particular ways of imagining their bodies and what those imaginations mean in terms of rationality and objectivity.

As I explained above, conventions of refereeing differ by footballing context; in Turkey referees define their jobs very much by the rulebook. The rulebook represents the institutional side of fairness; it prescribes what is fair by the book. But whenever the referee's decisions are contested, he is met with personal insult and offense in Turkey; he is accused of personally being at fault for injustice and unfairness. The tension he experiences between rationality and emotionality or following the rulebook and distributing justice is a reiteration of the tension between institutionalized and formal definitions of fair play versus more informal emergences of this concept, the theme I have been underlining throughout this dissertation. And we encounter the referee as an embodied site on which this tension plays out.

The purpose of this chapter has thus been to illuminate the personhood and the profession of the referee as implicated in shaping the practice of fairness on the pitch. These men, in charge of officiating fair play contribute to the continual definition and negotiation of fairness in football. Besides the ways in which I described fairness being made in the previous chapters, in its social emergence, fairness also depends on bodies, on real people and the discourses that form their decision-making, their profession and personhood.

CONCLUSION

Writing about ethics in football, one of the questions I grappled with most was how ethical negotiations in football would enlighten us theoretically in regards to the continual formation of fairness notions in other societal arenas. Sport is amenable for the interrogation of ethics for various reasons. It demarcates clear victories and defeats which make available the confrontation with fairness repeatedly. Also, various discourses such as Olympism, fetishize sport as a source and cultivator of moral virtue per se. Finally, discourses of fair play are well engrained in sport providing us with material to investigate how sporting officials conceive of fairness and how alternative on-the-ground notions interact or conflict with those. However, this does not mean that other societal frameworks are irrelevant for the study of ethics. In fact, as I explained in the Introduction, the anthropological approach to ethics pushes an understanding of ethical evaluation, judgment and negotiation as engrained in the human condition and accessible through all scales of social action.

One of the most pressing social and political issues in Turkey today has to do with Kurdish rights. For decades, the Kurdish identity was unrecognized by the Turkish state, conceptually (and at times literally) obliterating almost a third of the country's population, self-identification and rights. This pushed the Kurdish guerilla to embrace armed struggle against the Turkish military which has resulted in thousands of deaths on both sides over the past few decades, mainly in the Southeastern provinces of Turkey. As I explained in the Introduction, AKP's governmental reign has not only seen "liberal moments" but also the further alienation of the Kurdish population. For example, while in

2009, the government began to consider embracing policies that would allow education in the mother tongue (i.e. Kurdish), within the framework of a "Kurdish opening", the year of my fieldwork witnessed multiple detainments and arrests of university students, confiscation of syllabi and books with unfounded charges of being involved in the city organizations of PKK. As I write this (April 2013), the AKP government is in the midst of trying to reach a compromise of sorts with the Kurdish population which includes the disarmament of the PKK in return for the liberation of their leader Abdullah Öcalan. Overall, it is safe to say that the "Kurdish problem" in Turkey is ongoing and carries a long history of periods characterized by everything from physically violent conflict to more peaceful diplomatic negotiation.

During the 2009 "Kurdish Opening" initiated by the AKP government towards the recognition of identity claims of the Kurdish population, a dissatisfied journalist, Rauf Tamer (*Posta* 2009), called the process "an opening without fair play" phrasing his concerns about the overly stubborn attitudes of both the AKP government and CHP's opposition in the parliament. Similarly, when describing AKP's most recent efforts towards the establishment of peace, another journalist Ahmet Tan (*Cumhuriyet* 2013), expressed that Prime Minister Erdoğan was "trying to display a genuine sense of fair play towards the PKK." The very complex and multifarious process between the Turkish state and the Kurdish population is one of negotiation, compromise and ultimately, conflict. Differing senses of what is ethical, what is "fair play" or what constitutes fairness in defending one's territorial, human and social rights are a recurring theme. I gave two examples where the phrase "fair play" is explicitly utilized but where it is not, there is still a sense of conflicting ethics to this negotiation: the ethics of what is rightful violence,

the ethics of what is legitimate national loyalty, the ethics of defense for both sides. Surely, political scientists have developed various conceptual tools with which to discuss conflicts such as this. I argue that an anthropology of ethics would contribute to this vocabulary and theoretical insight, highlighting the multiplicity of criteria and contingencies that have historically led to the creation and defense of particular ethical positions.

Another, albeit completely different, social site to conduct an anthropology of ethics has involved the study of property rights, open access and computer hacking. Mostly in the US (but also in Turkey), [99] anthropologists interrogate the tension between criminal law and "hacker ethics" especially in relation to theoretical concerns such as free speech, freedom, liberty and rights.[100] For example, Gabriella Coleman (2013) in her most recent book, *Coding Freedom,* wrote:

> …hackers have built a dense ethical and technical practice that sustains their productive freedom, and in so doing…they extend as well as reformulate key liberal ideals such as access, free speech, transparency, equal opportunity, publicity, and meritocracy. (3)

Conventionally considered "outlaws" by not only state laws but also public opinion, as Coleman says, hackers are generally conceived to be violators of people's rights; they are likened more to thieves than social activists who advocate human rights. In contrast, Coleman not only offers her readers conceptual tools with which to appreciate the "ethics and aesthetics" of hacking, she also differentiates between the various different codes of ethics that exist within hacking cultures. She explains for example that some hackers

[99] Even though there are less publications about this in Turkey than in the US, open access has been an important issue in the country for the past few years, especially after the intensification of internet censorship with AKP policies. Erkan Saka at Bilgi University is one of the most prominent Turkish scholars who works on this issue.

[100] See documentary *We Are Legion: The Story of the Hacktivists* (dir. Brian Knappenberger, 2012) for a wonderful exposition about hacking, activism and the global collective "Anonymous."

distinguish themselves from "crackers" who only hack for "devious or malicious" ends while hackers are "technology enthusiasts" who hack for noble reasons. Coleman also argues that humor plays a significant role in hacking and that it "is not only the most crystalline expression of the pleasures of hacking…It is also a crucial vehicle for expressing hackers' peculiar definitions of creativity and individuality" (7). This multifarious site of anthropological research thus introduces a new angle with which to conduct legal anthropology as it pushes us to reconsider our assumptions about rights and liberties. In doing so, it produces and uses knowledge about ethics in relation to some of the very issues I have been discussing in my dissertation such as the difference between permissibility and malice or the role of humor and creativity.

The Kurdish minority problem in Turkey and "hacktivism" (hacker activism) are two seemingly diverse issues. They concern different populations and are informed by distinct political and historical contingencies. However, their anthropological studies both involve a close look at the concept of ethics and fairness since they bring to the fore issues that relate to rights, liberties, (rightful) violence and crime among others. Ostensibly, Turkish football too is a social site separate from hacking or Kurdish politics. However, through discussing the particularities of Turkish football and by showing which social categories inform the definition of fairness in Turkey (permissibility, malice, manliness, excess, emotion, rationality, etc), I am able to provide conceptual tools with which to rethink fairness and ethics so that these theoretical insights might be useful in studying ethical negotiations in varied sites. Therefore, while my study is exclusively about fairness negotiations in Turkish football, I do hope that readers will extract

inferences from it that enlighten how we conceive of social and political relations in other spheres in Turkey, as well as in other contexts, two of which I have shared here.

In this dissertation about fairness negotiations, of foremost significance for me has been to highlight how formal and informal definitions of fairness interact and conflict. In Chapter 1, I did this by pointing to the tensions between official fair play rules and awards criteria and Turkish fans' (and media reps at times) insistence on basing fairness on the "unwritten rules of football in Turkey." In Chapter 2, I highlighted this tension by focusing on the foremost tool of the institutionalization and formalization of fairness under fair play: the Violence Law. I showed how this law's assumptions about sustaining fair play were discrepant with fan notions of building solidarity and I also critiqued the excessive policing measures prescribed by this law. In Chapter 3, I underlined the conflicts between football administrator's discourse about swearing in Turkish football chants and cheers as violating fair play and how fans, on the contrary, deploy particular forms of swearing to build and sustain a definition of fairness as well as the exclusivity of their fan communities. In Chapter 4, I showed that it was possible to conceive of fairness as a discursive effect, framed by the discourse of love that surrounds Turkish football. Once again, where official and formal definitions of fair play stressed anti-violence and an absence of cheating the rules of football, I encouraged the reader to consider how fans may informally deem violence and cheating as fair given an intense emotional discourse of love. Lastly, in Chapter 5, I pinpointed the body and the person of the referee, as the decision maker on the pitch, as a particular site where fairness negotiations take place. Observing the divergence between Turkish referees' insistence on following the rulebook and the (sometimes) conflicting duty of "distributing justice"

(*adalet dağıtmak*), I was able to discern a tension between the person of the referee and the institution of refereeing as mirroring the formality versus informality pattern I had been tracing.

I have also argued that the particular political and historical background of Turkey in the past decade has largely heightened this tension between formality and informality that we observe in competing notions of fairness. The neoliberal policies of the 1980s had marked a significance change in Turkish football with the influence of a free market economy on football. TFF became autonomous from the state, clubs acquired the status of competitive commercial companies signing various sponsorship deals. The 1990s compounded these developments with the rise of privately owned TV channels that competed for rights to broadcast Turkish and world football leagues. I remember in the late ‘80s how my grandfather would sit by his radio to listen to BJK games. By the time I was in middle school in the mid ‘90s, it had become customary for me to run into BJK's foreign recruits strolling around a newly built posh shopping mall (Akmerkez) in one of the more affluent neighborhoods of Istanbul.

While this was the case, my fan, former-footballer and trainer interlocutors that were between the ages of 25-50 still expressed a longing for the 1980s and 1990s when football was somehow more personal and informal for them. Beşiktaş fans talked about running down to the training grounds in the Fulya quarter of Beşiktaş to get autographs from players; Fenerbahçe fans told similar stories about visiting footballers in Dereağzı, Kadıköy. These teams moved their training grounds to suburban locations outside of the city center in the 2000s. While football jerseys used to display single sponsorship deals in the ‘80s and the ’90s, this number rose to three or four in the 2000s, leaving no patch of

fabric blank as multi-million dollar corporations competed with each other to sponsor teams. The common perception I observed among the Turkish footballing community is that Fenerbahçe and Galatasaray had begun experiencing this transition to more commercialized football at an earlier time than Beşiktaş, evident by the rise in their foreign "star" recruits or stadium renovations. This might be true, if we consider chronology in the short term, and might also explain Beşiktaş fan Veysel's nostalgic yearning. However, my fieldwork also saw the destruction of Ali Sami Yen Stadium, Galatasaray's home for decades and I heard fans sing ballads to mourn their stadium despite the excitement with which they welcomed their new and "modern" Türk Telekom Arena. I also saw Fenerbahçe fan group "Vaya con Dios" release statements against increased commercialization in football and thereby stop attending Fenerbahçe's matches. Therefore, I argue that, in the long term, it is possible to trace the transition to further institutionalization and commercialization in all of Istanbul's (and in fact Turkey's) teams which, as I have explained, has been a significant backdrop for my research.

These spatial and financial developments which in Turkey are referred to as the industrialization of football (*endüstriyel futbol*) go hand in hand with legal measures that are aimed to further institutionalize, formalize and regulate the site of football. I have argued that the "sanitization" and the "civilization" of football is at once a political and an economic goal with a purpose of changing the informal ways in which fans experience their fandom and associate with their teams. And it has been through unprecedented levels of government involvement in sports over the past decade, as I described in the Introduction, that this "civilizing mission" is undertaken. One result of these efforts has

been the cementing of fair play as an official ideal of fairness in football. For example, while a match-fixing scandal shook Turkish football in the 2010-2011 season since the Violence Law criminalized all sorts and scales of negotiation (by administrators and footballers) that would work towards influencing the end result of a match, some of my former-footballer interviewees recounted stories from the late 1980s, of informal deals made between friends that included asking a rival footballer to "go easy" in a particular match. This is called "match-fixing as a favor" (*hatır şikesi*). Hasan, the former footballer whom I quoted in Chapter 1 told me the following:

> Match-fixing is immoral[101] (*ahlaksızlık*). Why? Because I give you money and I tell you not to score. You see the empty goal, but you don't score. This is selling out your team. It is a violation of the rights (*hak*) of all your teammates who run there. It is unfair (*haksızlık*) to them. You cost them their bonuses too. That is immoral. But incentive bonuses. That is something else. That is not immoral. If you are from a small town…it is customary in small towns to engage in these informal deals between each other. And you know, there is something called "*hatır şikesi*"…Well, there is! When I was at Beykoz, we were playing Galatasaray. And Galatasaray, you know, nothing was at stake for them. But we would be relegated if we lost. I had two very good friends playing for GS. Guys who wouldn't leave my house, you know…really very good friends. This one guy, Varol…he's like pushing really hard. Really coming down on me. I kept saying "stop." I was swearing at him so he would go easy. Finally he said "OK" and left me alone. Now, is this match-fixing? He's playing less aggressively because of me…this happens so much! It's a *hatır şikesi*, there is no money involved. Is this a crime? No, it shouldn't be.

Hasan's story is one of the best examples of how informal deals and negotiations which were commonplace a few decades ago are now considered criminal acts by state law in Turkey. It is true that the match-fixing allegations of 2011 included arrangements on scales much larger than what Hasan recounts here. But it is also true that incentive bonuses (where a team pays off the rival of their rival) which Hasan tells us are

[101] I explained in the Introduction that I chose not to use the word "morality" in this dissertatin because it has a religious connotation in Turkish. Hasan's usage of morality was not religious in any sense; he used it to talk about ethics and fairness.

"customary informal deals in small towns", were also outlawed by the Violence Law. What is crucial to underline here is that the most recent legal developments in Turkish football have obscured any notion of "favoritism" (as in the form of *hatır şikesi*) that worked towards defining morality, rights and fairness divorced from monetary or otherwise official relations. An example of this was the informal ticket exchange process I described in Chapter 2 and it can also see be seen in Veysel's plea to recruit players that care more about the team than their paychecks in Chapter 1. My research thus pinpoints the very alternative formations of fairness the official ideal of fair play, with legal support, conflicts with and obscures.

Towards this goal, I have identified various notions which contribute to the informal conceptualizations of fairness in Turkish football. In Chapter 1, I show that it is the concepts of permissibility (*mübah*) and malice (*çirkef*) which fans invoke to conceptualize fairness. In Chapter 2, they talk about a notion of excess (*gereğinden fazla*) to define the boundaries around what is fair as well as a conception of solidarity (*dayanışma*) that differs from legal fair play and in Chapter 3, I show that a manly (*delikanlı*) notion of fairness challenges official fair play. In Chapter 4, I discuss a formation of fairness that is informed by a discourse of irrational and self-sacrificial love expressed in notions of crazy (*deli*) and *arabesk*. And in Chapter 5, I discuss manipulability through the concept of *eyyam* as well as how referees experience tension in their profession with the conflicting tasks of following the rulebook and distributing justice (*adalet dağıtmak*). I juxtapose this rich fairness vocabulary to the official usage of the term "fair play" which is also expressed by "gentlemanliness" (*centilmenlik*) and "sportsmanship" (*sportmenlik*).

Finally, one of the most important ideas to take away from this dissertation is the possibility of expanding the definition and scope of fairness as a concept that is not necessarily tied to normative interrogation, both in football and elsewhere. Fairness that emerges from the ground and from immediate experience, while it might contradict official notions of fair play or legality is still fairness. And we may position ourselves in relation to it without an agenda of judgment as I explained with the discussion of relativism in the Introduction. Emergent fairnesses in the making with all of their controversies must be included in the conceptualization of fairness for a more holistic discussion of ethics. An open and accepting conceptualization of fairness is not a euphemism for excusing violent behavior. It is a theoretical move and an anthropological desire against universalist ethics that are bound up in rulebooks and institutions, one we may benefit from in understanding ethics in Turkish football as well as other social spheres in Turkey.

This dissertation brings together various less explored fields in academic research. On the one hand I engage in an anthropology of ethics, on the other hand I write for the anthropology of sport. Within the social sciences of sport, I took on the issue of ethics and fair play which have received much less attention than issues of nationalism, hooliganism and gender. My aim was to see these familiar themes emerge from within my study rather than starting out with preset categories of relevance for the social science of sport. Where the philosophy of sport looks at ethics and the social sciences of sport study nationalism, hooliganism and gender, I show that these issues are in fact interrelated and that they cannot be spoken of as separately from each other as if different disciplines must represent them in discrete ways. Interdisciplinarity is a buzzword that all

academics of our time are evaluated against, for good reason. As Eric Wolff (1982) argued more than 30 years ago, the disciplinary division in academia is the reflection of a specific epistemological orientation and only its breakage can ensure a more holistic account of history and sociality in its political, economic, artistic and philosophical totality. Taking this advice, my dissertation has attempted to bridge disciplines and academic traditions both in terms challenging conventional topics of inquiry and by way of designing research questions to tackle.

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