Coming home through football:

A geographic exploration of long-distance fandom

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Abstract

This thesis focuses on the relationship between long-distance football fandom and home. It examines how the act of supporting non-domestic football clubs is a symbolic and material connection to multiple scales of home for 32 long-distance football fans, aged between 17–65, who live in Aotearoa New Zealand. I argue that football fans and homes are mutually constituted and continually reproduced through football fandom practices. Examining fan practice from the scale of the body through to the globe demonstrates how multiple homes interplay with fan practice. Literature on home and literature on sport have not yet been combined by scholars. Drawing these two bodies of work together offers the opportunity to unpack fans' relationships to 'things', between 'people' and to 'places', providing a window into critical geographies of identities.

Social, cultural, feminist and emotional geographies of home and qualitative research methods frame this research. A range of methods are combined to create a holistic view of the complex and messy relationships which construct fan identities and homes. Semi-structured interviews with 27 men and five women participants along with self-directed photography, 'going-alongs', participant sensings and textual data analysis were used to examine participants experiences of football fandom and home.

Findings are organised into three intersecting themes: things; people; and, places. The first theme focuses on how connections to a club are established and maintained through material cultures of home. Material objects construct home not only through a physical presence but also through becoming infused with emotions and memory. Unpacking the relationships between 'people' which shape fan identities is the second theme. Fans and their homes are gendered, raced and classed through the act of supporting a club. The relationship to 'place' is the third theme, where I examine the multiple places which influence fan identities. Here fan 'homes' are imagined as multi-scalar and I highlight the ways in which connections to a club are key to fluid notions of home and identity.

This research demonstrates that football fandom offers a unique opportunity to geographers. Fandom spaces are under-researched and worthy of further scrutiny. Examining the relationships between home and fandom sheds light on the workings of power across a range of scales from the body, to the nation and the globe. Football fans' homes are messy, complex, varied lived and felt.

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…..

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Chapter One: At the front door

> The Arsenal pitch was to be our lawn (and, being an English lawn, we would usually stare mournfully at it through driving rain); the Gunners Fish Bar on Blackstock Road our kitchen; and the West Stand our home (Hornby 2000 5-6).

Sport and home are intimately interconnected. As the above quote from English writer Nick Hornby illustrates (2006), Arsenal Football Club became 'home' for himself and his father. From home stadium, the home crowd, to home fans, stadia become 'lawns' and the cultural artefacts surrounding football[1] support become symbols of what it means to be 'at home'. What it means to be at 'home[2]' with a football club is linked with where Hornby (2006) lives. When examining fans who do not live in the same region as their club, performances of 'home' exist 'elsewhere'. This raises questions about how long-distance football fans' homes are created. For scholars interested in the construction of home, fandom offers a unique line of inquiry. Football fandom is woven into the fabric of a person's identity. It is by examining what fandom *does* (both individually and collectively) that one can also examine the lived experiences of individuals, friends, families, and homes.

Football fandom - and the home spaces associated with it – is saturated with power relations which shape gendered, raced, and national bodies and places. The stories shared in this research by 32 long-distance fans (27 men and five women) resident in Aotearoa New Zealand shed light on the manifold, complex and messy relationships which construct feelings and materialities of home. The examination of football fans allows me to interrogate their relationship with a club, and in particular: the **material** objects which create their feelings of home; the **people** who shape fan identity; and, the **places** which shape their imaginaries of home. Fandom is entwined into the lived everyday experiences of home, family and friendships.

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[1] Despite encompassing a variety of codes including rugby union and rugby league, football will be used in this thesis to refer to the sport also known as soccer. This aligns the terminology used in this thesis with the governing body of New Zealand Football.

[2] The use of home in this thesis will align with the work of critical geographies of home (Blunt and Dowling 2006). Thus, home is both a physical and emotional construct, which acts as the locus of feelings of belonging and the establishment of identity.

Participants' football stories show the interconnection of identity, fandom, sport and home. My research provides an insight into how supporting a specific, non-domestic football club acts as a symbolic connection to home. This allows me to pick apart the variety of relationships nested around fan identity. The thesis has three research questions:

1: How and in what ways do football fans' material and imagined objects construct home?

2: What is the relationship between home, football fandom and people's identities? and,

3: How are multiple places experienced in and through football fans' homes?

Shedding light on the material and virtual objects - 'things' - which construct home, is the first of these objectives. I uncover how connections to a club are established and maintained through material cultures of home. Investigating the relationships between 'people' which shape the performance of fan identity is the second objective. This highlights the ways fans' homes are gendered, raced and classed through the act of supporting a club. The third research objective is in relationship to 'place'. Here I highlight the places which influence fan identity and performance and discuss the ways in which connections to a club are key to notions of home and identity (Blunt and Dowling 2006). Tying the structure of this thesis closely to these research questions, the ensuing chapters begin first with a discussion of the personal and material construction of home. Broadening to out to discuss people the performance and power of identity are discussed as is the influence identity has on fans' embodied experience. Finally linking these arguments surrounding imagined and material places, identity and power, I highlight the interwoven emotional connections across and between football fan 'homes' (Ahmed 1999).

I use emerging methods such as participant sensing and go-alongs in conjunction with well-established methods of semi-structured interviews and photography. These methods allow for a holistic view of football fan homes over multiple scales of fan practice and performance. The use of methods such as participant sensing, go-alongs and photography allows for the emotional components of fan

identity to be examined (Palmer 2016; Phoenix 2010). Using a mix of methods grounded in critical geographies embraces the varied ways fans tell their stories. Fan stories arose in interviews, through to photographs and observing the embodied doings of fandom.

Due to the geographical nature of this study, I am interested in a range of spatial scales. Following the examples of Valentine (2001), Johnston and Longhurst (2010) and Blunt and Dowling (2006), fandom and fan homes will be posited as stretching across and between spaces. I focus on the micro scale of the body as the geography closest in, through to the macro level of nations and hyper-globalised spaces of football (Best 2013; Brown, Richards and Jones 2014; Conner 2013). Given the global nature of the 'space' of football, no one particular league or competition studied, although the caveat holds that certain leagues have significantly more global reach than others (Best 2013; Porter 2015).

The geographical study of sport offers a strong grounding for discussions of football fandom. Within geography, contemporary discussions of identity and sport push understandings of the role of sporting bodies (Waitt, 2003, 2005 and 2006; Waitt and Clifton 2013, 2014; Waitt and Frazer 2012). Interweaving together contemporary geographic literature which examines sporting bodies, identities and emotions, with discussions of sport and home extends existing literature on home and sport to embrace alternative means of creating home through fandom. By absorbing considerations of sport into critical geographies of home (Blunt and Dowling 2006), the influence of individual identity is highlighted as a primary mechanism in the creation of home. Geography also offers valuable potential to sports research by focusing on space, providing scalar framing and the exploration of meaning (Higham and Hinch 2006; Waitt 2005, 2006). While studies of football fans have been dominated by ethnography (see for example Pearson 2012; Richards 2014; Weed 2006), there has been an absence of reflection on how fans 'be' (Barrick, Mair and Potwarcka 2016; Schneider, Szudy and Williams 2014).

Within football studies and the wider discipline of sports studies, there is little critical exploration of the use of the term home. In literature which examines gender and fandom, there has been focus on the emotions, bodies and normative

power structures which shape fan homes (Caudwell 2011a; Dunn 2014; Poulton 2012; Richards 2014). Discussions of home nation are one lens through which it is possible to uncover useful discourses around the relationship between home, sport and identity, with the nation acting as a crucible for performances of 'being' and 'doing' home (Brown et al 2014; Burdsey 2011; Knott, Fyall and Jones 2017). Regarding explicit discussions of home as a construct, there has been little focus on the webs of things, people and places which shape the emotional terrain of fandom from within sports studies. Despite the prevalence of tropes of home crowds, home stadia, home teams, home fans and home advantages, research on football fandom has largely ignored the spatiality of emotions, imaginaries and affect (as an exception to this see Caudwell 2003, 2011a, 2011b and Free and Hughson 2003).

This places the domestic (as discussed within studies of football), and wider sports studies, as rigid (see for example Bale 1998; Shannon 2015). This has limited discussions of home and emotion within football fandom to fan relationships to consumption and topophilic relationships with place (Charleston 2009; Giulianotti 2002; Sandvoss 2003). The aligning of home and sport within the realm of the domestic places emotions firmly as private and feminised (Butler 1990; Domosh 1998). There has been some focus on 'place attachment', work which leans on environmental psychology (for example Canter, Comber and Uzzell 1989) and sports tourism (for example Gammon 2004 and Ramshaw and Gammon 2010). Through focusing on psychology and tourism, sporting homes have been privileged in regards to normative performances of public pride and the attachment of loyalty to place (Robson 2000).

The connection between sport and home remains under-explored by both geographers and sports scholars. Embracing the connection between sport and home offers the opportunity for geographies of home and studies of football fandom to be revitalised in light of contemporary sporting and spatial shifts. In 2009, Brickell exhorted geographers to expand on 'critical geographies of home' for the purpose of exploring fluid and nuanced notions of home. The study of football fandom extends geographical knowledges of home through examining how fans continually reproduce home through materialities and imaginaries.

Exploring football fandom encourages the unravelling of a wide-range of social and emotional interactions, between individuals, families and clubs, exposing the power relationships woven into fan practice (Caudwell 1999, 2003, 2006, 2011c). By focusing on long-distance football fans, geographers are able to highlight the 'stretching'[3] of fandom and throw into relief the multiple homes which infiltrate everyday lives.

As a fan my own identity is woven out of things, people and places: it is nested in my own embodiment and in relation to family, friends and fellow fans. Things such as photographs, keyrings, rosettes and knitting projects create the basis for feeling at home as a fan. Memory and history are embedded in the objects which populate my fan home, easily accessed when I see the items or touch them. People have shaped my fandom. My fan identity is deeply embedded in family, history and remembrance with my parents, grandparents and siblings playing roles in how I express my fan identity. Straying from patrilineal notions of fandom, influences outside of family have also aided in creating my identity as a fan with workmates and friends key 'people' in shaping how I do fandom. My fandom also means that I feel an emotional connection to a multitude of places. Through my fandom I am connected to people and places around Aotearoa New Zealand, I feel a link to Leicester and London in the United Kingdom, and to Germany. Despite being resident at a significant distance from several of these locations, my emotional connections spill across space creating multiple links to cities, towns, countries and stadia. Therefore, the fan home that I inhabit is complex and also emotional, highlighting the potential bringing sport and home together has for reconfiguring discussions of geography, home, sports studies and identity.

Bringing fans into critical geographies of home

The emotional connection between fan and club can be profound. These feelings of belonging and community retain piquancy over distance. The journey of *New Zealand Herald* sports journalist Stuart Dye highlights the depth of fan-club connection. The following quote is taken from a piece featured in the internet

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[3] The term 'stretchy' homes is derived from the work of Andrew Gorman-Murray (2008) and concerns the stretching of homes across multiple spatial scales. Focusing on the construction of home by gay men, Gorman-Murray (2008) suggests public spaces such as bars can become 'home-like' while private space, normatively positioned as 'homely', can become 'public' spaces, thus inverting the binary between public and private.

version of the *New Zealand Herald*, Aotearoa New Zealand's major daily newspaper. The article recounts the journey Dye undertook to watch non-league English side Tranmere Rovers attempt to win a promotion within the English league system:

> What if your team loses? That was the question which kept echoing in Stuart Dye's head, when the *Weekend Herald* and *Herald on Sunday* deputy editor made a crazy dash around the world to watch his beloved Tranmere Rovers try to win promotion back into the English professional football ranks. And lose they did, in front of a sparsely populated Wembley Stadium, going down [by] 13 to Forest Green. It means Tranmere, a club which lives in the considerable shadow of neighbours Liverpool, remains in nonleague football for a third season while Forest Green, from a tiny Gloucestershire town, try to hang on in the big time for the first time. Dye was trying to take the loss well when we rang him this morning. "Was it worth it...I don't know?", he said from London, as he prepared to dash back to work in Auckland. "I think the best part was in the pub beforehand, when I heard people saying "There's a lad from New Zealand who's come over for the game." . . . By the time Dye gets home he will have travelled more than 36,000km, spending 55 hours in the air and about the same time on the ground in London "all to watch 22 men kick a ball for 90 minutes". The mad dash represents what being a fan can be all about, even if most fans never go to such extreme lengths (*New Zealand Herald* 2017 1-2).

Stuart Dye's 'mad dash' demonstrates a deep emotional connection between sport, home and fandom. As the article suggests, "the mad dash represents what being a fan can be all about" (*New Zealand Herald* 2017 2). Dyer's experience also points to the complex and intimate relationships that shape discourses of both sports fandom and home (Jones 2000).

While notions of home within sport have not been subject to rigorous and critical complications, geographical explorations of home have delved into the multiple mobilisations of 'home'. Within geographic literature home functions as one of the most mundane of landscapes but simultaneously the most profound. Senses of home are fluid and variable, with home existing as a physical 'site', an emotion, a site of privilege and as a sense of belonging. The critical unravelling of home as a complex, emotional space emerged in the later part of the 20th century introducing a focus on the lived and imaginary senses of home (Blunt and Dowling 2006). Research on the geographies of home has exploded in recent years and this

concentration on home has exposed it as the site of social and spatial politics, power and identity, materiality and emotion.

Deconstructing the binary between public and private space allows scholars to move 'past the front door', identifying home as a key site of social and spatial relations. Home, however, is far from a neutral space with power and privilege underpinning performances of home. Domestic space has been exposed as complex, troubling and a space of belonging (for example Anderson 2012; Blunt and Dowling 2006; Blunt and Varley 2004; Gorman-Murray 2006, 2015; Holton and Riley 2016; Morrison 2013). Home is a deeply emotional space and these emotions make feelings of home 'mobile' and transferable across a range of spaces (Ahmed 1999). Notions of home stretch from the domestic to the nation, thereby encompassing a range of spatial scales and power relations (Blunt and Dowling 2006). Within contemporary geographic analysis, home is posited as an open and fluid space, subject as much to construction through emotion and affect as physical dwellings.

Despite critical foci on meanings of home within sport largely being absent, literature concerning football provides ample subtexts which link to threads of geographical inquiry on home. Like home, fandom is both physical performance and a set of feelings, meanings and texts (Duffett 2013; Gray, Sandvoss and Harrington 2009; Hills 2002; Jenkins 1992). Home within football may be linked with the concepts of community, place-making, belonging and identity. Just as 'home' was initially viewed as apolitical and as a space of refuge and safety (Domosh 1998; Manzo 2003), utilisations of home in relation to football, and sport more generally, have been viewed similarly (Porter 2015). Sports scholars have done little to trouble narratives that position home in terms of safety, care and love, with fandom posited as a secure facet of identity (Best 2013; Jones 2000; Ramshaw and Gammon 2010). Yet the presence of power relations, such as hegemonic masculinities, in fan performance exposes football fandom as a site of privilege. Therefore, critical geographies of home focused on deconstructing the privileged position of 'public' space are usefully utilised to unpack normative performances of football fandom (Butler 1990; Domosh 1998).

The conceptualisation of home that plays the dominant role in framing this research is provided by Blunt and Dowling (2006). Using the notion of 'critical geographies' of home outlined in their seminal work *Home*, Blunt and Dowling (2006) provide a flexible framework through which multiple aspects of home are examined. The critical geography of home presented by Blunt and Dowling (2006) is tied closely with my three research questions. These three notions of home are woven together and act as the guiding force for this thesis. Within Blunt and Dowling's (2006) work, in addition to being understood as both material and imaginary, home is linked with material cultures. Fandom is at the centre of both identity and social practice, positionality which locates fan homes as a centre of power and identity. Being a football fan is to connect with a variety of places, including multi-scalar and fluid homes.

Home as a material and imaginary space: Things

One crucial element of Blunt and Dowling's (2006) critical geography of home is the symbiosis of material and imaginary space. Utilising Blunt and Dowling's (2006) notion of home as both a physical and imagined space highlights how football fans create connections to a club through material cultures. The interweaving of the physical and imaginary elements of home are exemplified through the use of material objects to create 'senses of home'. Home is posited as a physical site, an emotional space and material forms of home are reliant on what the space is imagined to be. These imaginaries of home are heavily influenced by idealised physical spaces (Blunt and Dowling 2006). Through this, homes are able to be 'curated' with particular stories told by material objects. Home, therefore, exists as a material location but also as a relational space encouraging emotional and affective ties to a dwelling (Easthope 2004).

This connection to the material can be troubled, however, by considering the role of memory. For the purpose of extending geographic literature on home, I also apply the work of Ahmed (1999 and 2004). This allows for the emotional and affective role of home to be pulled to the fore. Home positioned at the centre of memory makes conceptualisations of home fluid and changeable. Blended with identity, home acts as the locus of memory, extending the mutually constitutive relationship between physicality and emotion to memory and place. The

connection between home and emotion adds fluidity to senses of home (Ahmed 1999). Home is a lived process, stretching the function of material cultures into the realms of emotion. The social interactions and processes which take place within home give the material structure meaning and these change over time. These meanings and physical manifestations of home are then continually re-negotiated through everyday practice (Blunt and Dowling 2006).

Home as the centre of power and identity: People

Blunt and Dowling (2006) present home as the centre of identity and power. This links strongly to the second research objective which questions how fan homes are gendered, raced and classed. Home is the locus of identity performance, and has been understood as a 'private' space, yet home is also the subject of power relations deeply embedded in fan performance (Blunt and Dowling 2006). Home is at the centre of belonging, personality and meaning, features through which different identities are co-constituted. Home becomes imbued with imaginaries and power relations and is experienced differently according to gender, sexuality, ethnicity, race and class (Brickell 2012). Through these dominant ideologies, some performances of home are valued more highly than others. Certain identities are cast as being 'at home' and/or 'not at home' according to hegemonic, normative performances of fandom (Blunt and Dowling 2006).

It is imperative to examine the powerful performances of home to understand who *does not* feel at home and the mechanisms which reinforce this marginalisation (Blunt 2005; Gorman-Murray 2006). The concept of home is steeped with emotion; phrases such as 'feeling at home' expose the connection between home and emotions (Domosh 1998). Connotations of home are not, however, always positive, with scholars identifying scenarios when home is characteristic of spaces of oppression and fear (Brickell 2012; England 2006; Schroeder 2015). In this conception, home is more than a physical dwelling and house does not always equate to home.

Home is multi-scalar: Places

Drawing together home as the symbiosis of material and imaginary space and home as the centre of power and identity, Blunt and Dowling (2006) position

home as multi-scalar. Linking to the third research objective, which questions how fandom shapes ideas of place, home spaces are stretched across public and private space, troubling the privileging of a singular 'home space'. Home is constructed through emotion, imagination and memory, illustrating the importance individual identity has on the reproduction of home. Homes are also shaped by social processes and power, and are open to extra-domestic forces (Blunt and Dowling 2006). Home also functions as multi-scalar, spreading across and between spaces of emotional attachment. Home as multi-scalar is therefore at the intersection of public and private. Home is also domestic and political and created through relationships and emotions (Blunt and Dowling 2006; Gorman-Murray 2006; Waitt and Gorman-Murray 2011). Through the spreading nature of home across and between spaces, multiple identities are established and troubled (Blunt and Dowling 2006).

An examination of fans' relationships to places reveals that public and private intersect in the space of the home (Blunt and Dowling 2006; Gorman-Murray 2006). Shifting away from singular, privileged fan homes such as the space of a city or stadium, a variety of emotional attachments to a range of spaces can be encompassed. Weaving together notions of 'emotional mobility' (Boccagni and Baldassar 2015) and 'affective economics' (Ahmed 2004) through fan practice, multi-scalar homes are positioned as 'emotional' with feelings of belonging acting as the means through which bodies form collectives. Multiple homes also offer a solution to the 'fetishising' of place, exposing the power geometries of expressions of place (Ahmed 1999; Brown et al 2014). Emotions make imaginary communities 'real', sliding together bodies and communities through notions of 'blood' and genealogy (Nash 2002) to form potent imaginaries of home belonging. There is a plurality of ways of 'being a fan'. The following section examines the value of bringing discussions of long-distance fandom into geographical analysis.

Long-distance fans and the geographical importance of examining fandom

The culture and phenomenon of football extends beyond those who play the sport to those who follow the sport and consider themselves to be fans. Football fandom is a key site for identity performance and is often a lifelong 'career', exposing

fandom as a useful axis of analysis for scholars (Jones 2000). Within football studies, examinations of fandom have long been associated with exceptional fans and 'hooligans' (Johnes 2010). Definitions of 'everyday' fandom, the form of football fandom with which this project is concerned, have only recently emerged (Ben Porat 2011; Giulianotti 2002). In this thesis, the term long-distance football fans denote fans who do not live in the same country as the football club they primarily support. Fans who live in one country and support a team in another have been given various names. For example, Rookwood and Chan (2011) use the term 'global fans' to refer to fans living at a distance from a club, while Kerr and Emery (2011) refer to 'foreign' fans, and Conner (2013) refuses to differentiate across distance, referring to all participants as fans.

These monikers for 'long-distance fans' are, however, troubling. In the case of 'global' fans, without sufficient reflexivity and discussion, a binary is implicit between 'global' and 'local' fans, privileging the notion of 'local' and introducing the question of what exactly is 'global' and, by extension, what is 'local' (Massey 2005). Dichotomies between local and global (Kerr and Emery 2011), participatory and passive (Redhead 1993), and traditional and consumer (Giulianotti 2002) are unhelpful. Such terms create binaries between local/participatory/traditional and global/passive/consumer. Within existing football fan studies it has been local/participatory/traditional fan experience which has been privileged (Giulianotti 2002; Sandvoss 2003; Robson 2000). For the purposes of this research, I argue some form of delineation is necessary to account for the differences in experiences between fans at distance and those who are not. Long-distance is used, however, as an alternative to 'foreign' and 'global' as both of these words present troubling binaries between 'local' and 'global', 'foreign' and 'native'. These binaries are particularly piquant when power produces a privileging of 'global' over 'local' and 'native' over 'foreign', thus instigating an imbalance in the binary relationship (Massey 2005; Pratt and Rosner 2010).

The re-negotiation of what to call those fans who participated in this research provides an example of how definitions and performances of football fandom are multifarious and often conflicting. Applying critical geographies of home to discussions of football fandom, however, allows this fluidity to be embraced and

for the privileging of particular spaces to be unpacked (Blunt and Dowling 2006). When introducing the notion of multiple homes to the study of football fan identity, the influence of place moves away from such simple signifiers of loyalty and support as the name of a suburb, city or nation (see, for example Ben Porat 2010; Best 2013; Giulianotti 1994; Morris 1981). Rather, through introducing the fan 'body' and all that is nested within personal fan history, fan 'homes' can be rendered fluid so as to show the influence of multiple places (Oswin and Olund 2010).

With the increasing international reach of hyper-commercialised football culture (Conner 2013; Kerr and Emery 2011), football has become a major global industry. Clubs rely upon satellite television coverage and merchandising to increase visibility, and a wide fan-base on which to establish economic success (Kerr, Smith and Anderson 2011). Reflecting this tying together of fans with the economic fortunes of a club is the growth in definitions of fandom as centering round consumption. This can be linked to the concept of home as material and imaginary (Blunt and Dowling 2006), and to the influence of material cultures on the creation of fan identity. Patterns of consumption - such as following the sport, the sports culture and particularly the material aspects of support such as wearing football shirts and collecting memorabilia - are intrinsic to patterns of contemporary fandom (Sandvoss 2003).

Patterns of consumption can be seen in patterns of contemporary fandom. Performance and player attributes, the hallmarks of a successful team, are key in creating identification with a specific team. An emphasis on the integration of fandom and commercial success prompts fans to purchase material goods relating to that team (Kerr and Emery 2011). Fans become intrinsically linked to practices of consumption. Fans are defined as having a distanced relationship with a club through the presence of hyper-commodification, with fan identity being legitimised and authenticated through materialism (Giulianotti 2002).

Practices of consumption and materialism are not the only sites of football fandom. In the past two decades, and prompted by the globalising processes football has encountered, both football studies and fans view fandom as more than the practices of consumption and materialism (Kennedy and Kennedy 2015).

Rather, football fandom is deeply linked to place, culture and loyalty, emphasising an 'emotional contract' between football and home (Robson 2000). Enmeshing fandom in individual identity and power, fandom as purely consumption has been critiqued, reflecting the interpretation of football fandom as a symbol of place and loyalty (Best 2013). Drawing out discourses of identity and fan connections to club spaces, fandom may be viewed as an altruistic pursuit, a form of altruism (Best 2013; Jones 2000). Loyalty to the club becomes a key component for fans, with emotions associated with club history and mythology threaded into the place in which the club is located (Porter 2015).

My focus on long-distance fans integrates understandings of fandom as both individual and collective. Due to this, I argue fandom is the meeting of individual fan bodies and the global flows of the contemporary landscape of football. This research draws on the work of Bale (2000) and Weed (2008), authors who argue that the global scale of contemporary football fandom requires a renegotiation of the meaning of the term fan. In recent, positivist discussions of fandom, football fans have been presented as traditionally place-based (Normansell and Wann 2011; Norris, Wann and Zapalac 2015). Therefore, fandom is positioned as intimately bound together with belonging within a particular city, suburb or nation (Giulianotti 1994; Robson 2000). The spatial issues surrounding fandom have been linked to discourses of community pride and belonging and loyalty. Through this, football fandom is presented as an expression of the privileging of 'local' spaces, with support by and for communities (Kennedy and Kennedy 2015; Shobe 2008).

The increased globalisation of football presents a challenge to discourses surrounding the primacy of fan connection to place. During the 1990s, particularly within scholarship by English football scholars, 'globalisation', as embodied by the newly established English Premier League[4] was viewed as a 'challenge' to traditional working-class fan cultures (see for example Bale 1998; Redhead 1993; Williams 2006). The dominance of television, the increasingly corporate focus of football clubs and the push to increase fan-bases around the globe, troubled the intimate connection between football fandom and connection to 'local' place.

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[4] The English Premier League was established in August 1992 and is the 'top-flight' English men's competition (Premier League 2017).

Sport sociologists suggest, however, that sport has never been a 'local' phenomenon; rather, it is used as a vehicle for the transmission of hegemonic values and moralities (Caudwell 2006; Elias and Dunning 1985). Through processes such colonialism, migration and the media, football has been spread around the globe for over a century (Goldblatt 2006).

To account for the international reach of football and the existence of long-distance fans, place-based definitions of fandom are further developed in this thesis. There are a number of 'spaces' within the lives of fans (Johnston and Longhurst 2010). There is the space fans inhabit directly, such as their body. Spreading out from this further are 'intimate geographies' encompassing family, home and workplaces (Oswin and Olund 2006). Both the space a football club inhabits and the spaces fans inhabit are significant in exerting influence on fan identity. Weaving these spaces together, a complex web around fans and fan performances is created. All are important and all have direct effects on fans.

What I argue through this research is that through embracing definitions of fandom as embodied and fluid, the central vehicle of fandom becomes 'home'. This definition breaks away from previous definitions of fandom which focus on the privileging of a connection to a singular place or community. Through this the emphasis shifts away from concrete ideas of 'place' as the primary signal of fan allegiance (Giulianotti 1994; Robson 2000). Home as an analytical framework encompasses a wide range of spaces and places within which the fan body is created. Hence, football fandom is freed from the examination of the 'roots' of fan identity allowing for the exploration of the 'routes' and multi-scalar nature of fan identity (Conner 2013).

Chapter outlines

This introduction presents a case for the integration of football fandom and home. The act of supporting a football team across distance offers the opportunity to examine how football fan homes can be 'stretched' and how multiple 'homes' and fan identities are co-constructed.

The second chapter provides contextual information, in other words, I 'place' the research alongside personal, historical, socio-economic and national discourses. I

offer some insights into my personal fan identity and feelings of home. Discussing my own fan 'body' highlights fandom as emotional and personal yet deeply inter-twined with global flows of fandom and the 'places' in which fandom is enacted. I highlight the location of research participants in Aotearoa New Zealand. This teases out the influence of a 'local' context for long-distance fandom and acknowledges research participants' involvement in the space of Aotearoa New Zealand football. Discussing club support links fans to trans-national contexts. Flows of fandom in both the country and the league in which their club operates provides a window into the power structures and hierarchy of football clubs. This in turn identifies a milieu in which fans sit, with this context playing a key role in the degree of access a fan has to content about their team.

In the third chapter I apply critical geographies of football 'homes'. Home is positioned as a set of materialities, feelings and meanings (Blunt and Dowling 2006). These feelings can be applied to physical structures and to a range of spatial scales, from the body to the nation. Using the concept of home to analyse football fandom, I explore the gap that exists between literature on home in geography and the mobilisations of home evident in sport literature. Geographies of 'home' are examined, as are the multiple elements that help to construct feelings and senses of home for football fans across multiple spatial scales. Whilst physical spaces are important, my focus extends to emotions, 'feeling at home' and the power relations that govern the expression of fan identity. I also acknowledge that it is not possible to offer succinct and simple definitions of 'home'. Any attempts to define home in a concrete manner risks limiting conceptualisations of home to fixed and static meanings (Ahmed 1999; Blunt and Dowling 2006).

In the fourth chapter I discuss research methodology. Firstly, the process of recruitment is examined. As an over-arching method woven through the research process, participant sensing is used as a means by which embodied fan worlds can be recorded. The methods used to gather the bulk of data interviews are discussed next as are details of how interviews have been carried out. Experiences using a variety of different interview mediums are also analysed and connected to relevant literature. Self-directed photography was used to

record the visual, private worlds of fans, and the process of conducting photography activities is discussed. Go-alongs are then examined, with my focus being on the role the method fulfilled in accessing the embodied 'doings' of fandom. In the remaining sections of this chapter additional data collection – the collection of textual materials - is examined and the chapter includes a discussion of thematic analysis and how this has been applied to all empirical evidence.

The three chapters following the methodological discussion discuss research findings. This sequence of chapters follows the template provided by Blunt and Dowling (2006) and mirrors the three research questions. Beginning with material and moving outward to people and places, these chapters are not discrete entities and themes overlap signalling the complex weaving together of things, people and place in the creation of home and fan identity.

The first empirical chapter focuses on fandom as both material and imaginary 'homes'. Teasing out fans' relationship with 'things' and material cultures, I begin by examining the influence of 'social media' on fan practice. Media generated feelings of home creates and maintains fan identity as linked to football clubs. Delving into material cultures of home, I discuss the use of material items to create fan homes. The accumulation and display of football memorabilia such as programmes, books and posters provides a narrative to fan experiences and memory (Gregson 2009). Merchandise also acts to collapse distance between family members with gift-giving of club-related objects becoming a tradition within family (Rose 2010). Expanding explorations of material cultures and fan 'things', televised match coverage is the basis of social relations and feelings of home community between fans. The unequal landscape of television rights and the impact this has on the availability of matches, influences the ability of fans to view a club with particular media content as superior to others. As 'home' can be both inclusionary and exclusionary, televised match coverage creates the sense of 'not' being at home for fans just as television coverage encourages feelings of belonging.

Identity, power and home are the subject of the following chapter (Blunt and Dowling 2006). Picking apart how fandom is shaped through

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relationships to 'people', I argue gender is a means by which fans are cast as 'at home' or 'not at home' within fan practice. The experiences of the 27 men and five women participants in this research directly relate fan 'homes' to issues of power. Focusing on geometries of power, women occupy a complex position, while performances of masculinity are positioned as being archetypal for football fans. With men's elite football dominating media coverage of the sport, masculinities in football occupy a powerful position. Relationships with family also play a key role in shaping fan identity. Family ties act as the pattern for football support with team allegiances aligning either with the clubs supported by family members or linking to places of significance within family culture.

In the final empirical chapter I discuss the relationship between fans and place. Relationships with place strongly influence fan practice, and the multiple places which weave through fan stories present home as fluid and multi-scalar (Blunt and Dowling 2006). Unpicking the vision of fan homes as related to a singular, privileged place, to begin I explore attitudes to Aotearoa New Zealand football, arguing for the recognition of 'local' place in discussions of long-distance fandom. Moving through spatial scales from the 'local' to the 'national', imaginaries of home nation provide powerful discourses of belonging and identity. The processes governing support of national sides are, however, variable. Due to the 'extra-ordinary' nature of international tournaments, there is a fluid relationship to national teams, challenging notions of a singular 'home nation'. Acknowledging the multiple places which influence fan identity, certain places are positioned as 'homes' of teams. These significant places draw fans to visit as an expression of deep emotional connection to a certain club. Emotions, then, cause home to 'leak' through a range of spaces. Through this mobility of emotion returns to a specific football culture exemplify the fluidity and complexity of fan homes.

To begin the process of unravelling the construction of fan identity over distance, the second chapter in this thesis explores the context in which fans sit; from the personal space of the fan 'body' through to the nation and trans-national contexts.

Chapter Two: Locating long-distance fans in Aotearoa New Zealand and global 'homes' – some context

Ideas of home are shaped by the social, personal and political contexts in which they sit (Blunt and Dowling 2006). Homes are not neutral. Due to the shifting, complex ground which shapes fan identity, I discuss the contexts which shape my own fan identity and the national and trans-national contexts which are woven through this research. Long-distance fans are not only enmeshed in the contemporary and historical contexts of their club; their fan stories are riven with their own history and the everyday context in which their fan identity is expressed.

The first section in this chapter deals with fan 'bodies', individual history and fandom as personal. By discussing my own fan identity I highlight fandom as emotional and personal yet inter-twined with global flows of fandom and the 'places' in which fandom is enacted. Through sharing details of my positionality as a fan, what becomes clear is the messy, complex nature of fan 'homes' and the various influences on fan identity.

I highlight the location of research participants in Aotearoa New Zealand. This acts not only to tease out the influence of a 'local' context for long-distance fandom, but is also an acknowledgement of all of the research participants' involvement in Aotearoa New Zealand football. Due to the under-researched nature of Aotearoa New Zealand football, I acknowledge the history of football in Aotearoa New Zealand and the contemporary state of the game, focusing on how fans who participated in this research fit into the context of domestic Aotearoa New Zealand football.

There are a range of clubs supported across the research participants; however, this is not reflected in significant geographical diversity. Club support links fans to international flows of fandom in both the country and the league in which their club operates. The club participants' support has a clear influence on how they access club 'media'. Due to this, the shifting contexts of fandom can be seen in the changes around access to football media in Aotearoa New Zealand which occurred during the research process. At a broader scale than a club, the league in which a club operates plays a key role in the degree of access a fan has to content

about their team, again influencing the emotions fans have towards their club. Beyond the immediate scope of the 'local league' into which fans are woven is the national context of football teams and administrations. Officials and players active in the national forum are part of international football norms. Thus, international flows of fandom are bound up with discourses of football in Aotearoa New Zealand, and provide grounding to discussions of fan practice.

The 'fan body': Fandom is personal

I start at the 'geography closest in' (Longhurst 1997). Through sharing my story of fandom, I aim to untangle the nexus of relationships which construct my identities. As I received and analysed the personal fan stories that were shared with me, I began to reflect on my own fan identity and how this shapes the research. Hearing other fans speak of their family, their memories and histories brought back to me: the sounds of my dad yelling at the television in the middle of the night; the sight my of dad and brother crouched over a blank laptop screen at 3 am on a freezing winter's night, trying to get scores off an online radio station; the smell of the school fields on which my younger brothers played; and, the faces of my own family members, fellow fans past and present, a lineage of support of which I am now part.

My interest in sport is firmly rooted in my family and 'intimate ties' (Oswin and Olund 2008). As is the case for many fans, my father was the driving force in creating my identity as a football fan (Dunn 2014; Parry Jones and Wann 2014). Born in Leicester in the United Kingdom, his interest in football was driven by his father, my grandfather, who also identified as a Leicester City Football Club[5] supporter. My father and his family migrated to Aotearoa New Zealand when he was four years-old. My grandfather never returned to England and his continued support of Leicester City FC, and of the English national men's squad, was a means by which both his and my father's identities as 'English' could be fostered. When my parents visited England and met members of my father's family, my great-uncle recalled that he missed my grandfather the most when attending football matches, as they had always gone together.

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[5] The first time a club's name is mentioned in the text of this thesis it will be written in full – for example Leicester City Football Club or Associazione Sportiva Roma. For the remainder of the text the name will then be abbreviated – for example, to Leicester City FC or AS Roma.

My grandfather committed suicide the year that I was born and so he never played a direct role in shaping my fan identity. Football fandom, however, has become a project of remembrance for my family as it has often been said by my parents that my grandad would have enjoyed having his grandchildren take an interest in football. Football support has become a way for me to acknowledge the legacy of my grandfather and also to create an emotional link with my English family, many of whom I have never met. Through this, I feel a sense of closeness to them which collapses both distance and time.

In an example of this, following the success of Leicester City FC in winning the English Premier League at the end of the 2015/2016 season, emotions and memory were brought to the surface not only for the football fans in my family. The following image is of a 'Leicester' rosette my mother made to celebrate the teams' victory:

Figure 2.1: 'Leicester City' rosette: a family project of remembrance (Image taken by author)

My father received one of these rosettes as did each of my brothers and one was placed on my grandfather's grave in Rotorua: remedying the absence between his resting place in Aotearoa New Zealand and the city of his birth.

Adding a further layer of family connection to Leicester City FC and to the sport of football, my paternal great-grandmother was an 'ultra' supporter of the team. This is a recent addition to my own fan identity, as I grew up knowing very little about my great-grandmother as she had divorced my great-grandfather in the 1950s and did not have access to her children, including my paternal grandmother. What I now know is she was a super-fan of Leicester City FC and my family is now in possession of photographs of her queuing outside stadia around the United Kingdom to watch the team play in regular matches, cup finals and every match in-between. In 1970, at the height of the Cold War, she visited Russia to not only pay her respects at Lenin's tomb but to meet the great Russian goal-keeper Lev Yashin. The following image is taken from a newspaper article covering her exploits, received from her son, my great half-uncle:

Figure 2.2: Excerpt from newspaper about great-granny's visit to Russia, circa 1970

My fan identity is firmly rooted in family history and projects of memory and remembrance. Highlighting the fluidity of fan identity, however, I do not follow family tradition in supporting Leicester City FC. Instead, I follow London club Arsenal FC. I began to take an interest in watching football in my early teens and

briefly supported Blackburn Rovers. It was, however, when I began working following leaving secondary school that I started to follow football seriously. During a 'gap year' I worked in a retail chain whose staff roster was dominated by (male) football fans. Not only was my manager a crazy Liverpool Football Club fan, but so were many others who worked in branches up and down the country. It became a daily ritual to share banter about the performance of different football teams, with friendly rivalry being part of phone-calls, emails and notes attached to courier packages.

Not only did this spur me to support a team in order to fit in with the work-place culture, it also legitimised my fan identity outside of the context of family. I began to forge my identity as an Arsenal FC fan despite never having been to London and having no family connection to the city. I was attracted to a co-incidental piece of alliteration: the club was called *Ars*enal, the then manager was *Ars*ene Wenger, and the star player at the time was named Andrey *Ars*havn. A number of years later football still dominates my Facebook feed, I own several small pieces of merchandise, I follow gossip associated with the club, and belong to an online group of Arsenal FC knitters.

My support of a national representative team is also embedded in family and memory. Picking up on my mum's genealogy and her family history, I support the German men's representative squad. Rather than support the England senior men's team, and reflecting the ups and downs my dad has experienced as a supporter, I have chosen to draw on a matrilineal line of support. This is an acknowledgement of my mum's German heritage which - following the two World Wars - was suppressed and largely forgotten until relatively recently. Both my younger brother and I also follow the fortunes of Verein für Rasenspiele e.V Mannheim, the closest professional football team to the village of Höhen-Sülzen were my mum's great, great, great-grandparents were born.

What is also of note in regard to my fan identity, which has implications for this research project, is my gender. As a cis-gender woman who supports football, there has been little limitation to the performance of my fan identity from within my family. I have also experienced little opposition to my supporting of football from work-mates, friends and acquaintances. Carrying out a research project on

football fandom did, however, condense and bring to my attention gendered elements of football fandom. Particularly within interview situations, I was reluctant to engage in banter or ribbing, with my lack of confidence in my knowledge about football making me worried about embarrassing myself in conversation with older, male fans. The fans I interviewed were not, however, seemingly interested in trading banter. Highlighting the influence of my gender identity on my own, and others fan, performances, the fans I interviewed appeared to feel comfortable sharing their feelings with a woman, who may be stereotypically associated with emotions (Butler 1990). Many opened up about the emotional elements of their fandom, to this project's benefit, with several participants ending their interview by claiming they felt they had been to a therapy session.

Through recounting details of my own fan identity in relation to my family, the creation of my fan identity and the impact my body had on this research what becomes clear is the messy nature of contemporary football fandom. As a fan I associate with Leicester City FC and VfR Mannheim through my family, Arsenal FC through my own identity and my body as a woman affects how this is read during my interactions with fans. What are also shown are the multiple associations with place which infiltrates fan identity. Drawing from my own identity, the United Kingdom, Aotearoa New Zealand, Leicester, London, Höhen-Sülzen and Rotorua all feed into and shape the ways in which I express, and 'home' my fan identity.

Football in Aotearoa New Zealand

When discussing fan identity, the influences around fan 'bodies' which foster the performance of fandom are also worthy of examination. Fans' location in Aotearoa New Zealand can be used to provide a 'national' context through which to view fan practice. For fans who participated in this research, not only was Aotearoa New Zealand domestic football a topic of often lively conversation, the majority of participants were also involved in playing and coaching domestic football. In this section I discuss how both football and football fans are placed in Aotearoa New Zealand at the scale of the nation. Linking together global flows of fandom and the 'place' of fans in Aotearoa New Zealand, Figure 2.3 shows the

location of interview participants in Aotearoa New Zealand in conjunction with the 'home' city of the club they support.

Location of NZ Fans & Clubs supported

NEW ZEALAND

Nº of fans   Clubs supported
(2) Manchester

Kaeo
Milan (1)

Auckland
(1) Birmingham
(1) Bogota
(1) Glasgow
(1) Liverpool
(1) Madrid
(1) Manchester
(1) Rome

Hamilton
(1) Leicester
(1) Liverpool
(3) London
(2) Manchester

Cambridge
Sheffield (1)
York (1)

Palmerston North
(1) Barrow-in-Furness

Wellington
Dundee (1)
Liverpool (6)
London (2)
Manchester (1)
Norwich (1)
Nottingham (1)

Figure 2.3: Location of fans in Aotearoa New Zealand and the clubs supported (Produced by Max Oulton 2017)

As shown in Figure 2.3, fans and their location in Aotearoa New Zealand, are drawn into international flows and fandom. Similarly, their place in Aotearoa New Zealand is linked to the landscape of contemporary football. Despite a

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wealth of information regarding football and its fans internationally (see, for example, Ben Porat 2010; Cleland 2010; Dixon 2012; Millward 2008), there has been little investigation into football in Aotearoa New Zealand generally, and football fans in Aotearoa New Zealand specifically. In 2002, Little asserted Aotearoa New Zealand football was worthy of examination due to its apparent 'absence' from the national sporting landscape, a rarity when discussing such a globalised game.

It is difficult to discuss the history of football in Aotearoa New Zealand without including references to rugby union (see for example Guoth 2006, Keane 2011, and Little, 2003). As sport has played a key role within the processes of colonialism and militarism, sport was being used as part of the colonising process within Aotearoa New Zealand at the same time schisms between football or soccer, rugby union and rugby league were formalising in the United Kingdom (Goldblatt 2006; Little 2003; Mangan 2012). These fault-lines are still etched within the Aotearoa New Zealand sporting landscape.

Retrospective gazing at the history and establishment of Aotearoa New Zealand football has identified key areas which strengthened the presence of rugby union as the dominant sporting code. A prime example of this work is Little (2003) and Guoth (2006) who suggest rugby union became the dominant football code in Aotearoa New Zealand due to socio-economic factors, the linking of rugby to colonial zeal and provincial pride, and the failure of football to become cemented in schools and universities. Chiefly, this has been attributed to the ability of rugby to plug into provincial rivalries while football remained focused on club level animosity. Rugby union also became the sport of choice for elite schools and for universities, a feat that football did not achieve (Little 2003).

It would be a mistake, however, to assume that rugby union was imposed upon the sporting landscape of Aotearoa New Zealand during the nineteenth century. Rather, it is more helpful to view the sport finding root and enthusiasm as it fitted the dominant discourses of pioneering masculinity already present (Phillips 1996). This pioneering masculinity can still be detected within discourses of the 'typical kiwi bloke'. This archetype, and part of Aotearoa New Zealand's iconography, is "apparently passionate about rugby . . . he drinks large quantities of beer . . . looks

out for his mates, a rough diamond who is at his best when faced with physical adversity or war" (Law, Campbell and Shick 1999 14).

The New Zealand Football Association was established in 1891 by the four provincial football associations active at the time: Auckland; Wellington; Canterbury; and, Otago (Hilton 1991). The first football association was formed in Auckland in 1886, with Canterbury and Otago established in 1889 and Wellington in 1891 (Houston 1952). The fact that Aotearoa New Zealand consists of two main islands and the difficult nature of early travel has been given as the reason for the five year delay between the formation of the first regional associations and the establishment of a national body (Hilton 1991).

The first national competition took place in 1892 with a shield, and prize money, donated by a Scottish businessman, Robert Brown (Hilton 1991). This short-lived initial competition – it lasted 16 years under the initial tournament rules – was shared between the four earliest regional associations (Houston 1952). This four region focus signals that football was relatively slow to move out of the main urban centres. Thus, it was not until the 20th Century that associations were formed in regions such as the Hawkes Bay, Nelson, Wairarapa and Northland. A further national competition, the Chatham Cup, was established in 1923. Again the cup was donated to the NZFA, this time from the crew of the HMS Chatham in return for the kindness that had been shown to them during the ships stay in Aotearoa New Zealand (Hilton 1994). Rules for the competition where drafted similar to those governing the FA Cup in England.

The peripheral position of football within Aotearoa New Zealand culture, however, must not prevent an examination of the history of the sport in this country. Indeed, as Little (2003) asserts, the popularity of the sport has often been underestimated in hindsight. In a demonstration of this, as noted earlier, the majority of research participants were involved in domestic football, and a wide range of involvement was evident. For example, participants were involved in coaching elite men's teams, playing in social leagues, managing domestic clubs and playing in secondary school competitions.

Football is, however, more widely practiced in Aotearoa New Zealand than at first appears (Guoth 2006). As a reflection of this, linking to the fans who participated in this research, of the 32 fans interviewed for this project all had been involved in playing and/or coaching football at some point. In the 2007/2008 *Active New Zealand Survey*, the last, and largest, such survey carried out by Sport and Recreation New Zealand to date (SPARC), 6.8% of those surveyed participated in football (SPARC 2008). This translates to over 200,000 Aotearoa New Zealanders participating football. Scratch the surface even further and what becomes evident is that a thriving amateur football scene exists within Aotearoa New Zealand. This may be attributed to the Aotearoa New Zealand men's senior team's successes in the Fédération Internationale de Football Association[6] (FIFA) elite Men's World Cup (Bruce and Stewart 2015). Also, for some, there exists a rejection of the perceived violence of rugby union with football presenting a 'safer' sporting option (Little 2002).

A number of domestic competitions operate within the landscape of contemporary Aotearoa New Zealand football. Aotearoa New Zealand boasts only one professional football team, the Wellington Phoenix, who participate in the Australian top-tier competition the A-League. Club competitions in Aotearoa New Zealand centre on the top tier competition for men's association football. Going through numerous major sponsors during its history, in 2017/2018 the top-tier men's competition was the ISPS Handa Premiership (New Zealand Football 2017). Emerging out of the Aotearoa New Zealand National Soccer League, which ran between 1970 and 2004, the ISPS Handa Premiership is the top association football division in Aotearoa New Zealand. Based around professional and semi-professional teams, there are two parts to the competition: the League, which constitutes the regular season; and the Championship playoffs between the top four teams from the League (New Zealand Football 2017). Due to this two-tier structure, there is no relegation or promotion between the ISPS Handa Premiership and lower division competitions. Other active men's association leagues are based on regional associations. For example, the Northern League

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[6] FIFA is the global governing body for the sport of football. Formed in 1904 by seven European countries, the organisation spread across the rest of Europe, Africa, the Middle East, Asia and the Americas during the 20th Century (Goldblatt 2006). One of the largest global organisations, FIFA recognises over 200 nations and is at the centre of football's normative power structures having been accused variously of systemic sexism, racism and financial misconduct (Goldblatt 2006).

features three divisions and encompasses teams from the upper half of the North Island. A Central League also exists with one division featuring teams from the lower-half of the North Island (*Ultimate New Zealand Soccer* 2017). The Chatham Cup is still run annually.

Of the women who participated in this research, two had been involved in playing and coaching football. A third played in a social league and a fourth was involved in domestic women's football through her daughter. Mirroring a binary which exists at an international level (Caudwell 2011c), women's football is separated from men's within the domestic sporting sphere and there is significantly less media coverage of the women's game despite enjoying success at an international level (Cox and Thomson 2003). In regards to women's association football in Aotearoa New Zealand, a National League exists and in the 2016/2017 season featured six teams (*Ultimate New Zealand Soccer* 2017). There is also the Women's National Knockout Cup and Northern, Central and Southern Leagues.

Introducing the clubs and leagues featured in this project: (Trans)national contexts

Building a detailed picture of the contexts in which fan identity operates, trans-national relationships play a key role in shaping the expression of fan identity. The geographic location of clubs is closely interwoven with financial power and visibility through the national leagues in which clubs compete. The visibility of a club ensures the degree to which fans can engage with the club, creating trans-national connections. Based on the allegiances of the fans who participated in interviews, European teams and in particular clubs based in the United Kingdom dominate discussion. Across the fans who participated in this research, 19 were fans of English Premier League teams. Two supported Scottish league teams, one fan supported an Italian Serie A side, one fan supported a Spanish-based La Liga team and another was a fan of a Colombian first division club. This dominance of European-based teams, in particular those in the United Kingdom, points to a key element of football support in Aotearoa New Zealand; the dominance of the English Premier League as a global sporting and media behemoth.

Across the fans who participated in interviews, there is a diversity of clubs supported, with a total of 21 different clubs recorded as objects of support. These

clubs are, however, concentrated within a specific geographical area as is illustrated in Figure 2.4:

Figure 2.4: Name and location of clubs supported by research participants (Produced by author 2017)

As is shown in Figure 2.4, despite a wide range of clubs being supported by fans, they are concentrated in the United Kingdom. The geographical distribution of clubs can be distilled further as demonstrated in Figure 2.5 which identifies the cities in which clubs are based:

Figure 2.5: Location of cities which are 'home' to clubs supported by interview participants (Produced by Max Oulton 2017)

These clubs, as shown in Figure 2.5 are clustered in the United Kingdom and Europe. By focusing on the cities which act as 'home' for clubs, it is possible to narrow the geographical focus of support. In an example of this, despite a range of clubs supported across 32 interview participants, the cities of Liverpool, Manchester and London in the United Kingdom, act as 'hubs' of support. These cities function as 'hubs' for those who participated in this research. These hubs can be seen in Figure 2.5 as eight fans supported clubs based in Liverpool, four in Manchester and four in London. This focus of support is further highlighted when compared to the other cities listed on Figure 2.5 with one club supported in each city by one fan. As a visual illustration of the location of clubs supported by interview participants, this map provides a geographical reference point for locating trans-national fan homes.

Having begun discussions of the trans-national contexts inhabited by fans by illustrating the location of the clubs supported, one of the key ways in which context can be provided for international fan homes is through flows of media content. Media coverage, and in particular televised matches, are the key link between long-distance fans and the club they support, making the locations marked on Figures 2.4 and 2.5 readily available to fans albeit in a 'virtual' manner. Despite television being a key constituent of creating fan homes – which will be explored in-depth later in this thesis – this landscape of media coverage is fluid and shifting. In an example of how fan 'homes' are subject to temporal fluidity, this section will briefly overview the televised match content available to the fans who participated in this project.

At the time of the first interviews carried out for this research during the 2015/16 northern hemisphere football season there were two main deliverers of match content in Aotearoa New Zealand: Sky TV and Premier League Pass. Both of these were user pays. For Sky TV customers sports channels could be added on to a basic package which was then paid for monthly at around NZD$73, with the option of purchasing A-League games on a match-by-match basis through the Sky TV platform Igloo for NZD$19 per game. For Premier League Pass, a full years' subscription could be purchased at NZD$187 with the option of subscribing monthly. In regards to free-to-air content, one EPL match per week was shown on TV ONE with an hour of EPL highlights shown on a Wednesday night. Within these two delivery methods, the league which received the most airplay was the English Premier League, and in the case of Sky TV, Premier League teams were dominant with content from the Manchester United Football Club, Manchester City Football Club, Liverpool FC, Arsenal FC and Chelsea Football Club television channels available.

In an example of how fluid television rights and coverage can be, the media landscape changed for the 2016/2017 Northern Hemisphere football season. Premier League Pass was disestablished with the dominant coverage of football passed to Sky TV. As Figure 2.6 illustrates, the EPL retains a bulk of coverage. Other European leagues, such as La Liga from Spain and the French Ligue 1, also receive exposure:

	10:30AM	11AM	11:30AM	12PM		
266 beIN SPORTS 1	Matchday: MNC v SWA 8:30 AM - 10:30 AM	Classic Match: LEI v MNU 10:30 AM - 11:00 AM	Matchday: LEI v MNU 11:00 AM - 1:00 PM			
267 beIN SPORTS 2	LaLiga LIVE 8:40 AM - 10:45 AM	LaLiga World 10:45 AM - 11:15 AM	Ligue 1 11:15 AM - 1:05 PM			
268 beIN SPORTS POP-UP 1	12 FEB: Premier League: SUN v SOU 6:00 AM - 12:00 PM			12 FEB: Premier League: SUN v SOU 12:00 PM - 6:00 PM		
269 beIN SPORTS POP-UP 2	12 FEB: Premier League: WHU v WBA 6:00 AM - 12:00 PM			12 FEB: Premier League: WHU v WBA 12:00 PM - 6:00 PM		
270 beIN SPORTS POP-UP 3	12 FEB: Premier League: MID v EVE 6:00 AM - 12:00 PM			12 FEB: Premier League: MID v EVE 12:00 PM - 6:00 PM		

Figure 2.6: Screenshot of Sky Sport football listings. Collected Monday, 12th February 2017

Coverage of the Australian-based A-League, Aotearoa New Zealand ISPS Handa Premiership and the following English-based competitions; the Football Association Cup, the second-division Championship and the Football League Cup are available. Coverage from club television channels associated with Arsenal FC, Manchester City FC and Manchester United FC are also available. For an additional fee of around NZD$18 per month, Sky TV subscribers could also gain access to a series of BeIn Sports 'pop-up' channels which show full coverage of the EPL, the UEFA Champions League, the French first division Ligue 1 and the Spanish first division La Liga. There is some free content which includes EPL highlights, available once a week and coverage of the German Bundesliga and American Major League Soccer is additionally available.

Often running at a national level, the status of the league in which a club competes has an impact on the media to which a club has access. Impacting directly on long-distance fan practice, this dictates the access a fan has to content about their team. Certain leagues and clubs have significantly more financial power, and associated media exposure, than others. The following Table 2.1 provides a 'map' of privilege, illustrating the annual revenue and the size of the home stadia of each club supported by research participants:

Table 2.1: Club privilege and power[7].

Club Name	League	Location	Home stadium	Seats in stadium
AS Roma	Serie A	Rome	Stadio Olimpico	70, 634
Arsenal FC	English Premier League	London	The Emirates	59, 867
Aston Villa	English Football League Championship	Birmingham	Villa Park	42, 826
Atlético Madrid	La Liga	Madrid	Vincente Calderon	54, 907
Barrow AFC	English National League	Barrow-in-Furness	Barrow Building Society Stadium	5, 045
Celtic FC	Scottish Premiership	Glasgow	Celtic Park	60, 411
Chelsea FC	English Premier League	London	Stamford Bridge	41, 631
Dundee United	Scottish Championship	Dundee	Tannadice Park	14, 223
Everton FC	English Premier League	Liverpool	Goodison Park	39, 572
Inter Milan	Serie A	Milan	San Siro	80, 018
Leicester City FC	English Premier League	Leicester	King Power Stadium	32, 312
Liverpool FC	English Premier League	Liverpool	Anfield	54, 074
Manchester City FC	English Premier League	Manchester	Etihad Stadium	53, 000
Manchester United FC	English Premier League	Manchester	Old Trafford	74, 994
Millonarios	Categoría Primera A	Bogota	Estadio el Campin	36, 343
Norwich City FC	English Football League Championship	Norwich	Carrow Road	27, 244
Nottingham Forest	English Football League Championship	Nottingham	City Ground	30, 445
Sheffield United	English Football League Championship	Sheffield	Bramall Lane	32, 702
Tottenham Hotspur	English Premier League	London	White Hart Lane	36, 284
West Ham United	English Premier League	London	Boleyn Ground	35, 016
York City FC	English National League North	York	Bootham Crescent	8, 256

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[7] The information on this table is collated from the club websites listed in the glossary of clubs found at the end of this thesis.

What Table 2.1 clearly illustrates is the massive differentials which exist between football clubs. Drawing out sub-texts of power, the size of stadia indicates how many 'home fans' can attend a match. In turn this directly affects the number of tickets sold and potential revenue collected by a club. For example, clubs such as Barrow Association Football Club and York City Football Club have stadia that seat under 10,000 fans. This is in stark contrast to the grounds of Associazione Sportiva Roma (AS Roma), FC Internazionale Milano (Inter Milan) and Manchester United FC which sit over 10 times as many people. Stadium size is, however, not the sole indicator of power. The following graph (see Figure 2.7) illustrates the annual revenue of selected clubs (Sports Business Group 2016a):
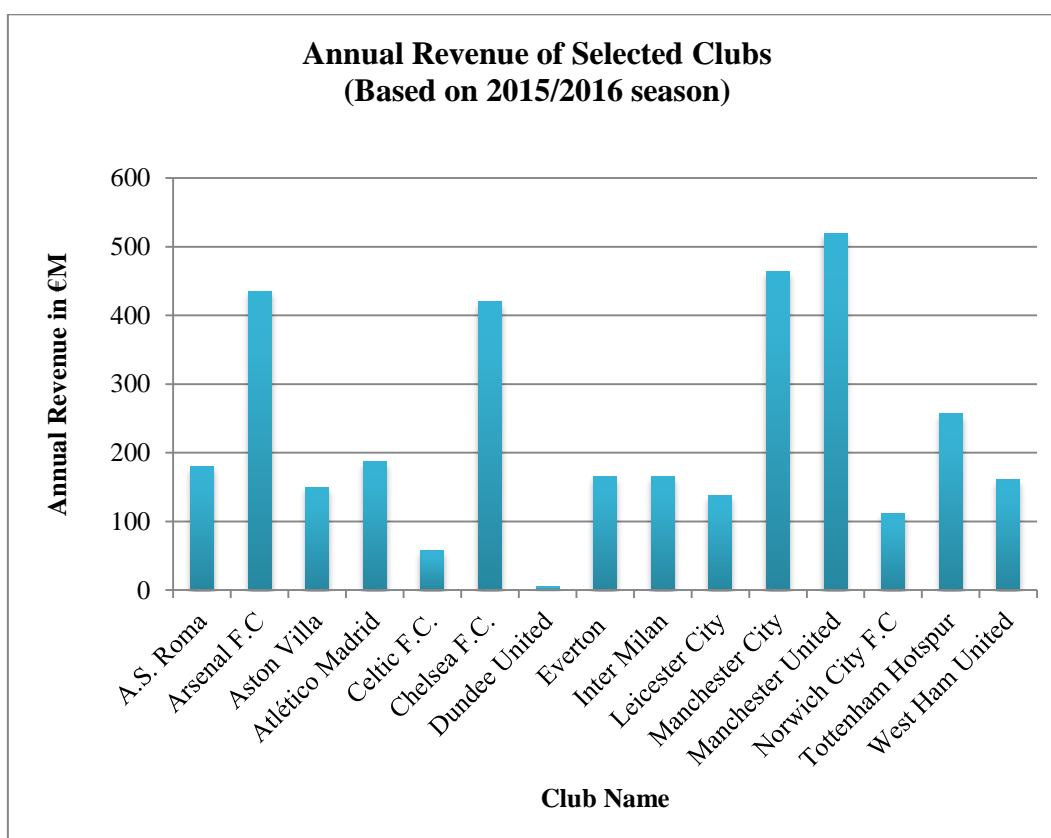
Figure 2.7: Annual revenue of selected clubs (Source: Sports Business Group 2016a)

With figures taken from a report revealingly sub-titled 'the Money League', not all of the clubs shown on Table 2.1 are shown on Figure 2.7. Annual revenue figures were not available for the following clubs: Barrow AFC; Millonarios; Norwich City Football Club; Nottingham Forest; Sheffield United; and, York City FC. This may be attributed to the small size of the club or to a club being outside

of the Euro-centric framework of the report (Sports Business Group 2016a). The graph shows clubs' annual revenue figures as well as the commercial power of football brands. Merchandise and the sale of television broadcasting rights makes up the bulk of received revenue. The dominance of merchandise and broadcasting rights reflects the power clubs wield as 'brands', with the most popular clubs demanding high prices for screening matches and selling large volumes of club merchandise.

Adding further texture to trans-national contexts, power relations are not only reflected in clubs but also between the leagues clubs compete in. The popularity of a league can greatly influence a club's visibility and the ability of a football club to grow its supporter base. Relating each club and league shown in Table 2.1 to the nation in which it operates and the structure of the tournaments, add further details to mapping out the exercising of power across and between clubs and leagues. For example, in England the English Premier League, the Football League Championship, National League and National League North all operate a round-robin format in which each team plays each other twice once 'at home' and once 'away'. The winner is determined by the highest points tally at the end of the season. There is a system of promotion and relegation between each of the tiers of English competition. The Premier League is the top tier men's tournament, with the Championship the second tier and the two National Leagues making up the fifth and sixth tiers of competition in English men's football.

Perhaps the most comprehensive contemporary information to be found about the financial and broadcasting status of the EPL and other European leagues, is a report published by Deloitte in 2016.[8] In the report, the English Premier League is named one the 'big five' leagues operating in Europe. This is due to the size of the revenues collected by the league which is noted to be in the EPL's case, the highest in Europe. In the 2014/2015 season, broadcasting rights accounted for 53% of the leagues total revenue (Sports Business Group 2016b). Following a renegotiation of broadcasting rights prior to the 2016/2017 EPL season, the revenues collected by the league was projected to exceed £1 billion per year. The bulk of this revenue was to be collected from European and Asian broadcasters,

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[8] This report entitled *Reboot: Annual Review of Football Finance 2016* can be found at www.deloitte.co.uk/sportsbusinessgroup.

with Australasia accounting for 3% of total revenue (Sports Business Group 2016).

This presents the image of a globally dominant league, a position confirmed by a 2016 report on the finances of European football leagues:

> Certain fundamentals remain key to the Premier League's global appeal, and underpin not only its media rights growth, but also the virtuous circle that maintains its advantage over other leagues . . . The multinational nature of clubs' playing squads, and increasingly clubs' coaches, owners, sponsors and investors spurs the global interest, and audience, for the League . . . in many ways one could be tempted to say the competition could sell itself (Sports Business Group 2016b 14-15).

This illustrates a clear commercial focus in the operating of the English Premier League. This focus is reflected in the dominance of Premier League teams supported by those who participated in this research.

Serie A is the top tier men's competition in Italy. AS Roma is based in the city of Rome and Inter Milan is one of two teams operating in Milan. La Liga fulfils the same function in Spain, with Atletico Madrid one of two top-flight teams based in Madrid. Both are also listed as 'big five' leagues. Both leagues operate a round-robin format. In regards to revenue and media exposure, again broadcasting rights account for around half league revenue. For Serie A this is 61% of total revenue and for La Liga this is 48% of total revenue. The report notes this is an increase on previous seasons due to a re-negotiation of international television rights deals (Sports Business Group 2016b). No detail is given of which territories show either league.

The Scottish Premiership is listed in the Sports Business Group (2016b) report under 'other leagues', with broadcasting accounting for 21% of total league revenue and no international television rights deals discussed. Half of this revenue is attributed to Glasgow based team Celtic Football Club, which has won the top flight Scottish men's competition 48 times since being founded in 1888. The top tier Scottish Premiership contains 12 teams while the second tier Scottish Championship, in which Dundee United competes, operates with ten teams. The limited number of teams competing in these leagues is the reason why they operate a differing format to that of the English Premier League, Serie A or La Liga. In these two Scottish leagues teams play each other three times in a

combination of home and away games. Following this, the clubs are split into a top and bottom six which determines overall victory, promotion and relegation.

Categoría Primera A is the top tier men's competition in Colombia. The one league not covered in the Sports Business Group (2016b) report, presenting a challenge to the Euro-centric nature of the football clubs that have been covered so far in this section, Categoría Primera A is the competition in which Millonarios competes. Running a similar round-robin format to the leagues operating in Europe, games take place over 19 rounds and the winner is determined by the highest points tally. Millonarios is one of two teams based in the capital city Bogota and was the one club outside of Europe and the United Kingdom supported by an interview participant.

Conclusion

Homes which football fans occupy, and the relationships which shape fandom, provide a context in which to fit the expression of fan identities. A focus on the 'geography closest in' (Longhurst 1997), I discuss my own fan identity to illustrate how my fan 'body' has been shaped by geographies of family, memory and history. Consideration of the history and current state of football in Aotearoa New Zealand demonstrates the influence of 'everyday' contexts in which fans operate. By discussing firstly the scale of the body and then the trans-national forces at work in fan identity highlights the messy, complex relationships that shape fan identity and fan homes. Fans in NZ have passion for the game but marginal local space means they must find alternate ways of engaging that passion – to express the ways they come home through football. To further build an image of this complexity, the following chapter identifies literature and discusses theoretical notions from across geography and sports studies.

Chapter Three: Bringing sport home

> What does home mean to you? Where, when and why do you feel at home? To what extent does your sense of home travel across different times, places and scales? In light of the multiple experiences of home in the modern world and the complexity of home as a theoretical concept, we surmise that we would get many and varied answers to these questions. Some may speak of the physical structure of their house or dwelling; others may refer to relationships or connections over space and time. You might have positive or negative feelings about home, or a mixture of the two. Your sense of home might be shaped by your memories of childhood, alongside your present experiences and your dreams for the future (Blunt and Dowling 2006 1).

Alison Blunt and Robyn Dowling's (2006) important publication *Home* facilitates discussion of the emotional, fluid, multiple and stretched nature of home, as the above quote suggests. While they do not connect fandom with homes, I use this text as it allows me to weave together sport and home literature, providing a nuanced and affective theoretical framework. I use Blunt and Dowling's (2006) critical geographies of home framework as a scaffold for examining the homes made and inhabited by long-distance football fans. Scholars have not yet married together literature on sport and home. This chapter expands discussions of the geographies of home by examining existing literature on sport and home. Remedying a gap in both home literature and sport literature, a critical review of literature extends discussions of sporting homes to embrace ideas of imaginary and emotional homes. The underlying subtexts evident in sport literature that implicitly deal with notions of home are also addressed.

Following my research questions, I examine the ways 'things', 'people' and 'places' co-produce fan homes and the webs of power and privilege that underpin the expression of fan identity. To do so is to create a framework which embraces the manifold ways sports fandom influences feelings of home. Through this, sporting 'homes' are exposed as nuanced, complex and emotional, and geographies of home are extended to embrace the many aspects of individual and collective identities which shape feelings of home.

My aim in this chapter is not to provide definitions of home but to explore how home can be framed in and around sport, and vice versa. The notion of 'critical geographies' of home employed by Blunt and Dowling (2006)

provides a flexible framework through which multiple aspects of home can be examined. Bringing together previous work on home in the development of a flexible conception of the space of home, Blunt and Dowling (2006) suggest home is firstly both material and imaginary (things); secondly, home is the centre of power relations and identity performance (people); and, thirdly, home is stretched across multiple spatial scales (place). Whilst these facets are delineated in this chapter, there is a significant interweaving together of each theme (Blunt and Dowling 2006).

In the sections that follow, each element of Blunt and Dowling's (2006) critical geography of home is teased out. Linking my research questions with literature from geographies of home and sports scholarship, I create a strong foundation for the analysis of fan homes. I start by unpacking the relationships fans have with 'things' and the material cultures which construct fan homes. Examining how relationships with 'things' influence fan homes pushes geographies of home to embrace alternative means of creating home and extends discussions of home and sport to encompass emotional homes. Based on the notion of home as both material and imaginary, the interweaving of the physical and imaginary elements of home can be exemplified through the use of material objects that create 'senses of home' (Gregson 2007; Morrison 2013; Rose 2003a and 2010). Stretching geographic ideas of material objects, the home stadium functions as a powerful and privileged 'object' in fan imaginaries (Charleston 2009; Ramshaw and Gammon 2010). The notion of material cultures can be stretched to encompass the use of technology which allows long-distance fans to bridge distance to the 'object' of their fandom. One particular object which can be accessed through technology is the home stadium, thus destabilising the home stadia as a singular 'home space' (Dodge and Kitchen 2009; Weed 2008).

The second facet of Blunt and Dowling's (2006) critical geographies of home is home as the centre of identity and power. This facet will be the subject of the second section of this chapter. Viewing home as created through relationships with 'people', the role of gender and family are key in unravelling fan identity and the workings of power in fan practices. Within geography, home has been

scrutinised as a gendered space (Brickell 2012; Domosh 1998; England 2006), while football fandom has been critiqued as a gendered practice (see for example Caudwell 1999 and 2002; Dunn 2014; Jeanes 2011). When existing ideas within geography around the gendering of sporting homes are applied to sports scholarship, a framework is established for critiquing the gendered power relations inherent in the expression of fan identity. These gendered performances of fandom are socially constructed and require the repetition of particular, hegemonic discourses of 'being' a fan (Butler 1990). Drawing on the notion of 'intimacy' as used in the work of Oswin and Olund (2010), I explore how close connections between the self and others can work to challenge normative gendered binary performances. The family can act as the basis of creating a supporter identity. Addressing the silence of families in geography through ideas of intimacy, family can be stretched across spatial scales and relationships, highlighting football fandom as a social practice. Using the notion of intimacy to stretch family allows the idea of 'home fans' to be made fluid, providing opportunities to question the fault-lines of power in hegemonic performances of fandom.

The concluding facet of the critical geographies of home framework - and the concluding section of this chapter - addresses home as open, porous and multi-scalar. By drawing together the symbiosis of material and imaginary space, and home as the centre of power and identity, a scaffold is created to tease out fan relationships with 'places' and to present a more fluid notion of fan homes then exists within current sports literature. Embracing fan homes as multi-scalar also allows geographers a framework for establishing the manifold ways people create home. Acknowledging the multi-scalar, emotional nature of home spaces positions home as stretched across public and private space (Blunt and Dowling 2006). Drawing on the work of Ahmed (1999 and 2004), home is freed from geographic location and multiple emotional connections to 'homes' are positioned at the centre of analysis (Boccagni and Baldassar 2015; Gorman-Murray 2009). Linking sports 'home' spaces and critical geographies of home, 'home nation' exposes the manifold ways football fans express attachments to both nation and home. Embracing the influence of multiple homes on fan identity allows for the delinking of discussions of fandom from the powerful imaginary of a singular

'national home'. As a powerful representation of home, the home nation provides ample opportunity to highlight the manifold homes at work within fan practice. Drawing on the work of sports scholars such as Burdsey (2006), Müller (2014) and Ramírez (2014), allegiance to national representational teams provides a window through which to view discourses of national belonging.

Home as the meeting of the material and imaginary: Things

Material objects play a key role in creating senses of home. From collections of belongings (Gregson 2007) to family photographs (Rose 2003a and 2010), objects give the physical structure of a 'house' the emotions associated with 'home' and belonging. In this section I acknowledge the importance of material objects to fan identity while developing what Noble (2004) describes as 'simple' consumptive relationships. The ways in which material objects constitute home, a gap which exists within literature on football fandom (see for example Brick 2001 and 2004; King 2011) are addressed. 'Things' are emotional and imbued with memory and are therefore a key constituent of fan homes. I combine Blunt and Dowling's (2006) notion of home with Anderson's (1991) 'imagined communities' to create a framework for analysing the emotional role of 'things'. In particular highlighting the emotional elements of 'things' demonstrates how objects function to constitute an imagined, 'stretched' (Gorman-Murray 2006) sense of home that exists across overlapping spaces. Through this, I orient Blunt and Dowling (2006) away from demonstrating how emotions give physical space meaning to arguing that long-distance fans use material objects to make imaginary connections and 'homes' real.

Building on the notion of home as both physical and material, as posited by Blunt and Dowling (2006), I argue for the consideration of 'home-making' practices for football fans. In particular, I examine the role material fandom objects or 'things' play in creating home. Material objects act to create an emotional 'sense of place' which reinforces ideas of belonging, community and identity. Material objects are positioned as capable of creating a connection to ideas of home as symbolised by a football club. In light of this connection, I address how the imaginary connections which govern fan practice are made 'real' through the use of material objects such as merchandise. Material objects allow fans to 'make-real' imaginary

connections to a football club. Through this, 'things' play a fundamental role in the co-production of fan homes. Placing relationships with 'things' at the forefront of analysis allows home to be stretched from material structures. Through examining how material objects such as laptops and televisions act as conduits linking imaginary communities, notions of what constitutes a 'thing' are challenged (Guschwan 2016a).

Feelings of 'being at home' are woven through both material spaces and imaginaries. Homes exist as emotional spaces and are deeply interwoven with articulations of identity. Furthermore, the emotionality of home renders feelings of home unstable and fluid (Ahmed 1999). Home is produced through memory, everyday lived and imaginary practice; homes can also be curated, with specific objects used to tell a particular, privileged story of home. As a centre of identity and memory in home spaces, people's senses of themselves are expressed through attachments to material objects (Blunt and Dowling 2006). As home is a space in which identities are performed, power relations are also exercised in home spaces (Blunt and Dowling 2006). Due to home being an emotionally loaded space, and the subject of construction through imaginaries, how home is assembled and performed acts as the locus of power, identity and belonging (Blunt and Dowling 2006).

Material cultures of home are vital for geographers seeking to establish an affective sense of place. For Morrison (2013), material objects within the home are significant in attempts to reinforce or undermine the hetero(sexual)normative identities of couples living in Hamilton, Aotearoa New Zealand. Items such as photographs of the couples help to selectively materialise their subjectivities and present a normative performance of heterosexuality, reflecting their cohabitation. The role of collections in reinforcing spaces of belonging is also clear in the work of Gregson (2007). Through examining the placement of objects in a number of households, Gregson (2007) notes that objects such as china placed prominently in the home and obviously 'cared for' were used to provide a particular, select material narrative for the lives being lived and the domestic space (Gregson 2007). Such material objects also act as a narrative for lives that had been lived and can be used to tell a particular 'story' associated with the home (Ahmed

1999). Through the careful accommodation of these objects, nostalgia, imagination and memory were mobilised to materialise a performance of the self (Gregson 2007).

Material objects are also imbued with affect and imbedded in practices which actively reinforce notions of domesticity. When examining the relationships between mothers and family photographs, Rose (2010) notes these 'objects' are key in creating an emotional 'sense-of-place' within homes. In particular, how photographs are grouped together on walls illustrates family members 'belonging together': "Family photos, in houses, are looked at by a particular group of women, and through that looking, a certain kind of stretched, integrative domestic space is performed" (Rose 2010 9). Images 'together', and in prominent display within the home, reinforce the feelings of 'belonging' between family members (Rose 2010). While these domestic objects were presented as spatial, they may also be temporal. Highlighting the role of home as the centre of memory and emotion, photographs of absent or deceased family members are displayed alongside images of those currently resident within the home. These framed photographs act as physical traces of family members' presence and therefore as a stand-in for the person themselves, remedying a spatial or temporal absence (Rose 2010).

As long-distance fans have a geographically 'distanced' relationship with clubs, Rose's (2010) notion of photographs as objects, remedying distance, can be directly related to fan practice. Tropes of belonging and the remedying of absence run strongly through fan relationships to material objects (King 2011; Kuh Jacobi 2015). In an example of sports merchandise remedying distance between fan and club, King (2011) traces the history of his Manchester United FC badge to reveal how mundane objects become totemic:

> I bought the badge in 1993, as I began my fieldwork on Manchester United and travelled each week on United We Stand/Red Issue buses to every Premier League ground in England, except Blackburn, and on an unforgettable drive to Budapest – and back. I wore it on a now long-since thrown away denim jacket. The badge denoted my quasi-membership of this small band of supporters while avoiding the political commitments which a proper replica shirt would signify. It was also a lot more comfortable to wear (King 2011 74).

Through becoming infused with his history of being a fan and the emotions and memories which have shaped his fan identity, the badge becomes a symbol of his supporter identity (King 2011). Through this, material cultures become palimpsests for memory and experiences. The badge symbolises 'belonging' or being 'at home' within groups of Manchester United FC fans (King 2011). The small object became imbued with meaning concerning King's (2011) identity as a fan. Similar to the work of Rose (2010), the badge becomes a symbol that is actively used to tell a particular story of connection and 'belonging together' between fan and club. The wearing of badges, and other merchandise, also acts to remedy spatial distances between fans and the team they support, mirroring family photographs 'standing in' for absent family members (Rose 2010).

The use of material objects plays an important role in creating an affective sense of home within sport. As van Campenhout and van Hoven (2014) note, the display of memorabilia is key to maintaining attachment to place within sport. The curating of objects such as photographs and awards in sports clubrooms allows the telling of stories around such things as the normativity of masculine performances of sport or the primacy of the sports club as a locus of belonging. Hegemonic masculine performances of sport construct this space and feelings of belonging. These objects also provide a narrative through which the story of the club can be read (Gregson 2007). In these clubrooms images of past players, club histories, 'club talk' and shared memories extend and reinforce the club's identity as a space of normative masculine belonging (van Campenhout and van Hoven 2014). The use of club merchandise such as scarves and jerseys act as symbols, thereby reinforcing those bodies that feel at home and/or not at home within the club (van Campenhout and van Hoven 2014).

As demonstrated in the discussion of van Campenhout and van Hoven (2014) sporting homes are spaces which are open to wide, normative discourses of belonging. Providing a means of theorising the open nature of home, drawing on the work of Gorman-Murray (2006), the relationship between material and imaginary home allows for the interleaving of public and private space. Thereby destabilising the binary between privileged public space and domestic, private space. Through this notion of 'stretched homes', the emotions associated with

material objects leak through a variety of spaces, rendering the definition not only of home, but of what constitutes a material object, fluid. Gorman-Murray (2006) demonstrates how home is an expression of identity for gay Australian men and, in so doing, challenges the binary between public and private space:

> [T]hrough some of these uses, 'private' homes are made to interact closely with, and reach into, 'public' sites of belonging, such as bars and beats, stretching home, and rendering these public sites homelike. Consequently, these queered and stretched homes interpenetrate with both the private and the public, and there is an imbrication of unhomely domestic spaces with homelike nondomestic environments (Gorman-Murray 2006 54).

By blurring the boundaries between public spaces such as bars and 'beats' and private homes, gay men queer the heteronormative space of home and bring the private into the public and vice versa. Ahmet (2013) elaborates on the stretching of public and private space, positioning public 'un-homely' spaces as the centre of identity formation. Spaces such as public parks, streets and football pitches become 'homelike' as a feeling of safety and security develops when occupying those spaces and the variety of objects which populate them (Ahmet 2013). Home has no fixed definition and 'feeling at home' is based on experiences and ideas of belonging (Ahmet 2013).

Applying the work of Ahmet (2013) and Gorman-Murray (2006) to discussions of football fandom facilitates understandings of space as blurred, with public spaces such as the stadia leaking into the private space of the fan's home or body. The notion of 'stretched' homes remedies a gap within sports literature, making explicit how experiences and ideas of belonging shift the focus away from the primacy of a material space and onto the emotions attached to 'objects' (King 2011). While material objects are key to creating feelings of home in a physical space, I argue these feelings of home can be stretched beyond the physical to constitute imaginaries of home. Material objects have occupied a prominent role for geographers in their considerations of how home is constructed (Gregson 2007; Morrison 2013; Rose 2010). For sports scholars, using the notion of objects as key in establishing feelings of home can extend discussions of sport and home away from the material into realms of emotional and imaginary connections.

In terms of conceptualisations of material space, home stadia present an exception to the lack of focus on home within sport. As a material space, the stadium as 'home' has received direct attention. Relevant literature may be found not only within sports studies but also environmental psychology (Canter et al 1989). For football fans, stadia exist at the intersection of 'spiritual homes' and topophilic attachments, acting as the material representation of sporting rituals (Ramshaw and Gammon 2010). The physical structures of buildings act as palimpsests, simultaneously materialising memory while performing visible constituents of space. Through such spatial memory, stadia become significant sites for fans, with these spaces taking on mythical qualities. Imaginaries are brought into the materiality of the stadium (Huyssen 2003; Puwar 2012). Home stadia becomes privileged, and therefore fetishised, within emotive fan narratives (Ahmed 1999).

Indeed, the 'home' stadium lies at the heart of performing specific notions of national and local identities (Heinonen 2010; Kassimeris 2010; Ramshaw and Gammon 2010). Just as geographical examinations of material objects tell particular stories, the performance of home stadia have an important role in the act of sharing specific normative stories of fandom. In these stories, stadia act as symbols for the material places in which they are located through narratives of home. These narratives of home encourage the material space of the stadium to be linked with the imaginaries of nationalism and belonging. Additionally, nationalist fervour exhibited at major stadiums – seen as the 'home' of specific sports – exposes the home stadium as multi-scalar. The performances of nationalism carried out in major stadia open up individual bodies and the space of the stadium to the discourses of politics and imagined belonging inherent in the 'doing' of national belonging (Blunt and Dowling 2006; Knott et al 2017).

Just as the objects discussed by King (2009) Morrison (2013) and Rose (2003a) are imbued with emotion, memory and power, so too is the object of the stadium. The home ground or home stadium is often the locus of such attachment (Bairner 2014). Powerful imaginaries are imprinted on to the physical space of stadia. Echoing the work of van Campenhout and van Hoven (2011), sporting spaces are shaped by the particular hegemonic narratives shared within significant spaces such as clubrooms or stadia. Through this, memory and the ability to recall past

achievements of a team are central to sport fandom and the stories that are chosen to be shared within these spaces (Hargrave 2007; Harte 1995). These memories act to reinforce a sense of collective belonging and 'being at home' within sport (van Campenhout and van Hoven 2014), while also linking individuals to specific spaces which 'signpost' emotional connection (Ahmed 1999; Ramshaw and Gammon 2010). These connections link not only to the physical ground but also to family and community (Bairner 2004). The memories created within these spaces are not only collective but highly individualised. Thus, for some fans memories transcend temporal constraints to become significant, life-long emotional ties (Bairner 2014).

In an example of work which explicitly notes connections between sport and home, Ramshaw and Gammon (2010) provide a critical analysis of how narratives of 'home' are used to market Twickenham, a rugby union stadium located in London. Ramshaw and Gammon (2010) explain that the use of the word 'home' is chosen to imply authenticity and identity when relating to a sports ground. This naming provides a 'sense of home' that is notably topophilic, with the emotion being pinned to belonging in, and 'love' of, a specific space (Tuan 1999). To explore how the notion of home functions in relation to sport, three tropes of home may be identified. The first is 'home' as the birthplace of a sport, the place in which a sport was invented. Such a 'birthplace' tends to be rooted in mythology and is often difficult to verify (Ramshaw and Gammon 2010). The second trope is the 'spiritual home' of sport, places which act as the representations of the traditions and values of a sport (Ramshaw and Gammon 2010). The third trope of sport and home is the stadium, a space which mixes both the spiritual and material homes of sport to provide a palpable space in which traditions and rituals associated with sport may be practiced (Ramshaw and Gammon 2010).

Charleston (2009) draws on concepts adopted in environmental psychology to provide alternate meanings of home in relation to sport. Drawing on a qualitative survey of fans, Charleston (2009) argues that fans view stadia as a 'home space'. As the material 'representation' of their chosen team, the 'home ground' reflects notions of 'home' for fans. Emotions which influence these feelings of 'being-at-home' include the space of the stadium representing identity, belonging,

territoriality, and attachment, and the valuing of a long residency in the space (Charleston 2009). These findings are troubled, however, as it is questioned if these emotions are prompted by the physical space of the stadium or the feelings of community, solidarity and pride the stadium represents (Charleston 2009). Yet, by understanding home as both material space and emotion, Charleston (2009) notes that stadia become 'home spaces' through the mutual construction of physicality and emotionality.

Advancing the notion of material objects and cultures away from conventional tropes of collections of things (Gregson 2007; Morrison 2013), home may be stretched to include the increasing role technology plays within the home (Conner 2013; Kerr and Emery 2011; Wilson 2007). Examining the role of television in the practice of long-distance fans offers the opportunity to explore how homes can be 'stretched' across spatial scales and the 'object' of the home stadium accessed readily. Television destabilises the primacy of the home stadia as a privileged foci of fan identity. Furthermore, in conjunction with the internet, television coverage has a significant role in bridging space and creating 'home' (Conner 2013; Kerr and Emery 2011). This 'bridging role' is of interest to geographers exploring meanings of home as technology has the ability to reduce space, re/shaping domestic space and social relations (Dodge and Kitchin 2009). As Bell (2009) notes, the availability of technology brings cyberspace into home space, reconfiguring how home is used and understood.

In regard to the objects of laptops and television themselves, the embedding of software into objects changes domestic space. These technological objects produce both new spatialities and augment existing socio-spatial relations. The rise of 'coded' objects, such as televisions with satellite connections and recording capacity, offers such flexibility as the ability to access a variety of content regardless of geographical location and to record this content, compressing time (Dodge and Kitchin 2009). Through time-space compression, there is increased capacity to view matches, access forums, social media and other content related to teams both at distance and within the domestic. This troubles the binary between public and private, a process which facilitates the leaching of the public space of the stadium into private domestic space.

By examining the relationship between material and imaginary fan homes, discussions of technology go beyond the function of objects. Technology creates and 'affects' homes. I suggest the ideas presented by Rose (2010) may also be applied to the notion of 'virtual spectatorship' (Weed 2008). Re-orientating Rose's (2010) work on family photographs and applying the notion of 'remedying absence' to television coverage offers an opportunity to identify the emotional connection between a fan and club:

> As I have already noted, family photographs are an important means through which a 'home' is made from a house. But family photography also stretches 'integration' beyond the house . . . family photography became popular in a period of mass industrialization, urbanization and migration, and family photos have always been 'a portable kit of images that bears witness to [a family's] connectedness' when they no longer live together (Rose 2003a 7).

Material objects act as a means through which a fan can access a club 'when they no longer live together', with spectatorship through television 'bearing witness' to their connectedness (Rose 2003a). Thus, increased technology and the availability of both live and recorded matches introduce liminal spaces of viewership which link to the intersection of material space and imagination (Blunt and Dowling 2006). In particular, viewing games in public spaces such as bars creates a liminal space between being in a stadium and being in the privacy of home (Weed 2008).

In an ethnography of England fans football spectatorship during the 2002 FIFA Men's World Cup, Weed (2006) analyses the relationship between the material, emotional and imagined in a pub. Weed (2006) positions the pub as in-between the functions of stadium, home and pub. He notes that the confined, closed space of the pub - without security staff - creates a troubled space in which fans are encouraged to express their emotional ties to England. Expressing their fan identity in opposition to 'others', the space of the pub becomes a 'national symbol' predicated on racism and xenophobia. Thus, when viewing the game between England and Argentina, pub-goers bellowed racist chants and sang anti-Irish songs, expressions that would not be acceptable within the highly surveilled and public space of the stadium (Weed 2009). These expressions differed from those taking place in the more public space of the stadium. Fandom is gendered, classed and raced, as Weed (2008) shows. These geometries of power are closely

related to the second element of Blunt and Dowling's (2006) critical geographies of home. In the next section I explore the influence of power and identity on fan homes, highlights how relationships with 'people' co-produce the expression of fan identity.

Power and identity: People

Home is not a neutral space (Blunt and Dowling 2006). As has been explored in the previous section, home is created through a wide variety of material cultures. These material objects are imbued with emotion, and memory, giving objects and the notion of home agency and power. Through performances of home as emotional, home is key in producing identity. Examining the relationship between home, football fandom and people's identities, fan homes are geometries of power. Privileged, normative fan identities such as hetero-sexual working-class masculinities are cast as 'at home' and those that are marginalised and 'other', for example women and masculinities which do not pertain to performances of 'hard' working-class normativity, are positioned as 'not at home'.

In this section I explore the literature on fan identity, privilege and power. The first of these examples is the relationship between power and gender identity. Football is positioned, both in the popular imagination and within academic literature, as a predominantly masculine practice, with patriarchal power structures clearly in evidence (Richards 2014). Butler's (1990 and 1993) gender theories highlight the socially constructed repetitions of hegemonic masculinity which shape dominate discourses of 'being' a fan. These powerful positions, however, are troubled by introducing the notion of 'intimacy' as a means of unfixing identity (Oswin and Olund 2010). The second example is the relationship between fandom and family. This highlights the role of 'family' in creating fan identity and (re)producing normative performances of fandom. Geographic ideas of intimacy 'unfix' identity and emotions which in turn, creates fluid and complex fan homes (Oswin and Olund 2010).

Home is a political site of identity expression and production, and varies according to gender, sexuality, ethnicity and class (Massey 1992). Privileged, normative identities are 'at home' and those that are marginalised and 'othered' are 'not at home'. For football fans, gender and sexual identity are laden with

power relations. The heteronormative, patriarchal power structures woven through fan performances marginalises ways of being a fan. As footballing 'homes' are sites of identity performance, identity connects with power relations through which identities are privileged (Blunt 2005). As Hoeber and Kerwin (2013 335) explain, a diversity of gender performances, are excluded: "we accept little beyond the traditional notions of hegemonic masculinity attached to sport fandom . . . If we do not accept that women and girls can be sport fans in a variety of ways, how can we expect other men and women to do so?"

Women and girls are actively involved in football cultures, yet participation is uneven (Caudwell 2011c). Football fandom revolves around the gendered binary of masculinity (privileged) and femininity (marginalised). This is troubled when one considers identities as relational (both masculine and feminine):

> Yet if intimacy has neither fixed geographies nor identities . . . it still has its object, a sense of self in close connection to others – other selves or other things – that inhabits that elusive space somewhere between the purely solipsistic 'me' and a wholly subsuming 'us'. Rather than straightforward liberation or oppression, then, what intimacy offers . . . is subjectification. It is the space in which we become who we are, the space in which the self emerges (Oswin and Olund 2010 60).

In relation to sport and gender, the 'self' which emerges is subject to socially constructed performances of gender identity. These performances are embedded within the heteronormative power structures governing fan performance (Butler 1990). Acknowledging the socially constructed nature of gender identity, the power relations inherent within the sport of football are 'naturalised' through repeated performances of hegemonic masculinised fandom:

> In what senses, then, is gender an act? As in other ritual social dramas, the action of gender requires a performance that is *repeated*. This repetition is at once a re-enactment and a re-experiencing of a set of meanings already socially established; and it is the mundane and ritualised form of their legitimation (Butler 1990 191; emphasis in original).

The 'gender blindness' (Free and Hughson 2003) - or everyday sexism - which positions men as 'home fans' rests on repeated performances of hegemonic masculinity. Studies of football are dominated by "*straight*, white *men* writing about other such *men*" (Richardson 2014 4; emphasis in original).

Heteronormative men - who support and play football - continue to privilege certain types of masculinity. Furthermore, both gender and sexuality continue to be marginalised in football studies (Adams 2013; Caudwell 2002 and 2011; Free and Hughson 2003). Through the application of the work of Butler (1990 and 1993), it is possible to confirm that the hegemonic performances of masculinity which define notions of what it is to be a football fan, are based on socially constructed notions of gender which are repeated in mundane, everyday ways. Through this repetition, these performances of masculinity begin to appear 'natural', governing the dominant way of 'being' a fan (Butler 1990).

The gendered discourses that shape 'being' a fan are based on dominant notions of gender within football but are contingent on wider relationships between sport and gender. These powerful notions of gender and sport are based on biological notions of sex and reinforce binary notions of sex and gender:

> And yet, the same governing bodies are keen to be seen promoting girls' and women's competitive football at local, national and international levels, that is, as long as women and girls' participation is distinct from men's competitive and men's elite football performances. In many ways, these governing bodies aim to differentiate not only women from men, but also femininity from masculinity. Sepp Blatter's (FIFA) now notorious statement 'the future of football is feminine' made at the closing of the 1999 Women's World Cup, signals the type of female footballer FIFA prefer: femininity is foremost (Caudwell 2011b 335).

Within football studies, a privileging of heteronormative men's fandom and men's experiences has occurred in conjunction with the maintenance of a binary division between '(men's) football' and 'women's football' (Caudwell 2011b). In an example of this, the field of football fan studies was originally dominated by examinations of 'exceptional fans' (Benkwitz and Molnar 2012) and these exceptional fans have been predominantly, and uncritically, hyper-masculinised, heteronormative 'hooligans' (Dunn 2014; Free and Hughson 2003; Richards 2014). The 'hooligan' as a paragon of exceptional or extreme fandom has been the subject of much academic debate (see for example, Armstrong 1998; Dunning 1999; Redhead 2010; Robson 2000). Through this focus on masculinity, masculine fan identities are privileged and perpetuated (Butler 1990). For football fans in spaces such as stadia, the dominant normative gender performance is one

of heterosexual hegemonic masculinity (Adams 2013; Butler 1990; Caudwell 2011).

Adapted from the Gramscian notion of hegemony, hegemonic masculinity may be defined as patterns of multi-faceted, socially constructed behaviours that imply male dominance (Connell 1995). Hegemonic masculinities may be multifarious with behaviours differing across institutions and, like other cultural phenomena, football has bred its own, specific form of hegemonic masculinity (Clayton and Harris 2004). Normative masculine supporter identities have been cast as oppositional to 'other' masculinities, with homophobic chanting used to marginalise and feminise fans (Caudwell 2011b). Football is therefore the domain of powerful, aggressive male bodies, codified as heterosexual (Clayton and Harris 2004; Willis 2015). In an example of hegemonic masculinity and hyper-masculinised fans, Robson (2000) claims that Millwall Football Club supporters are driven by the working-class values of masculinity that dominate their area of South London. For Robson (2000), a clear link exists between forms of masculinity and class status, with working-class men positioned by Millwall FC supporters as 'hard' and middle-class supporters of 'other' teams positioned as 'effete' and 'feminised' (Robson 2000). Performances of masculinity become a battleground in which certain class-based forms of masculinity are privileged over 'others'. Thus, football support is an enduring domain for the expression of 'hard', working-class masculinity (Armstrong 1998).

National and ethnic identity also present schisms along which performances of masculinity are acted out. This signals that identities enacted by football fans are not only complex but present across multiple fields of power (Oswin and Olund 2010). For example, Hughson (2000) points to young, Australian/Croatian men's performances of *machismo* as a core component of their identity as fans of Sydney Football Club. The chauvinism, misogyny and homophobia which the young men exhibited are key to the masculine identity created in tandem with football support. In this case, performances of masculinity are privileged, and othered along ethnic and nationalistic grounds as opposed to class schisms (Robson 2000). For Hughson's (2000) Bad Blue Boy hooligans, their Croatian identity and the fervent nationalism flowing from this forms the basis of their

aggressive masculinity. Any football fans openly displaying signs of a non-Croatian national identity were positioned as effete, effeminate and in opposition to the aggressive 'Croatian' ideals the young men had created. Football acts as a palimpsest for the grievances exacerbated by the Balkan conflict during the 1990s (Hughson 2000). The shouting, drinking and fighting which the 'hooligans' exhibited in the space of the stadium also stretched into domestic spaces, and their performances of aggressive masculinity 'leaked' into their homes.

While hegemonic performances of masculinity are 'at home' within spaces of football, by extension, 'other' gendered identities are marginalised as 'not at home'. This dichotomy privileges normative performances of 'hard masculinity' but has been positioned by both fans and scholars as oppositional to 'feminised' others. Indeed, the 'bodies' cast as not at home are women and 'other' masculinities. Within the 'home' spaces of football, both in stadia and beyond, homophobic and sexist acts illustrate the dominance of this heteronormative, 'hard' masculinity (Clayton and Harris 2004; Gaffney and Bale 2004). The use of chants within stadia involving terms such as 'faggot', 'fairy', 'rent-boy' and 'poof' provide an affective, sonic geography which clearly exposes the fault-lines of power in fan performance. Macho masculinities are positioned as 'at home' and 'other', 'effeminate' masculinities are not (Blunt and Dowling 2006; Caudwell 2011; Dick 2009; Gorman-Murray 2006).

When football scholars turn their gaze towards women who play and support football (Caudwell 1999 and 2002; Cere 2002; Cox and Thompson 2003; Dunn 2014; Harris 2002), repeated performances of femininity still pertain to hegemonic, heteronormativity (Butler 1990; Jeanes 2011). This continued sexualising and objectifying of women is key to perpetuating the hetero-masculinist nature of football (Athanassiou and Bury 2014). When they examined narratives of femininity at the 2012 European Championship, Athanassiou and Bury (2014) posit that women are positioned as 'care-takers' of masculinities, with normative and sexually charged performances of heterosexual femininities being integral to men's football (Athanassiou and Bury 2014). Pearson (2012), in his ethnography of English football fans, finds an endemic attitude of 'No Women at Football' amongst both men and women who consider themselves 'hard-core'

or committed fans. This, Pearson (2012) claims, is due to women who support football being synonymous amongst fan cultures with the casualisation of support and the growth of football fandom amongst the middle-class (Pearson 2012). Therefore, casual, middle-class fandom becomes feminised. Increasing numbers of women at football matches threatens the roles of traditional, working-class supporters (Malcolm, Jones and Waddington 2000; Pearson 2012).

Echoing the link between women and private domestic space (Blunt and Dowling 2006; Domosh 1998; Quinn 2010; Rose 2010), women as fans are positioned as 'private'. Value-laden explorations of football fans, aligning match attendance with 'authentic' fan performance (such as Redhead 1993), posits fans who follow football 'at home' on television or through the media as inauthentic or effeminate (Gosling 2007). Authentic masculine performances of fandom are aligned with public spaces such as stadia or pubs, while fandom performed in 'domestic' spaces is feminised and associated with consumption and 'inauthenticity' (Davies 1992; Gosling 2007; Redhead 1993; Robson 2000).

Examinations of gendered performances of power and privilege expose a dichotomised view of fan identity. While fan bodies are cast as at home and/or not at home, intimacy offers a useful framework for destabilising binary fan identities (Oswin and Olund 2010). The notion of intimacy offers the opportunity to unfix identities and to view fandom as created by the self in close connection with a range of others: from a football club to a city, and family and friends (Oswin and Olund 2010). Identifying fandom as shaped by intimate ties, brings nuance to discussions of power and privilege.

Just as home is both personal and political so are geographies of intimacy (Blunt and Dowling 2006; Oswin and Olund 2010). Unbound from the body and the domestic, scales synonymous with intimacy, feelings of attachment and belonging can be shown to work at any distance:

> [The] unfixing of scale has helped unfix identity in favour of a more nuanced sense of mutual production . . . relations such as gender to the home, race to chattel property, or sexuality to the closet are implicated in fields of power large and small . . . Through these, plural intimacies are produced along with multiple differentiations of bodies and spaces (Oswin and Olund 2010 60).

Geographic research into the practicalities of 'doing' intimacy as a lived experience of home and as a means of creating identity exposes the importance of relationships with 'people' in creating home (Harker 2010; Morrison 2013; Valentine 2008). There have also been powerful critiques of patriarchal, heteronormative families (Bell 1991) with 'family' associated with private, domestic space (Harker 2010; Valentine 2008). Examining intimate relationships reveals 'families' to be steeped in affect, emotion and imagination (Valentine 2008). Drawing on Oswin and Olund (2010) and discussing the creation of 'fan homes' encourages an expanded geography of family.

Using notions of 'geographies of intimacy', family can be used as an example of how close connections between the self and other create fan homes. Fluid and open conceptualisations of family can be explored through applying conceptualisations of the intimate ties that stretch across and between spatial scales (Harker 2010; Harker and Martin 2012; Valentine 2008). Through examining notions of intimate spatialities it is possible to trouble the binaries of local and global that are inherent in fixed tropes of place-based biological relatedness (Oswin and Olund 2010). Global processes are brought into the realm of the intimate and everyday (Harker and Martin 2012). Moreover, the use of intimate spatialities exposes family as something continuously 'done', created through a set of diverse, fluid and complex practices (Harker 2010; Morgan 1999). This approach positions family as fluid and flexible. Family is something continually practised and malleable (Harker and Martin 2012).

Unfixing identity allows for a range of relationships with 'people' to be embraced as key to fans feeling at home. For example, Valentine (2008) decries that lack of attention geographers have paid to wider family relationships between cousins, aunts, uncles, grandparents and step-families. Family is also a fluid concept, and similarly to geographies of home, can be extended to embrace a range of friends and communities (Valentine 2008). Examining football fan homes offers an opportunity for geographers to re-articulate the intimate relationships at the core of homes.

The home as the locus of identity also links to football fandom through the process of becoming a fan. As an historical process, the creation of fan identity

points to connection to a range of factors such as local pride, familial influence, style of play, the success of the club, team colours and club initiatives including the support of specific charities (Chiweshe 2011). Beyond aiding in creating a sense of identification with a club, these factors spread to relationships with others and create a sense of belonging within both material and imaginary communities. As an expression of place-based pride, and closely linked with identity, football provides ample ground for marginalising 'others'. Strongly linking with place and identity, power relations are inherent within the sport as illustrated through the mobilisation of binaries between self and other (Giardina 2003; Shobe 2008). Occurring through the ostracising of fans along lines of sexuality (Caudwell 2011), gender (Dunn 2014; Richards 2014) and ethnicity (Burdsey 2006; Giardina 2003), this relationship between 'self' and 'other' elaborates on the workings of power within football.

Applying intimacy and notions of family to football fans, the 'intimate' emotional connections which are felt between fan and club can be stretched across distance. Through the rise in globally available media, football support is unbound from attending physical spaces such as stadia 'in the flesh' and collective identities are established and maintained virtually. This not only extends to the relationship between fan and club but also between fans who share a sense of belonging and share identity through 'imagined' communities which flow across borders (Conner 2013). Fans' home, unfixed from physical space, also becomes contingent on communities and relationships with family and friends. The expression of fan homes becomes predicated on the creation of intimate connections between fellow fans.

Constructions of family provide an example of how power and identity spread into mobilisations of home. The notion of 'family' is linked to 'home' and the domestic, and has been positioned as a part of 'doing home' (Blunt and Dowling 2006; Domosh 1998; Valentine 2008). Family is also a key site for creating identities and because of this, the workings of power are evident (Gillis 1996). Football fandom and family are closely interconnected as it is family that tends to dominate the shaping of habits and practices of fandom (Dixon 2014). This then emphasises the multi-layered influence of belonging - belonging to a family

through to belonging to a community of fans. The space of home and the objects within it reinforce belongingness and relationality between family members (Rose 2010).

The notion of the 'family home' is deeply embedded in geographical processes, spaces and flows across spatial scales (Schroeder 2010). In a symbiotic relationship with the home, family is positioned as the vehicle by which identities are created and sustained (Harker and Martin 2012). In particular, connections are drawn between heteronormative families, domestic spaces and national identities (Blunt 2005b). Home and the nuclear family function as a key site for reinforcing national identities (Blunt and Dowling 2006). Fitting into patriarchal discourses, maternal figures are positioned as 'nourishing' national identity in relation to citizens or 'children' (Hage 1996). Gendered, familial identities performed in domestic spaces are both reflective and constitutive of collective identities lived out at national scales.

One way in which 'family' is spatialised is through notions of kinship and relatedness (Nash 2005). Feeding directly into discussions of power and identity, biological connection and 'blood ties' lie at the heart of 'kinship', with relatedness viewed as 'natural' (Nash 2005). The traditional notion of 'the family home' is tied to these notions of biological connection, 'blood', 'kinship', shared identity and discourses of who belongs within 'home'. These concepts also trickle through discourses of inheritance and a 'natural' bond between families. Signalling the close links between home and nation, these tropes of primordial kinship and blood also sit at the core of discourses of statehood and nationalism (Nash 2005). The focus on genetic relatedness, particularly in conjunction with family genealogy, functions to broaden notions of belonging to encompass personal as well as collective identities (Nash 2002 and 2004).

In relation to 'local' home fans, connections between fan identity, club and city are bolstered through tropes of authenticity and local birthright (Edensor and Millington 2008). Local 'belongings' and discourses of birthright are linked to position 'home fans' as privileged within their 'home' spaces. This can be seen clearly using an analysis of a 2005 marketing campaign by Manchester City FC. Acknowledging football is a site of contemporary identity formation (Best 2013;

Ramshaw and Gammon 2010), the 'Our City' campaign was framed around the assertion that 'real' Mancunians supported Manchester City FC as opposed to their local rival, Manchester United FC (Edensor and Millington 2008). This campaign tapped into the rhetoric of 'local' as privileged: authentic, pure, belonging and at home. Cementing the support of 'local' fans was the aim of the campaign, driving 'home' their innate belonging to the club. This is expressed through the language of genetics and 'blood', with one poster showing a pregnancy test kit with the accompanying line 'if it turns blue it's a city fan' (Edensor and Millington 2008). Supporting Manchester City FC, then, is not only posited as 'pure', 'authentic' and 'local' but also linked to birth-right, genetics and connections through blood (Nash 2002, 2004).

This discussion of blood and belonging links to notions of who belongs in sporting 'homes' and the binaries of 'local' and 'foreign', and 'local' and 'global'. A critical geography of home framework provides the tools to understand a relational view of space, with home stretching across and between spaces (Ahmed 2000; Blunt and Dowling 2006). Bringing together the previous discussions of home as material and imaginary, and as the centre of power and identity, the following section discusses the multi-scalar, fluid nature of home, thereby highlighting the elasticity of homes in the practice of football fans.

Home as multi-scalar: Places

When the threads of home as physical and imaginative, and as the locus of identity and power, are brought together, home becomes a multi-scalar, porous space. Shaped by social processes and power, home is thereby open to extra-domestic forces (Blunt and Dowling 2006). Home is at the intersection of public and private, with the domestic and the political functioning as relational and emotional (Blunt and Dowling 2006; Gorman-Murray 2006). Such an understanding of 'home' facilitates the establishment of multiple identities (Blunt and Dowling 2006). When examining fan relationships to multiple homes, I bring emotional connections to the fore (Ahmed 2004).

I present two illustrations of how home functions as multi-scalar, the first of which is how emotions render home 'mobile'. Weaving together notions of 'emotional mobility' (Boccagni and Baldassar 2015) and 'affective economics'

(Ahmed 2004) through fan practice, multi-scalar homes are 'emotional' spaces, where people's feelings of belonging act as the means through which bodies form collectives across and between space. The second illustration is 'home' nation. The discourse of 'home' nation is a potent illustration of how homes become 'fetishised', exposing the power geometries around expressions of place (Ahmed 1999). Making space for fandom to be seen as emotional, at the scale of the nation, emotions make imaginary communities 'real', sliding together bodies and communities through notions and 'blood' and genealogy (Nash 2002) to form powerful, potent imaginaries of belonging.

Homes are constructed across a range of places and spaces, with senses of home stretching from the body to the globe. In relation to this third framing of home, imaginaries of home are also key with feelings of belonging expressed across domestic spaces as well as transnational space (Blunt and Dowling 2006; Marston 2000). The feelings of belonging expressed through being at home are constructed and reflected across multifarious spatial scales including the body, the city and the nation (Marston 2000). Feelings of home within domestic spaces influence senses of belonging across other spatial scales such as a neighbourhood or the nation (Blunt and Dowling 2006).

Applying the notion of multiple homes to the study of football fan identity, the influence of place is moved away from a simple signifier of loyalty. In previous studies of fans, place plays a primary role in shaping the expression of fan identity. For example, performances of fandom can be shaped by where fandom is learnt, such as a working-class suburb (Robson 2000) or can be inflected by nationalism (Hughson 2000). At a fundamental level, football clubs can be intimately tied into places and become synonymous with the name of a suburb, city or nation with a fan expressing a support for 'Liverpool' or 'Barcelona' (see for example Ben Porat 2010; Best 2013; Giulianotti 1994; Morris 1981). Introducing a focus on embodied identity, however, makes space for a fluid idea of long-distance fan homes. Fan homes are fluid, nested within embodied fan history and the influence of multiple places (Oswin and Olund 2010). Feelings of home for fans are threaded across and between place (Ahmed 1999).

The negotiations between 'roots' and 'routes' of fan identity are key for discussions of long-distance fans (Conner 2013). While traditional notions of fandom have privileged football support as synonymous with loyalty to place and 'roots' (Robson 2000), the globalising process football has undergone in the past two decades provides readily accessible material relating to football clubs through a range of mediums such as television, print and internet-based media (Kennedy and Kennedy 2015). This creates an 'imagined' community - 'routes' - linked with football clubs but spreading away from a 'traditional' topophilic support base (Conner 2013). Support for clubs spreads beyond the material space of home stadia and the city in which the club is based to embrace fans at distance (Conner 2013).

By giving shape to the multiple places which shape fan homes, the moving between homes, be they imaginary or otherwise, offers the opportunity for multiple homes to be realised (Brown et al 2014; Jones, Brown and Richards 2014). Tying together home as porous and multi-scalar makes it possible to identify the many homes working in fan practice. When the threads of home as physical and imaginative, and as the locus of identity and power are brought together, home is framed as a multi-scalar and fluid. As a result, home is stretched across a number of spaces and places. Therefore, place matters in discussions of fan homes and, furthermore, the doors to football fan homes are opened. While the vision of a multi-scalar home provides ample scope for this, drawing out the 'imaginary' homes fans inhabit emphasises the fluidity of home, moving away from the privileging of singular homes. By rendering football homes as active, emotional and fluid, static fan homes are re-configured to embrace a multiplicity of fan history, experiences and memory.

Feeling at home within domestic spaces influences senses of belonging across other spatial scales, including the neighbourhood and the nation (Blunt and Dowling 2006). Home - through embodied feelings - may be stretched across a number of spaces. Place matters in discussions of fan homes, an emphasis which opens the doors to football fan homes and enables recognition of the diversity of fan homes. By re-configuring home to embrace multiple places, fan connections are expanded:

> This reconfiguration does not take place through the heroic act of an individual (the migrant), but through the forming of communities that create multiple identifications through collective acts of remembering in the absence of a shared knowledge or a familiar terrain (Ahmed 1999 329).

The subject of Ahmed's (1999) critique is the migrant, illustrating how 'leaving' home represents not loss of belonging but the opportunity to re-configure ideas of home. I argue these sentiments can be applied to football fans, placing emphasis not on the leaving of homes and the act of migrancy but through the creation of imaginaries. This shifts focus away from the primacy of topophilic attachments and the privileging of connection to a singular football 'home' to embrace the influence of multiple 'homes' in fan practice. The 'sojourner' in the work of Brown et al (2014) also fulfils a similar role to the migrant in Ahmed's (1999) discussions through the lens of sports scholarship. The temporary inhabitance of places by football fans offers the opportunity to acknowledge the many places which filter through fan stories (Jones et al 2014). I acknowledge the multitude of imaginary and real places fans inhabit such as fan communities, virtual internet fan-spaces and stadia, either mediated or in-the-flesh. An actual leaving of home may not take place but through the establishment of an imaginary community of fellow fans multiple identifications of home and collective acts of remembering relating to a club can be experienced.

Continuing the theme of imaginary homes, I argue that the emotions of distanced football fans play a key role in creating multi-scalar homes. When discussing fandom as creating multi-scalar homes, it is emotions which stretch feelings of belonging and community across and between spaces, shifting away from a privileging of experiences in-the-flesh (Giulianotti 2002). Weaving the work of Ahmed (1999 and 2004) through Blunt and Dowling's (2006) critical geographies of home allows for emotion to become central in mobilising homes across space. Drawing on the work of Ahmed (1999), this stretching of emotional connections introduces a form of emotional 'migrancy'. Ahmed (1999) points to how 'leaving home' troubles fixed ideas of belonging and identity.

This movement between homes does, however, allow home to become fetishised. This can be seen across fan practice and is discussed later in this section using the example of 'home nation' and national representative teams. As part of moving

away from fixed notions of home and framing a fluid approach to manifold homes, moving through and across homes allows for the formation of communities and multiple identifications (Ahmed 1999). Long-distance football fans create connections to multiple communities. The emotional connection between a fan and club can be stretched across distance as can the links between communities of fans. These connections are renewed and strengthened through collective acts of emotional 'communion' such as watching a football match or commenting on an online forum (Ahmed 1999).

Stretching emotional connections between fans and communities acts as a springboard for unfixing ideas of identity and belonging. Viewing long-distance fandom through the lenses of 'affective economics' (Ahmed 2004) and 'emotional mobilities' creates a framework for 'leaving home'. Placing emotions as central to fan practice, affective economics (Ahmed 2004) provides a framework for examining how multiple homes are created. Acknowledging emotion as key to providing a surface to both individual and collective bodies, emotions are envisioned as both private and public, circulating between bodies to create the appearance of surfaces and boundaries (Ahmed 2004). Emotions 'do things', sliding together bodies and ideas to form collectives. Such sliding is another way in which home is understood as a feeling, an imagination, and as a physical space, illustrating how communities become woven together. Through this, emotion becomes the 'glue' which sticks fans together but also 'sticks' fan to significant spaces, embracing the 'routes' of fan identity (Giulianotti 1994; Conner 2013).

Detailing the mobile nature of fan emotions, the notion of 'emotional mobilities' fleshes out visions of multi-scalar fan homes: "Emotional lives [are] conducted not solely in proximity but are increasingly performed, practiced and displayed in a variety of situated and simultaneous interactions, including across distance and space and over time" (Boccagni and Baldassar 2015 74). Destabilising boundaries between public and private space, emotions are shown to leak across space. The act of being a long-distance fan of a football club allows emotional connections to be stretched across distance, and to be performed in a variety of spaces.

Gorman-Murray (2009 4-5), in his work on experiences of queer migration, suggests that "emotions, feelings and senses act as the connective tissue between

self and place. Comfort, belonging, desire and fear felt in and through the body shape attachments to place". This notion of emotion as 'connective tissue between self and place' lies at the heart of the construction of multi-scalar fan homes. Acknowledging emotions as fluid and as key to 'sliding together' bodies, spaces and communities, allows for a nuanced examination of what home means for fans.

Home is constructed at the juncture of emotional fan bodies and places. Functioning as the fulcrum around which multiple homes are constructed, the body anchors performances of home, initiating the 'sliding together' of emotions and communities (Ahmed 2004). Home is acknowledged as being multi-scalar and extending across a number of spaces (Blunt and Dowling 2006). Loosening home from physical spaces, emotional attachments are shifted to the heart of creating manifold 'homes'. Ahmed's (2004) notion of affective economics, and work on emotional mobilities (Boccagni and Baldassar 2015; Gorman-Murray 2009), illustrate how flows of emotion bring bodies together to form collective identities and feelings of community. One powerful demonstration of the 'sliding together' of emotions, bodies and place is evident in the relationship between sport and national representation, a topic which will be explored in the following sub-section.

When discussing fan relationships with places, 'home nation' is a powerful imaginary. The space of a singular nation as 'home' is privileged in discussions of sport (Knott et al 2013 and 2017; Mangan 2012). Similarly, the nation is also a potent symbol is discussions of home (Blunt and Dowling 2006). As an example of how home can become fetishised (Ahmed 1999) - and as a counter-point to discussions of 'border-crossing' and fluid ideas of mass culture – the nation acts as a complex meeting site of sometimes contradictory discourses. Nash (2002), for example, points to the relationship between discourses of ancestry, genealogy and 'home nation':

> Instead of simply endorsing the orthodox opposition between supposedly politically progressive ideas of rootlessness and the supposedly regressive idea of roots, I consider genealogy as a practice through which ideas of personal, familial, collective, ethnic, and sometimes national senses of culture, location, and identity are shaped, imagined, articulated, and enacted. I explore the ways in which genealogy can be a personal engagement with, as well as a retreat from, difficult questions of identity,

ethnicity, and belonging, and can be mobilised both in reaction to anxieties about changing patterns of national ethnicity and to reimagine the nation as a plural 'diaspora space' (Nash 2002 28).

Nash's (2002) work may be applied to discussions of long-distance football fans to show 'home nation' is complex and fluid. While acknowledging the free-flow of emotion across collectives of fans (Ahmed 2004), nation and national identity provide a 'sticking' point:

> The genealogical quest to know with certainty 'who you are' and 'where you come from' by knowing your ancestors suggests a primordial and predetermined identity that can be simply uncovered. Genealogy promises a neat and satisfying pre-given and predetermined collective identity, such as 'Irishness' guaranteed by descent (Nash 2002 28).

Fan identity is often based on highly individual personal history (Chiweshe 2011; Dunn 2014). This can result in multiple places offering 'a neat and satisfying pre-given and predetermined collective identity' (Nash 2002 28). Drawing on the close connection between family and nation (Blunt and Dowling 2006), 'blood' provides the basis for belief in fan connection and 'belonging' to a particular national side:

> The doing of kinship therefore involves ideas of incontrovertible bonds based on blood and routine practices of choosing kin in ways which make blood a fundamental but flexible criteria for relatedness. Answers to questions of who is a relative, and what sort, thus deploy a flexible sense of the primary significance and sometimes insignificance of blood (Nash 2005 452).

Sport functions at the nexus of ethnicity, nation and culture. Sporting allegiances do not, however, follow the static boundaries of singular nation states. Examination of the construction of nations via fan practice offers the opportunity to deconstruct the privileging of a singular nation 'home'. Building an image of mobile 'homes', sporting allegiances can, however, mirror the 'stickiness' of specific spaces. As the landscape of contemporary football has become globalised (Conner 2013; Kerr and Emery 2011), increased 'border crossings' by 'football texts enhance a fluid and connected view of both mass culture and fandom (Harrington and Bielby 2007). Different contexts produce different forms of fandom, exposing the creation of fan identity as intimately connected to place-based social processes and identity constructions (Harrington and Bielby 2007).

In an examination of diasporic British Asian football players, Burdsey (2006) points to how these young men used sport to destabilise and trouble their fluid and multiple notions of home. When discussing football, the men interviewed expressed a desire to play for, and support England. This sits in contrast to discussions of cricket, where players interviewed expressed sentiments supporting Pakistan, Bangladesh or India. Which national team is supported in which sporting code is directly related to how 'English' the men 'felt' (Burdsey 2006). During major football tournaments, the players supported England due to 'feeling' more English while for cricket tournaments this shifted towards 'feeling' more Asian.

Physical spaces can also represent the destabilisation of topophilic notions of 'home nation' within sport. Ramírez (2014) uses the Latin American social football scene in south London to explore diaspora as a lived process. The appropriation of 'territory' by Chilean diaspora in London exposes how 'home nation' is re-imposed through diasporic space. Through analysing the relationships between Chilean diaspora and Britons on *la cancha* or 'the pitch', it is shown how imposing performances of 'home nation' de-stabilises nostalgic imaginings of 'homeland'. Founded by Chilean exiles during the 1970s, *la cancha* became a key space for performing belonging and reframed the practice of dwelling for newly arrived migrants (Ramírez 2014). This piece of London became an intrinsic part of Chilean diasporic identity, absorbed into meanings of being Chilean and acting as a space in which discourses of 'home nation' as bound together with football can be performed. *La cancha* is presented as the 'home' turf of Chilean diaspora in London, a space in which specific performances and understandings of 'being Chilean' are acted out. 'The pitch' functions as a multi-scalar space in which imaginaries of national identity are drawn into community spaces.

Diasporic performances and imaginaries can also trouble the notion of singular 'home nations', collapsing diasporic national identities to create continental imaginaries. Andean migrants in Spain, for example, forge imaginaries that transcend the local (Müller 2014). Focusing primarily on Ecuadorean and Bolivian migrant workers, Müller (2014) illustrates how within the space of football, shared experiences of the sport transcend national identities to create pan-South American diasporic imaginaries. The trope of 'home' nation is posited

as fluid and changeable, with the scale of the nation positioned as secondary to shared South American identity. What is also noted is that the tournaments organised by Spanish institutions, initially instigated as vehicles for integration, become tools for delineating migrant spaces and performing imaginaries (Müller 2014).

Knijnik (2015) provides an example of home as conflated with the safety, security and comfort of the nation. Drawing on his own experiences of relocating from Brazil to Australia, Knijnik (2015) chronicles the development of his attachment to Western Sydney Wanderers. This attachment stemmed from Knijnik 'feeling at home' with the club and the wider club culture and fan-base. As Knijnik (2015) attests, his initial interest in football was sparked by attending matches in Brazil where fandom is performed in a specific manner. Dancing, singing and chanting are used to express support for teams and to aid in creating shared identities for fans. While this practice was absent from Knijnik's (2015) initial experiences of sport in Australia, his engagement with Western Sydney Wanderers Football Club generated a sense of belonging. When attending matches in Western Sydney, the mainly South American fan-base of the club used similar practices of dancing, singing, embracing and kissing to show support for the club and collective identity as fans. This familiar culture drew Knijnik (2015) to the club, prompting a deep sense of affective belonging that helped create a sense of belonging.

The fluidity between and across homes also links to discussions of the binary between 'global' and 'local'. The binary between local and global has been subject to powerful critique from geographers (for example Gibson-Graham 2006 and Massey 2005). In particular, constructions of the 'local' are privileged, with 'local' discourses of purity and authenticity being positioned in opposition to inevitable, powerful and uncompromising 'global forces' (Pratt and Rosner 2006). For Massey (2005), the 'local' is associated with the emotive imagery of 'realness' and 'meaningfulness'. This stands in stark contrast to the ensuing construction of the 'global' as abstract (Massey 2005). This positioning of the authentic 'local' and abstract 'global' run in tandem with theorisations of football fandom. 'Local' fans are posited as authentic, real and active, while 'global' fans become foreign, passive and abstract (Giulianotti 2002; Massey 2005; Redhead 1993).

This binary can begin to be deconstructed through viewing the terms 'local' and 'global' as relational (Massey 2005). Mediated relations, such as those long-distance fans have with the teams they support, can be positioned as real and authentic, similarly to watching a game 'in the flesh' (Harvey 1993). Accordingly, place is constructed through both material and imaginative forces (Blunt and Dowling 2006). Place is both lived and imagined. As information is produced by embodied individuals who are situated in place (Hayles 1999), mediated relations are the result of flows and connections between and through media outlets, people and places.

The link between locality and belonging within spaces of stadia and cities are privileged through notions of 'home fans'. This framing relies heavily on ideas of belonging and authenticity in which the 'local' is central to narratives of 'home fans'. While the terms global and local are used commonly within studies of sport, particularly in conjunction with issues of community and 'race' (for example Campbell and Williams 2015; Castillo 2007; Lusted 2009), these concepts have not been deconstructed to the same extent as has occurred in geography. Within popular imaginings, however, 'home teams', constructions of the local and belongings are densely woven together with discussions of football and home.

Conclusion

In this chapter I have 'brought sport home', untangling and repackaging the literature on 'things', 'people' and 'places' which co-produce home for sports fans. Literature on home and literature on sport have not yet been married. To open geographies of home to the influence of sports fandom is to encompass alternative ways of creating home and being at home. For sports literature to embrace geographies of home means sporting homes become emotional and fluid. The critical geographies of home provided by Blunt and Dowling (2006) presents a strong framework on which to ground the homes made and inhabited by long-distance football fans. Opening a dialogue between sport and home, and assembling a framework of literature to begin an analysis of football fandom, offers a unique opportunity to tease out the webs of power and privilege which underlie fan homes. Unpacking these relationships to 'things', between 'people' and to 'places' allows the synthesising of literature which acts to frame the

geographies of identities which football fandom both guides and of which it is a key component.

Teasing out the framework presented by Blunt and Dowling (2006) allows for differing aspects of home to be expanded and addressed. Viewing home as both material and imaginary highlights the ways home functions as an emotional space. The physicalities of dwelling spaces and relationships between people and material belongings illustrate how objects reinforce an emotional 'sense of place' within fan homes (Rose 2003a). Untangling relationships with 'people', and the power relations which are interlaced with fan practice makes space for examining who counts as a 'home fan'. (Butler 1990). The notion of intimacy offers scholars the opportunity to deconstruct interpersonal fan relationships and unfix identities. This opportunity facilitates a view of fandom as being created by the self in close connection with a range of others: from a football club to a city, and family and friends (Oswin and Olund 2010). Exploring fan homes as deeply influenced by place allows space for examining the extra-domestic forces which shape fan homes (Blunt and Dowling 2006). Moving away from place-centric discussions of fandom within sports literature, the body becomes the locus of 'home' and emotion the connective tissue between self and place (Gorman-Murray 2009).

In this chapter I explored how bringing together literature on home and literature on sport can break new ground in the understanding of how homes are constructed, lived out and felt. In the ensuing chapter I examine the ways I collected stories from fans about their homes.

Chapter Four: Collecting and making meaning of fan spaces and places

Soon after the turn of the century, Weed (2005a and 2005b) argued that sports research lacked 'grounding' in wide theoretical traditions. Responding to Weed (2005a and 2005b), Higham and Hinch (2006) offered 'geography' as a potential solution for the 'piecey' appearance of research on sport. Higham and Hinch (2006) proposed that various spatial scales and insights into meanings and emotions created in and through 'place' offer a firm foundation for holistic research into sport. Fleshing out this continuing debate surrounding sports research, scholars have identified a gap in knowledge concerning how athletes, fans and spectators 'be' (Barrick et al 2016).

Drawing on these arguments, the methods I used to gather data for this project reflect a holistic approach to football fandom. While ethnographies of football fans abound (see for example Pearson 2012; Richards 2014; Weed 2006), there has been little focus on the embodied geographical nature of fandom. Drawing on Higham and Hinch (2006) and with the fan body acting as the locus of experience, I ground this research in contemporary critical geographies (Barrick et al 2016; Schneider et al 2014). Through using a variety of methods, I have also aimed to create a holistic vision of fandom embracing verbal discussions of fan stories in interviews along with photographing visual records of fan activities, 'going-along' with embodied doings of fandom and analysing texts of stories fans tell themselves and others.

In this study, the use of a variety of qualitative methods encourages a nuanced understanding of global football fandom in Aotearoa New Zealand. I employed five methods during data collection for this study: interviews; self-directed photography; participant sensing; go-alongs; and, textual data analysis. Each phase of research, the method used and the dates of the research phase are illustrated on Figure 4.1:

PHASE ONE (June-October 2015)	•Participant sensing at the FIFA Under20 World Cup (Number carried out: 3) •Interviews (Number carried out: 21)
PHASE TWO (August-November 2016)	•Self-directed photography (Number carried out: 3) •Interviews (Number carried out: 11)
PHASE THREE: (June 2016)	•Go-alongs (Number carried out: 2)
Textual Data Collection	•February2015-January 2018
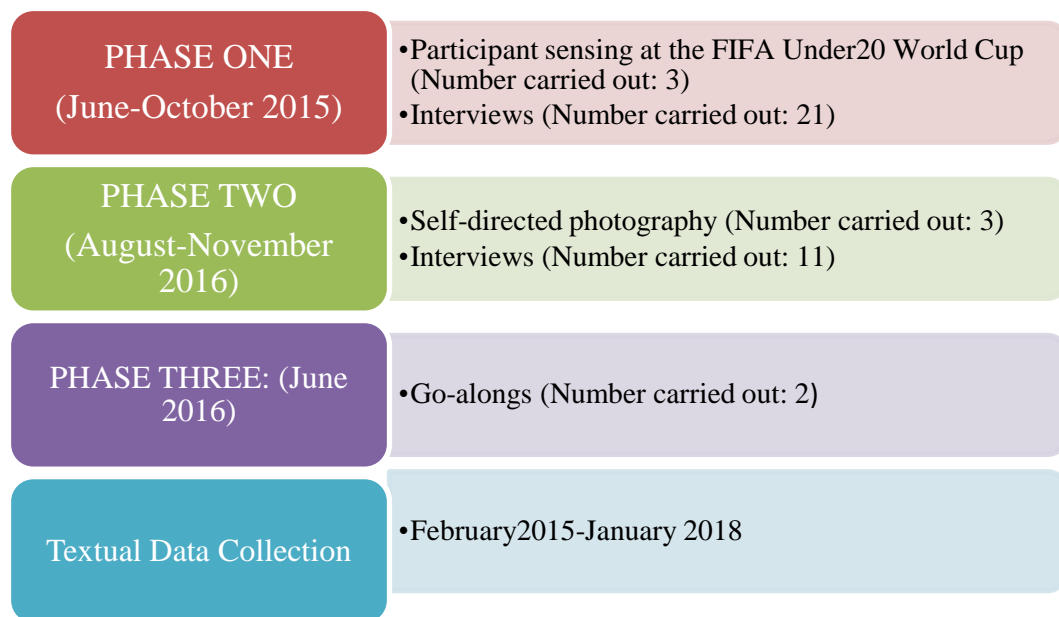
Figure 4.1: Diagram of methods used.

Initially, I examine the methods used to recruit fans for this research, acknowledging a silence surrounding the process of recruiting participants within geographical research. Through examining the process of recruitment, a context is provided through which to position both the methodological decisions undertaken for this research and the wider research findings (Kristensen and Ravn 2015). Having discussed how fans were recruited to participate in this research, I introduce the 32 fans who took part in this project, their location in Aotearoa New Zealand, the team they support and their demographic details.

Following this, participant sensing will be discussed in relation to its use as both a 'stand-alone' method and in conjunction with other research phases. Following this, interviews are examined. As a variety of mediums were used to conduct interviews, experiences using these different mediums are analysed using relevant literature. Self-directed photography is then discussed. Literature will be employed to frame the photography process and how self-directed photography was carried out. Following from photography, go-alongs are discussed as a method through which the relationship between football fans and televised content is highlighted. Additional data was also collected through analysing textual sources as the media is a significant force in shaping and maintaining fan identity. The process of selecting sources for analysis will be

discussed in the ensuing section. The process used to analyse data is a key component of methodology, and as such the system of thematic analysis used to explore the stories collected during this research process, will be the subject of the concluding section of this chapter.

Un-silencing methods of recruitment

Recruitment is an active part of research and can affect research results in unforeseen and surprising ways. Relative to this impact, however, the recruitment process is often 'silent' within texts. Drawing on examples of qualitative interviews across the social sciences, Kristensen and Ravn (2015) assert that the recruitment process must be 'unsilenced' therefore revealing the negotiations of gaining participants and consequently the effect that recruitment has on the resulting data. While it is common for geographers to detail how the process of recruitment was carried out, these comments are often carried out in conjunction with discussions of method/ology. Recruitment becomes a lead-in for methodological discussions and is not, as Kristensen and Ravn (2015) argue, discussed as a separate 'method'.

Making the recruitment process used in this research explicit, I provide context to this project through sharing not only a piece of the participants' story but also a part of my own experiences as a researcher. Two methods of recruitment were utilised to gather participants for this research. The first of these was snowball sampling. This method of sampling begins with small set of participants and 'snowballs' out through word of mouth (Kristensen and Ravn 2015). Snowball sampling was identified as particularly useful for dispersed populations or populations outside of the researcher's physical reach (Lo 2009). Due to the familial nature of support (Dixon 2011; Dunn 2014), the online nature of global fans (Kerr and Emery 2011) and the dispersed nature of football support in Aotearoa New Zealand, this is an appropriate method for gaining participants. Through the use of this method, the networks and 'intimate ties' (Valentine 2008) between fans were relied upon to gain participants.

This method of sampling was initiated through personal contacts, including family friends and colleagues, in mid-June 2015. One further starting point was the Yellow Fever website. The Yellow Fever is the supporter organisation for the

Wellington Phoenix, the only Aotearoa New Zealand football team that currently competes in the Australian-based professional A-League. I identified this site as a useful resource as it is a free organisation, having no joining fee. The website also hosts a number of open access forums on which a range of international football leagues are discussed. Subjects range from British teams, to domestic football and games of musical tag. The Yellow Fever site provides a significant meeting point for geographically dispersed Aotearoa New Zealand football fans. To gain access to this site, I joined as a member. Following this I contacted the main forum moderator and asked for permission to start a thread discussing my research and requesting participants. This initial thread post is shown below in Figure 4.2:

Figure 4.2: Initial Yellow Fever post, 15th June 2015

This initial posting had over 100 views but in regards to comments, it was at first treated with some suspicion by forum members, as shown in Figure 4.3.
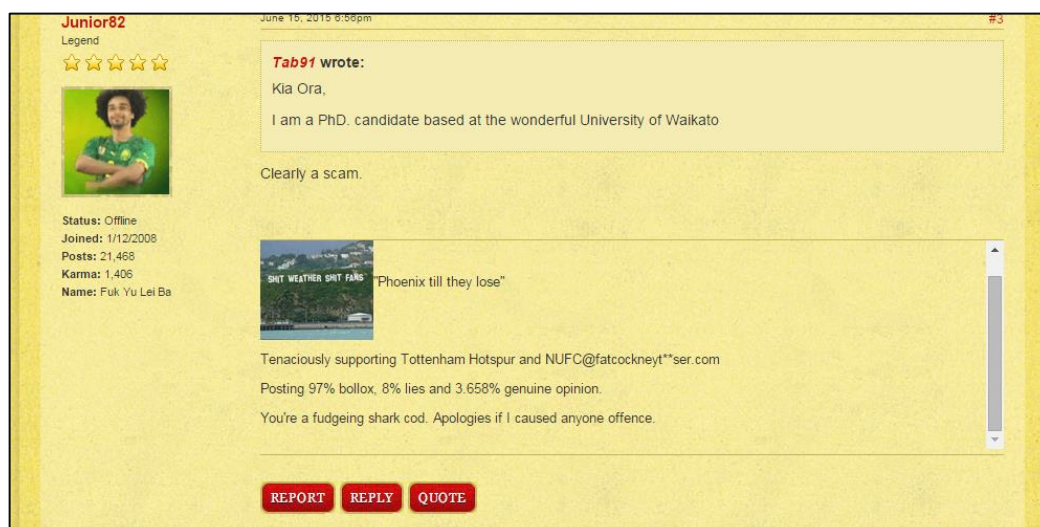
Figure 4.3: Example of initial responses to recruitment thread, June 2015

In response to scam responses and following close inspection, it was discovered that the computer on which the initial message had been typed was infected with viral software. Given this, certain words in the initial post such as 'looking for' and 'address' were highlighted in red and functioned as links to shopping websites. This provides an explanation for the comments suggesting the post was a scam. Once the viral software was identified, it was promptly removed, leaving future posts free from viral links. It became necessary to prove my authenticity and gain the trust of forum members.

I sought to gain trust by making regular posts on forums both the thread discussing my research and also other threads on the site. Through these posts, I aimed to prove my interest in football, hoping this would encourage fans to view my research as authentic. My aim was boosted when, following their participation in an interview, one fan wrote a post encouraging other fans to take part. Despite initial scepticism, I was able to recruit two members of the Yellow Fever to participate in interviews. The Yellow Fever forum thread also functioned as a key space for me to discuss and share research findings. Following initial interviews, participants were asked to share the details of my research with any friends, family members or work colleagues they felt would be interested in taking part. These initial participants acted not only as the initial starting point for recruitment, they also functioned as gatekeepers. This process of asking participants to share information about my research with others in their social circles took place with each interview.

To recruit participants for the second phase of interviews, I contacted supporter's clubs of major teams based in Aotearoa New Zealand. These clubs were searched for through social media and official club sites. Following searches through online media I contacted three Aotearoa New Zealand-based supporters' clubs; Arsenal FC, Rangers Football Club[9] and Liverpool FC. Initial discussions were opened with the Arsenal FC and Rangers FC supporters' clubs, however, there was no response to my communications. The Wellington branch of the Liverpool FC supporter's club was willing to put a piece about this research in their monthly webletter, advertising which generated three interview participants.

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[9] Rangers Football Club is based in the Scottish city of Glasgow. Founded in 1873, the club currently competes in the Scottish Premiership (https://rangers.co.uk/).

Due to the active, online nature of global fans (Kerr and Emery 2011), social media is a key part of this research. The internet provides a platform for groups of dispersed individuals to form online communities (Bell 2009). One such group that has utilised this is long-distance football fans. Facebook, in particular, can be a key 'venue' for fans to form communities (Conner 2013). The site becomes a useful gateway to recruiting participants for interviews. Furthermore, as noted in de Jong (2014), Facebook may also be used as a way for a researcher to become accepted into a community. For example, by viewing my profile participants are able to 'screen' me and make a decision concerning the validity of my research and decide whether they choose to take part in the research process (de Jong 2014).

Introducing the participants

Linking the individual to global flows of fandom, in the following section I 'place' the fans who participated in this research. Table 4.1 displays the details of the fans who took part in this project. For what remains of this chapter, this table will act as the basis of discussing how these fans fit into 'flows' of contemporary fandom. Teasing out the information provided about each fan will act as a means by which the stories of these fans can be grounded in both international and Aotearoa New Zealand contexts. The information shown on the table is sorted according to the country in which the club the fan supports is based. This begins the process of 'distilling' fan practice and grounding in specific national contexts. Other information provided on Table 4.1 includes the pseudonym used by the fan, the club they support, their age and their location in Aotearoa New Zealand(see Appendix One for a full table of participant details including occupation and interview details):

Table 4.1: Table of research participant details.

Colombia			
Oscar	Millonarios	30	Auckland

England			
Aidan	Sheffield United	35	Cambridge
Alex	Liverpool FC	18	Hamilton
Antony	West Ham United	50	Wellington
Amy	Liverpool FC	40	Wellington
Brody	Norwich City FC	39	Wellington
Charlie	Liverpool FC	50	Wellington
David	Manchester United FC	40	Hamilton
Declan	Chelsea FC	17	Hamilton
Emily	Nottingham Forest	23	Wellington
Hugh	Manchester United FC	50	Auckland
James	Liverpool FC	38	Wellington
Jeremy	York City FC	62	Cambridge
Josh	Liverpool FC	51	Auckland
Max	Liverpool FC	21	Wellington
Mike	Everton FC	35	Wellington
Miles	Manchester City FC	51	Wellington
Natalie	Chelsea FC	39	Wellington
Nora	Liverpool FC	52	Wellington
Patrick	Arsenal FC	65	Hamilton
Rodger	Barrow AFC	50	Palmerston North
Ryan	Liverpool FC	31	Wellington
Sam	Aston Villa	45	Auckland
Steve	Manchester United FC	50	Hamilton
Travis	Tottenham Hotspur	61	Hamilton
Zach	Leicester City FC	46	Hamilton

Italy			
Gianni	AS Roma	40	Auckland
Rafaello	Inter Milan	51	Kaeo

Aotearoa New Zealand			
Bob	NZ Key informant	50	Hamilton

Scotland			
Daniel	Dundee United	41	Wellington
Lauren	Celtic FC	40	Auckland

Spain			
Simon	Atletico Madrid	22	Auckland

In regards to the demographic information shown on Table 4.1, there was a wide range of ages within the sample of interviewees. The youngest participant was 17 and the oldest was in their 60s. The majority of the participants were, however, aged between 35 and 50. Two were high school students, one participant was retired, and there were a variety of occupations represented including university manager, business owner, customer service agent and engineer. This signals that football support spans a wide range of ages and across socio-economic divides as well. Participants came from three main locations: Auckland; Hamilton; and, Wellington. Other interviewees were located in Palmerston North and Cambridge. This centring of participants in these locations was an indirect result of recruitment. All of those reached through the Yellow Fever and the Liverpool FC Supporters Club were based in Wellington, and the key participant who helped facilitate snowball sampling was resident in Auckland. Also, it may be argued, that within bigger urban centres there are bigger communities of fans with the ability to network and organise themselves.

One notable detail on shown on Table 4.1 is the gender breakdown of participants. Participation was not weighted towards equal participation from men and women. Rather, conclusions are drawn from the number of women and men who volunteered to participate in interviews regarding the hyper-masculinity of football fandom (Armstrong 1998; Hughson 2000; Robson 2000), or the increasing role women play within football fandom (Caudwell 1999 and 2002; Richards 2014). As expected (Dunn 2014; Richards 2014), the number of men who volunteered to take part in interviews is significantly more than the number of women who volunteered. As it is impossible to gain an accurate statistic of the number of people who follow football in Aotearoa New Zealand, it is also difficult to assert if this low number of women who were interested in being interviewed is reflective of the percentage of female football fans in Aotearoa New Zealand(Free and Hughson 2003; Dunn 2014). Having introduced the fans whose stories I share in this thesis, the ensuing section deals with participant sensing. This method was chosen to address another area of silence, that of the embodied experience of 'being' and 'doing' fandom.

Participant Sensing: the body as an instrument of research

Duffy et al (2011) define participant sensing as deploying one's own body as an instrument of research, drawing on its capacity to capture sights, sounds, touch and gesture. Drawing on Crang (2003), who decries the absence of touch and feeling in geographic methodology, and Longhurst, Ho and Johnston (2008), who call for the use of the body as an instrument of research, the aim of participant sensing is to place the body in the centre of research. Pink (2009) defines participant sensing as a process in which the researcher engages in a series of every-day activities while purposefully joining in with whatever is going on. The researcher becomes deeply involved in the practices of the research participants through 'being there' in the physical environment (Pink 2009).

Participant sensing was a key element of this research, giving voice to the fan bodies that have often been silenced in previous research (Schinke et al 2015). Not only was this method used in its own right, but it also filtered through in interviews and go-alongs (see Appendix Two for participant sensing outline). In an example of how these details were recorded, Figure 4.4 is a photograph taken of notes jotted down on my phone:
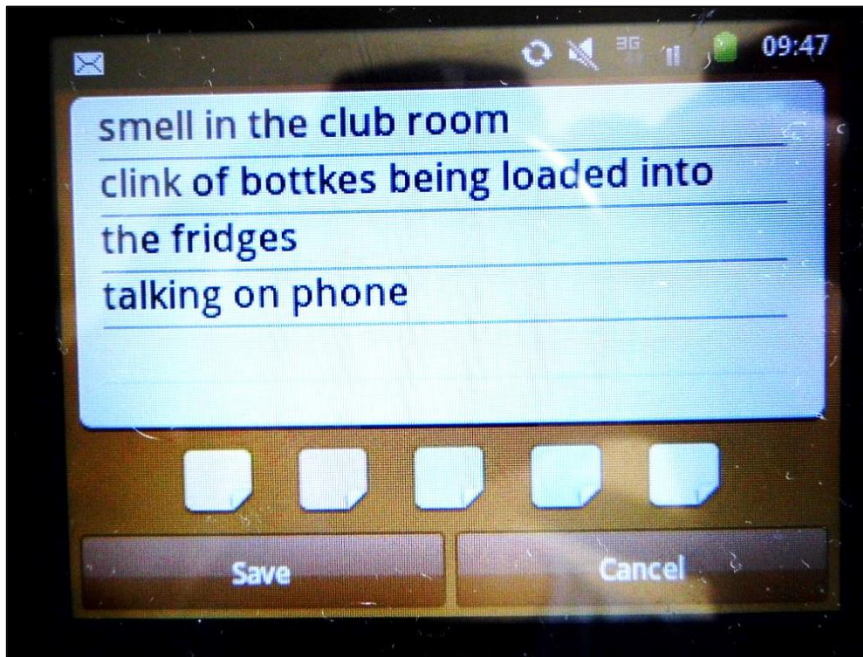
Figure 4.4: Notes taken during my interview with Jeremy at the Cambridge Football Club clubrooms, 12th August 2016

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As shown in Figure 4.4 - spelling mistakes included - I took notes of the sounds and smells in the space. As I was using my phone as a 'back-up' recording device, it was easy for me to jot down the sensory landscape inside the club rooms. In the example above I noted the smell in the clubrooms of sweat and stale beer. As the interview with Jeremy took place on a Friday afternoon, I also recorded the sounds of the bar being stocked up for the coming weekend's games, and how the clink of the glass beer bottles accompanied the interview. Jeremy was also interrupted during the interview by phone-calls and again I took a note of this interruption. During analysis, these notes played a key role in examining how the space contributed to my own embodiment during the interview. Likewise, during go-alongs the focus was not only on research participants but also on the sights, sounds and smells surrounding the research environment, as can be seen in the notes taken during a go-along (see Figure 4.5):
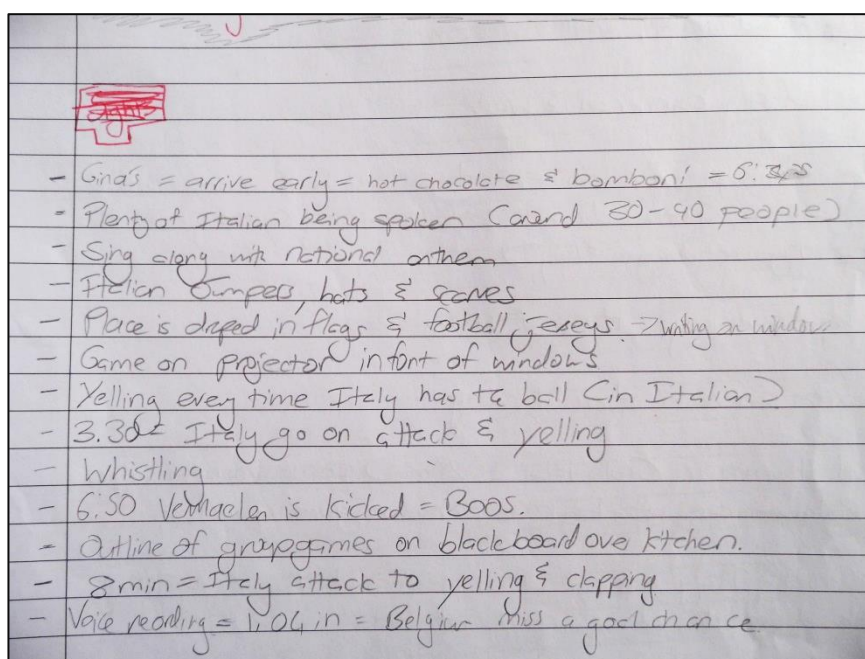
Figure 4.5: Notes taken during go-along on 14th June 2016

Through this method, fandom is posited as embodied and sensory (Rose 2003a; Supski 2006). Drawing on the work of Pink (2009) and Duffy et al (2011), and as shown in Figures 4.4 and 4.5, during both interviews and go-alongs I made notes of how my body, and the bodies around me responded to space. When undertaking interviews, I not only made notes about the interviewee's body

language and facial expression but also the room in which the interview was taking place. Through this process of reflection, interviews and go-alongs became a multi-sensory event.

Participant sensing was also used within this research as a stand-alone method to initiate data collection. Between the 30th of May and the 20th of June 2015, the FIFA Under20 Men's World Cup took place in Aotearoa New Zealand with games taking place across the country. As international football tournaments of this magnitude rarely venture to Aotearoa New Zealand, I identified matches being played in the city of Hamilton as a valuable opportunity to carry out research on long-distance football fans and 'be there' (Pink 2009) within a key physical environment.

Following the example of Duffy et al (2011), participant sensing was carried out at certain live matches during this World Cup event. In their examination of festival spaces, Duffy et al (2011) used their bodies as the principle research instrument, enabling them to engage with the rhythms of festival spaces. Using the liminal space of festivals, and the 'buzz' of such events, Duffy et al (2011) examined the impact of sounds in creating this heightened emotional state by reflecting on how their own bodily rhythms were created, changed and impacted by the various sounds in the festival space. Following this example, I used my body as a tool through which I identified sights, sounds and smells during these live matches which link football fans to home.

Games that were attended were Portugal vs Qatar on the 3rd of June, Aotearoa New Zealand vs Portugal on the 7th of June, and Brazil vs Portugal on the 14th of June. All of these games were held at Waikato Stadium, Hamilton. Notes and photographs were taken during the matches (see Figure 4.6).

Figure 4.6: Example of a photograph taken during participant sensing: FIFA U21 World Cup match between Brazil and Portugal at Waikato Stadium, Hamilton, 14th June 2015

Such images aided my analysis. Along with notes taken during the event, my initial thoughts were expanded upon in the weeks following the matches through the process of reflecting on the participant sensing process. This then acted as the beginning of the process of analysing the participant sensing data. Whilst participant sensing initiated data collection and was a thread which ran through other methods, the bulk of data was gained through interview conversations with fans. How these interviews were carried out will be the subject of the following section.

Interviews: Research conversations about sport

Interviews are one of the most flexible and widely used methods within the qualitative research cannon and were identified as a suitable method for gathering stories from football fans (Scott and Garner 2013). Longhurst (2009) notes that semi-structured interviews are the most commonly used qualitative research method within geography. The popularity of this method may be attributed to the flexibility of interviews and the ability of the interviewee to

explore the research subject in as much depth, and from as many different viewpoints as they wish. The structure of semi-structured interviews varies but allows space for such key elements as: the ability of questions to be re-ordered during the interview; the wording of the questions as flexible; the level of language as adjustable; and, the interviewer as able to answer questions and make clarifications during the interview (Berg and Lune 2012). Through this, interviews allowed me as a researcher to encompass a wide range of fan experiences, providing a fluid and flexible method.

Adding to this, Pink (2009) asserts that the interview may be a multisensory event, not solely a verbal one. To begin discussions of how interviews were carried out as part of this project, I start by detailing the embodied encounters which occurred during face-to-face interviews. As the interviewer and interviewee are both embodied and emplaced, a shared interview 'space' is created. Focusing on the participant's senses provides a portal through which to examine their representations of experiences, values and moralities (Pink 2009). Acknowledging that the interview is a multi-sensory, embodied event, during interviews, care was taken to record body language, dress and non-verbal cues. These sensory elements were a key element in creating a shared interview 'space' between myself and the interviewee (Longhurst 2009).

These interviews involved participants recruited from family and friends as well as from the Yellow Fever. Following initial contact with a potential interviewee, an information sheet was emailed to them along with a consent form which was signed before the interview took place (see Appendix Three for the interview consent form and Appendix Four for letter granting ethical approval). After initial contact was made with potential participants through email, an information sheet was forwarded to them. Once they had read the information sheet and had confirmed they were willing to take part in an interview, a consent form was emailed to them and a time and a medium for the interview was established. The response rate for interviews was high with over three quarters of those who signalled their initial interest in being part of an interview confirming their participation.

All interviews were audio-recorded following the gaining of interviewees consent. The length of interviews varied greatly. The shortest interview was 21 minutes long and the longest lasted an hour and 32 minutes, with the average length being around 30 minutes. An interview schedule was used with a list of questions, sub-questions and prompts which related back to themes in the research questions guiding this project (see Appendix Five). The interview began with a question about the participant's earliest memory of football and who the most pivotal person was in developing their interest in football. It was hoped that this would function as an 'ice-breaker' and help to ease the interviewee into further questions. Following this there were questions concerning fandom at an international level, how the participant keeps up with news about their club, consumption habits and how they view their football fandom as relating to their identity.

A research diary was used to reflect upon the interview encounter. In the diary I recorded observations on such non-verbal details as body language, gestures and the 'emotional landscape' of the interview. This was particularly useful to record the details of interviews carried out using Skype or over the telephone, as technical and communication interruptions were an ongoing facet of such distant discussion. For example, if a Skype call was dropped it was recorded in my research diary to make sense of the resulting period of silence in the recording. An entry was written after each interview with the date, time and location of the interview recorded. Also noted was the participant's body language, for example if they appeared relaxed, whether they fidgeted and where they positioned themselves in relation to me. Interviews were transcribed in full, with the 32 interviews resulting in over 200 pages of transcripts. Passages identified as potential material for quotation were highlighted and the time in the interview noted.

Interviews took place through a number of mediums. Participants were given the choice of which medium they preferred with 14 choosing to be interviewed via Skype, nine interviewed face-to-face, four via telephone and three through email. Each of these mediums will be outlined in the following sections. The range of

mediums reflected an acknowledgement of the disparate geographical locations of long-distance fans (Conner 2013).

Face-to-face

Face-to-face or in-person interviews are the traditional and most widely used method for carrying out qualitative interviews. It has been noted that face-to-face communication during an interview promotes a 'natural encounter' (Irvine, Drew and Sainsbury 2012), with both parties able to share 'symbolic exchanges' (Chapple 1999). These symbolic exchanges may include sharing food and drink, small talk, joking and other non-verbal communication (Chapple 1999; Shuy 2003). The body and embodiment maintains a central role during the interview exchange. Face-to-face interviews enable the creation of a shared space which encourages the engaging of senses and embodied conversational flows (Longhurst 2017).

Within this research, the participants who were known to live in Hamilton were asked to engage in face-to-face interviews. Nine interviews took place in this manner. Two took place in the participants' workplace, two in the participants' high school, one at the Melville United Association Football Club clubrooms, one at Cambridge Football Club, two in a café and one in a participant's home. When first approaching potential participants, interview spaces were not specified; instead, I encouraged the participants to name a venue in which they would prefer to be interviewed. This ensured that the participants remained within their own 'comfort zone' as much as possible.

Face-to-face interviews involve 'embodiment' in a direct fashion. As studies of football fans have thus far not explicitly discussed the role that 'fan bodies' play, what will follow is a brief discussion of how 'bodies' shaped the terrain of the interviews carried out for this research (Barrick et al 2016). Embracing the 'atmosphere' of the interview (Hutcheson 2013), participant sensing played a key role in highlighting the embodied terrain of interviews (Pink 2009). Notes about body language, the space in which the interview took place, sounds, smells and tastes were all recorded to build up a patina of emotion surrounding the conducting of interviews. Face-to-face interviews provided particularly rich information which also had direct impact on whether I felt in or out of place

during the interview. For example, when interviewing Jeremy at the Cambridge FC clubrooms during the second phase of interviews, I made note of the tractor mowing the pitches and the smell of grass, a familiar smell which made me feel relaxed. This sense of ease was challenged by my lack of familiarity with the space of the club rooms, with the acrid smell of sweat and stale beer putting my body on edge.

Highlighting other ways in which face-to-face interviews become an 'embodied encounter', symbolic exchanges took place which were not possible with other means of conducting interviews (Longhurst 2017; Shuy 2003). The two interviews that were conducted in cafés involved the sharing of food and drink. For example, when interviewing Zach, who is the area manager for a chain of cafés in Hamilton, I was offered tea and a scone free of charge as his interview was being conducted during a café inspection. When interviewing Travis at another café in Hamilton, I arrived early and set up a tab to provide food and drink for Travis. Once the interview had concluded, however, Travis refused to let me pay for his pot of tea.

In addition to illustrating the role food and drink can play during face-to-face interviews, these examples shed light on the power relations which are inherent in face-to-face interviews (Longhurst 2009). Due to their objective of gleaning information from a participant, researchers can occupy a powerful position over the interviewee (Longhurst 2009). With Zach providing food 'on the house' and Travis refusing to let me pay for his hot drink, assumptions of power relations are troubled. This mindfulness about power relations is reflected in the notes I took in my research diary surrounding the seating arrangements during interviews. As a symptom of the face-to-face interview as an embodied encounter, I attempted to seat myself in direct view of participants without the barrier of a desk or table between us. My aim in 'curating' my seating position in such as way was to dismantle any physical 'barriers' to communication.

My management of power relations was aided by eight of the nine interviews taking place in a space of the participant's choosing, occurring in their home, workplace or school. Through this, I was positioned as a 'guest', taking my lead from the participant in regards to were to sit and how to set up the interview

space. In an example of this, when I interviewed Steve, a senior leader at a Hamilton secondary school, the interview occurred in his office. He sat in his chair, at his desk while I sat in the only other chair in the room. While we faced each other, his occupying of his desk chair ensured a sense of comfort and ease that was symptomatic of the office being *his* space. I also noted in my research diary that this ensured a sense that Steve was in control of the interview. This encounter stands in direct contrast to the other interview which took place in Steve's office; this interview was with Declan, a student at the school. While I sat in the same chair as during my interview with Steve, he offered his larger desk chair to Declan. Clearly uncomfortable with this, once Steve had left the room, Declan went and found another chair a similar size to mine and sat away from Steve's desk. The chair and the desk were marked as a space belonging to a teacher. While his selection of a different seat meant Declan sat directly facing me and in close proximity; the exchange, despite being significantly shorter than Steve's, felt more equitable.

This discussion of the embodied territory of face-to-face interviews highlights the impact bodies have on the space of an interview. The sharing of food and drink and the implications of seating arrangements exposes the key role bodies play in affecting interviews.

Skype

Stretching the notion of interviews as embodied encounters, Skype interviews also took place alongside face-to-face interviews. Established in 2008, Skype is a free synchronous video conferencing application that provides the opportunity for calling and seeing people regardless of geographic location (Janghorban, Roudsari and Taghipour 2014). This ability for the interviewee to be seen, unlike during telephone interviews, has opened new opportunities for researchers (Hanna 2012; Seitz 2016). In particular, the appeal of Skype lies in the ability for participants to be recruited from geographically diverse places without the costs of meeting face-to-face with the participant (Deakin and Wakefield 2013; Hanna 2012). As Skype allows for the people contacting each other to be 'seen', there is the opportunity for non-verbal and social cues to be shared and read (Janghorban et al 2014; Seitz 2016).

Skype allows for participants to remain in their own 'safe' space. While this can allow researchers into spaces to which they may not normally have access, this limits the embodied encounter of the interview (Deakin and Wakefield 2013). Therefore, the absence of exchanges of food, the ability to shake hands and the range of smells in the interview space, limits the creation of a textured, embodied interview landscape (Longhurst 2017). The creation of a sensory, embodied interview 'atmosphere' is limited to sight provided by a camera and monitored hearing (Hutcheson 2013; Longhurst 2017). The technical difficulties which can occur with Skype also limit the creation of a shared interview space (Longhurst 2017). Despite the visual element of Skype there are limitations due to the webcam only allowing for a limited view of the participant. That is, depending on the positioning of the interviewer and the interviewee, only their heads and shoulders may be visible to each other, a view which places limits on the ability to read body language (Janghorban et al 2014).

Nine interviews were carried out via Skype. Skype was one option given to participants who were known to reside outside of Hamilton. This was due to Skype allowing flexibility and a degree of immediacy in conducting an interview. For example, a participant may be contacted concerning their interest in being interviewed and then an interview could be arranged within days rather than the weeks it may have required to organise to travel to meet them face-to-face. This element of choice also allowed participants to remain in a space in which they felt comfortable (Seitz 2016) and use a medium they were confident using. For eight of the participants, Skype was their first choice of interview medium. The ninth participant was unsure whether they wanted to be interviewed by telephone or through Skype and asked what would be my preference. When faced with this decision, I said that I would prefer to use Skype due to the visual element provided by this medium (Janghorban et al 2014). This reflects that my own experience using Skype as an interview medium was generally positive.

Skype interviews were carried out in a number of locations using my laptop computer: three were carried out in my father's office at a secondary school, eight were carried out in my office at the University of Waikato, and five were carried out in group rooms in the University of Waikato library. Participants were not

asked what location they were in when the interview took place and what device they were using but from observations during interviews, seven used laptop computers and two used mobile devices. Three interviews took place while the participants were at work and six when they were in their homes, including one participant who was interviewed while lying on his bed.

Due to the relative newness of Skype as an interview medium, there are some obstacles that needed to be overcome during the interview process (Seitz 2016). The first of these is dropped calls and pauses due to poor internet connection. This may be mitigated by trying to ensure a stable internet connection is available (Seitz 2016). Despite this, pauses and interference were an issue during my interview with Sam. During the interview, the call was dropped once and the video feed was 'jumpy', intermittently pausing. While we were able to conduct a conversation, we were not able to establish a flow of questions and answers, making the exchange very 'choppy'. This resulted in the interview being completed earlier than I would have preferred.

Another issue that was present during Skype interviews is segments that are inaudible so that the participants words cannot be recorded clearly (Seitz 2016). This may be due to issues with video feed or the participant turning away from the microphone. This was a common problem with the Skype interviews that I conducted. While large chunks of conversation were not lost, when participants changed position, for example, turning their heads or leaning back in their chair, parts of their responses became inaudible.

A third obstacle that may be present during Skype interviews is an inability to read body language and non-verbal cues (Seitz 2016). Blurry images, video delays, turning off the video feed and not being able to see the participant's body fully are reasons why observing body language may be difficult. Troubling the visual element Skype can provide, the video feed was lacking during three interviews. In one instance, the video feed was turned off due to technical issues with internet connectivity, and both the participant and I agreed to turn off the video feed. There were two occurrences, however, when participants had their video feed turned off without explanation. These were my most uncomfortable experience using Skype as the participants could see me but I could not see them,

making the space of the interview troubling. This was initially a very awkward interaction as I was not able to gauge their responses through their body language, nor was I able to encourage them through non-verbal cues such as nodding and smiling. This was resolved, however, by adopted techniques advocated by Holt (2010) for telephone interviews. By listening closely to the participant's tone of voice I could identify how they responded to a question. Also, the lack of non-verbal cues was overcome by increasing my level of vocal encouragement with 'yes' and 'mmhmm'.

Loss of intimacy is a fourth obstacle that may be encountered when conducting Skype interviews (Seitz 2016). A lack of physical presence may lead to difficulties in building the rapport that facilitates the asking of personal questions. While this research was not concerned with particularly sensitive topics, establishing a rapport through Skype was noticeably different from face-to-face interviews (Longhurst 2017). This was due to issues surrounding sound quality and video feed delays, issues that made interjections into the conversation very difficult to hear. The flow of conversation in Skype interviews tended to follow the pattern of questioning by the researcher with subsequent answering by the participant. This differed from the pattern evident in face-to-face interviews, where interruptions and interjections peppered conversation.

As a means of carrying out interviews, I found Skype to offer a convenient means through which exchanges can take place across distance. This was beneficial for this project, particularly when researching dispersed groups such as long-distance football fans (Conner 2013).

Telephone

Stretching further from the embodied terrain of face-to-face interviews, telephone interviews were also carried out as part of the research process. Traditionally, telephone interviews have not been considered an appropriate medium for carrying out qualitative, semi-structured interviews (Holt 2010; Irvine et al 2012). This is due to the lack of visual element in telephone interviews limiting the development of rapport and hindering the expression of a 'natural' encounter (Irvine et al 2012). In her seminal work on telephone-based narrative interviews, Holt (2010) notes that telephone interviews may have a number of benefits over

traditional face-to-face, and more recently, Skype interviews. The reasons for this include the participant being able to control their space within the interview and negate the influence of the surveillant other (Holt 2010).Telephone interviews were not initially considered when formulating this project as I preferred to be able to see a participant when carrying out an interview. Five interviews were, however, carried out via telephone. The initial phone interview was carried out due to this being a participant's preferred method of being interviewed. The interview was successful, and this success gave me the confidence to offer this method to other potential interviewees. An additional three participants chose to be interviewed via telephone conversation as their first choice method. The fifth telephone interview was carried out by phone due to a technical failure while using Skype. All telephone interviews were carried out on my mobile phone. This was turned on to 'speaker' mode allowing for the exchange to be recorded, as had the phone been functioning via the handset, my voice recorder would not have picked up the exchange. The first of these interviews took place in my home and the further four in my office at the University of Waikato.

Aligning with Irvine et al (2012) and Holt (2010), during these interviews I increased verbal encouragement of participants, as body language such as nodding or smiling could not be used. Rather than relying on non-verbal cues, verbal encouragement such as 'mmhmm', 'yes', 'yup' and 'absolutely' were used to encourage interviewee's responses. Similarly to interviews carried out through Skype, telephone interviews followed a clear pattern of questioning and answers, often with significant pauses to ensure each party had finished speaking. The interjections and interruptions which occurred during face-to-face interviews were mostly absent during telephone interviews, as the body language such as leaning forward, nodding or shaking heads used to signal an interjections could not be read. When verbal interjections did occur, however, they were often ignored due to the inability of parties to hear each other adequately, leading to the researcher and interviewee talking over each other as illustrated by the following excerpt in an interview with Hugh:

> Hugh: .... And so I support England and yeah I kind of know that they aren't very good ….
>
> Tegan: So your expectations are lowered to suit ….

> Hugh: …. So when the All Whites have been playing, I sort of want them to win so I am really glad when they are doing well (Telephone interview, September 2015).

As this example shows, the inability to read each other's body language and acknowledge non-verbal cues provides challenges to the carrying out of a smooth conversation.

Email

Removing an embodied encounter between interviewer and interviewee, email interviews may be considered a variant, or hybrid, of internet based surveys (Burns 2010). As noted previously, when recruiting participants known to be residing at a distance from Hamilton, email was offered as an alternative to Skype as an interview medium. Like Skype, email can be a useful tool for accessing spatially dispersed groups and has gained increasing usage across the social sciences (James 2017; Ratislavová and Ratislav 2014). Asynchronous email interviews are particularly popular within geography due to the ability to contact dispersed groups and the low cost of distributing email-based interviews (Madge and O'Connor 2002).

Email interviews have been used across a number of divergent studies within geography. Worth (2009), for example, used email interviews to collect the reflections of a global group of geographers researching disability. Not only was email noted as being convenient, it was also a low-cost means of accessing geographers in the United States, the United Kingdom and Australia (Worth 2009). Email interviews are also useful when examining sensitive, personal topics. In her research on the racism and sexism experienced by women of colour in geography departments across the United States and the United Kingdom, Mahtani (2004) used email interviews as a means to overcome distance and also to provide anonymity. Similarly to Worth (2009) and Mahtani (2004), Browne (2005) used email interviews as a means by which feminist geographers could be provided anonymity to reflect on the weaving of their personal experiences and pedagogy within the classroom.

The data collected from email interviews varies from the type of data collected from face-to-face, Skype or telephone interviews. The lack of synchronous verbal

communication means that answers to email interviews are more considered as the participant has had more time to reflect on their answers. As email interviews are 'asynchronous' the lack of researcher participation impacts on the use of prompts and verbal cues (Madge and O'Connor 2004). Also, the data is more condensed than that collected through verbal interview methods (Ratislavová and Ratislav 2014). Again, this is because the participant has more time to consider and reflect on their responses to interview questions than they do during the flow of conversation in a face-to-face, Skype or telephone interview.

Three participants chose to be interviewed via email. In order to carry out these interviews, the interview schedule was emailed as to the participant. The participant then typed their answers onto the interview schedule under the appropriate question and emailed it back to the researcher when they were satisfied with their responses. These interviews resulted in a significantly lower volume of data than those conducted by other methods. Compared to a 20 page interview transcript, the three email interviews were significantly more distilled. This may be due to the inability to use prompts and ask follow-up questions synchronously. As Ratislavová and Ratislav (2014) note, however, email interview data can be considered and condensed, as the excerpt below from an email interview with Daniel - which includes written prompts - shows:

> 6) Do you 'show' your support through wearing shirts/displaying merchandise/playing the game?
>
> Is it important for you to do this?
>
> Yes, I don't tend to wear replica tops these days but have a bit of clothing that has the club logo or colours. I would say it is important as it is part of who I am (Email interview, May 2015).

Email interviews provided a solution for gathering data from a spatially dispersed group of football fans (Conner 2013). Moving away from the embodied encounter of a face-to-face interview, email interviews offer data which is distilled and condensed (Ratislavová and Ratislav 2014). Providing anonymity, email interviews may result in a lesser volume of data, however, interview responses may be more considered than those provided as part of a flow of conversation. In this section I have outlined how interviews were carried out and provide a brief discussion of each medium used for interviews: face-to-face; through Skype; via

telephone; and, via email. Reflecting on the process of carrying out interviews through each of these mediums, the landscapes of each interview is highlighted.

Photography: Seeing into fan worlds

Photography as a method of gathering data has gained popularity within the qualitative research canon (Lombard 2013; Sweetman 2009). The normality of digital cameras, however, especially the ubiquity of mobile phones equipped with digital cameras, has led to an upsurge in the use of photography within geography (Hunt 2014). Visual images have the ability to bridge the gaps between the researcher and researched, allowing the researcher to 'see' the subjects' every-day worlds (Johnson 2014). Furthermore, when placed in the hands of participants, photography has the ability to reach 'hidden' spaces to which the researcher may not ordinarily have access (Johnsen, May and Cloke 2008). Photography has the ability to both record content and to provide context and framing of images (Hall 2009; Pink 2001). Photography can also act as a research method through facilitating the opportunity to reflect on banal and unspoken lived experiences and ways of being (Sweetman 2009). As vision is only one of the senses used to perceive the world, it is imperative to examine images not in isolation but in relation to how images, audiences and geographies intersect:

> The more important issue, I think, is the ways in which particular visualities structure certain kinds of geographical knowledges, knowledges – and thus visualities – that are always saturated in power relations . . . the visualities deployed by the production of geographical knowledges are never neutral. They have their zooms, their foci, their highlights, their blinkers and their blindnesses, for example, and these are central to both the subject of geography as a discipline and to its human subjects – and to those it studies and those who study it (Rose 2003b 213).

Echoing Rose (2003b), Lombard (2013) notes that geography has recently experienced a critical 'visual turn', acknowledging that geography is a visual discipline and that seeing the world equates to knowing the world.

Similar to the use of photography by geographers, visual methods have also been identified as key for exploring experiences of sport (Phoenix 2010). As in the work of Johnsen, May and Cloke (2008) and Rose (2003a), images offer a

glimpse into the 'doings' of sport and the material cultures that surround it (Pope 2010). Furthermore, images generated by participants give researchers a view into how athletes and fans prefer to have themselves represented, allowing researchers into spaces to which they might not ordinarily have access (Krane et al 2010). Conversely material found by researchers can act to shed light on how the embodied doings of sport are shaped by normative ideals of what it means to be an athlete or fan (Griffin 2010).

Following the example of Johnsen et al (2008) and Lombard (2013), photography was used within this project as part of a multi-method approach. There are two functions that photography filled within this project, providing a valuable window into fan worlds. Firstly, photographs were taken by myself during participant sensing and go-alongs. This fulfilled the function of 'researcher-generated' material and provided a visual record and texture to any analysis of the event (Phoenix 2010). Through this, I was able to record my own fan practice and engagement with events.

A second use for photography is self-directed. While not able to capture emotions, self-directed photography allows the researcher to access spaces and events which may usually be inaccessible to them. This proved useful for gaining access to the private spaces the fans who took part in this project inhabit. Utilising self-directed photography provides an avenue for exploring the private, every-day nature of fandom. Photography allows participants to reflect on, and record, material practices, habits and objects that may routinely be taken-for-granted (Sweetman 2009). For example, following the photography information sheet provided to participants (see Appendix Six), participants may have chosen to photograph their lounge if that is the space in which they watch matches most often; or an object that reminds them of a special team victory; or their favourite seat in a pub. These spaces and nuances are not easily identifiable via an interview. With photography placing power with participants, fan practices are chronicled from their point of view (Thomas 2007). Self-directed photography goes beyond providing illustrative material and becomes an investigative tool that adds nuance to explorations of banal experiences (Lombard 2013).

Self-directed photography took place in the second phase of research. This method involved those who had already taken part in interviews. On the interview consent form, there was an option whereby interviewees could signal their willingness to participate in further activities to do with this research. If they chose this option, after their interview took place I planned to contact them to ascertain if they were interested in taking part in the self-directed photography. Those who were interviewed in June and July 2015 were contacted with an information sheet detailing the self-directed photography process and some example pictures that I had taken (see Appendix Seven). The contact coincided with the beginning of the 2015/16 English Premier League season as I hoped this would mean football was on potential participants' minds. Those with whom I spoke during and after August 2015 were asked during their interview if they were interested in taking part, and if they signalled they were, I forwarded them the information sheet once the interview was complete. In order to gain informed consent, once the participant had access to the information sheet, I emailed them again asking if they were still happy to participate. If they were, I emailed them the consent form (see Appendix Eight). Once the participant had completed their images, they emailed them to me either attached individually to an email which explained the images or put together in one document with captions included.

As has been previously noted, self-directed photography is a means by which researchers can gain access to the hidden and private every-day 'worlds' of subjects (Lombard 2013; Sweetman 2009). This may, however, also work against the researcher with participants being unwilling to let the surveillant 'other' into their private spaces, with the camera potentially acting as a palimpsest for the researchers 'gaze'. Two interview participants consented to take part in the self-directed photography activity. This was a low response rate as I had initially aimed to have between five and ten photography participants. Despite the images provided by the two participants proving to be very valuable, I decided not to pursue the method as there had been little interest from other participants. The low response rate signalled that this was a method with which potential participants may not be comfortable. The resulting photographs from this method have allowed me to glimpse fan worlds from the

participants' point of view (Thomas 2007). These images go beyond providing illustrative material and become an investigative tool, adding depth to the analysis of every-day fan experiences (Lombard 2013).

Go- Alongs: Mobile fan practice

Stemming from an upsurge in interest in 'mobile methodologies' (Carpiano 2009; Evans and Jones 2011; Kusenbach 2003), go-alongs, also referred to as 'walking interviews' (Anderson 2004), are a hybrid between interviewing and participant observation. According to Carpiano (2009 264):

> The go-along method is a form of in-depth qualitative interview method that, as the name implies, is conducted by researchers accompanying individual informants on outings in their familiar environments, such as a neighbourhood or a larger local area.

Within this method, the object is to 'be' with the informant, accompanying them on outings, listening, questioning and observing with the purpose of gaining a deep understanding of how routine practices are 'lived' out (Kusenbach 2003). As one of the core foci of this research was to examine the every-day process of the construction of a fan identity, 'go-alongs' were an appropriate method for noting these practices.

The go-along method has the ability to make geographical context 'explicit', with relationships between things, people and place being drawn out and examined in rich detail (Anderson 2004). Through this, knowledge is co-constructed by the researcher and participants, with the researcher directly experiencing participants lived every-day physicalities (Carpiano 2009). As Kusenbach (2003) notes, this makes go-alongs particularly suitable for a variety of conceptual foci. In particular, the use of go-alongs can aid in understandings of participants' biographies, environmental perceptions, social realms, social architecture and spatial practices (Kusenbach 2003). This then presents the outline of a highly flexible, adaptable method that may be applied across a range of research contexts (Carpiano 2009).

Go-alongs vary from wandering through landscapes, to highly structured 'tours' designed to prompt specific responses (Evans and Jones 2011). For Evans and Jones (2011), go-alongs were combined with GIS technology in a project

designed to examine the recovery of community attachment to place. Comparing the outcome of 'sedentary' and 'walking' interviews, the 'walking' interviews that were carried out during this project were noted as being 'natural' go-alongs (Evans and Jones 2011). This was due to participants choosing the route through which they and the researcher walked with no pre-determined destination.

In an example of a structured go-along, Parzer, Reider and Wimmer (2016) followed participants on grocery shopping outings. The aim of the research was to examine 'native' customer's relationships to immigrant grocery shops in Vienna. Similar to the work of Evans and Jones (2011), go-alongs were used to gain an understanding of lived experience, *in situ*. The local environment became an active agent in the research process. Go-alongs were noted by Parzer et al (2016) as a suitable method for examining the bodily enactment of entering, moving through and appraising a shop. In particular, through using an environment in which customers meet the 'other', it was possible to observe intimate interactions and to examine issues relating to authenticity, multiculturalism and the re-production of 'other' identities (Parzer et al 2016).

Go-alongs took place during the second phase of my research. This method was chosen as a means by which I could experience the sensory, embodied 'doings' of fandom. In order to recruit fans for 'go-alongs', a request was sent to those who had taken part in interviews and had indicated their interest in continuing to be involved in the research process. A note was also added to the Yellow Fever thread asking for information about screenings of games. From this search, one previous participant came forward, Gianni, with an offer for me to attend televised games in which Italy played during the Euro 2016 championship. These games would be screened at Gina's Italian Kitchen, a restaurant in Auckland. I was invited to attend two group games both of which screened at 7am: Italy v. Belgium and Italy v. Ireland. When Gianni expressed his interest in being part of a go-along, an information sheet was emailed to him (see Appendix Nine). Following this, and his reiteration of interest, a consent form was emailed to him (see Appendix Ten), which he then signed and returned.

The evening before the first game, on the 14th of June, I met with Gianni at a café to discuss the process of the go-along. This meeting was the first time we had met

face-to-face as we had only previously met through Skype. Drawing on the work of Hutcheson (2013) and Longhurst (2017), the face-to-face meeting with the ability to shake hands, and share food and drink, 'remedied' what I felt to be an absence during the Skype interview. This meeting also offered me the chance to introduce, to Gianni, my father and younger brother, who would be attending the match the following morning.

On the day of the match, we arrived at Gina's Italian Kitchen around half an hour before the game began in order to guarantee seats with a good view of the screen and of other those in attendance. I had taken a pre-written go-along schedule with me, however, once I was at the venue I found that recording events as they occurred in a notebook allowed for a more organic collection of data. Notes were taken throughout the games. These notes focused on a range of incidences from smells, the set-up of the room, the pictures hanging on the walls and the chants in the crowd. Linking with Kusenbach (2003), the focus was on how fan identities were 'lived out' while the match was being screened. For example, notes were taken of what prompted audience members to shout, the insults they yelled at players and at the referee, and the dominance of the Italian language in the space of Gina's. Despite feeling slightly out of place due to my lack of ties to Italy, it was a welcoming environment. This was aided by Gianni, who functioned as a 'gate-keeper' and introduced me to several crowd-members.

Photographs and videos were also taken to provide visual prompts of the match. Care was taken to ensure the identity of patrons was not obvious in any images taken during the go-along. In particular, photographs were taken of the set-up of the restaurant, the location of chairs and also of the screen. Video was also used to record the singing of the national anthem at the beginning of the game. Video recording was additionally a valuable tool when immediacy was required. For example, video recording allowed me to capture a sense of the atmosphere in café during the singing of the national anthem. Video footages surpassed written notes in being able to recreate the passion expressed on television and in Gina's.

Additional to visual and video footage, voice recordings were collected. This method was chosen as it provided a discrete way of recording events and also provided audio prompts when analysing the go-along. In particular, audio

recordings were taken to record the sounds, singing and chanting when Italy scored a goal as I was conscious that given the movement around the café video recording would result in footage which exposed patron's identities. Following the go-along, notes continued to be taken in the week following the match. This constituted the beginnings of analysing the go-along and my reflections on the process.

The aim of the go-alongs carried out during this tournament was to examine how fans 'acted out' their fan identity in a public space. As televised coverage acts as a major link between long-distance fans and the clubs they support, insight was gained about how fans construct their embodied practices of fandom and the material cultures which surround match viewing. In the following section I explore how textual data was used to add depth to the 'primary' data collected for this research.

Textual data collection: Fandom media worlds

Adding to the wealth of primary data sources, data was collected from textual sources. Chronicling the stories fans tell themselves and others, the narratives and normative forms of fandom that are privileged within fan practice, media coverage provides a valuable connection between fans and clubs. Material gathered from a range of media was key in establishing discourses surrounding football fandom globally and in Aotearoa New Zealand. As I discuss later in this thesis, media was also highlighted as an important constituent in establishing fan homes. One way textual analysis is used by both geographers and sports scholars is as a means through which dominant discourses which govern hegemonic behaviours can be unravelled (Smith 2009).

A wide range of textual sources have been used by geographers and sports theorists. As well as analysing a wide-range of sources, textual analysis has been used as a single research method and in conjunction with other methods. Providing a flexible means of collecting meaning from stories told across a range of texts, for example, textual analysis has been used within geography to highlight the connection between literature and landscape (Johnson 2004). Textual material has also been utilised to uncover discourses governing masculine performances of fandom (Redhead 2010), and charity drives for homeless shelters (Andersson and

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Valentine 2015). Material gathered from texts also provides a window into the perpetuations of imaginaries both in academic discourse (Johnston 2009) and in popular cartoons (Kleeman 2006).

Embracing the flexibility afforded by secondary, textual data collection, I utilised this method in two ways during this research. In the absence of academic sources on Aotearoa New Zealand football, textual material was collected at the beginning of the research process to provide information about Aotearoa New Zealand football. To provide a window on domestic Aotearoa New Zealand football and the place of long-distance football fans in New Zealand, data was gathered from multiple sources. Sources mined for material included the *Waikato Times* and the *New Zealand Herald* newspapers print edition. Following on from this, data was collected from the *New Zealand Herald*[10] online and the *Stuff*[11] news website using keyword searches such as 'New Zealand football' and 'New Zealand soccer'. Resulting from these searches, 'flashpoints' were identified. These 'flashpoints' were moments or events that precipitated a deluge of media coverage surrounding the football landscape in Aotearoa New Zealand. The two key flashpoints identified in this research were the 'Football United Tour' in 2014' and an eligibility controversy surrounding the Junior All Whites during the 2015 Olympic qualification campaign.

One further use of textual data was to supplement interview data. Textual data collection was governed by information gathered from participants. Once interviews had been carried out, the key online sources that participants named as their major sources of news about their team were noted. In particular, *The Guardian* website and social media were named as important sources of news. Screenshots were then collected of *The Guardian* football homepage and information shared through Instagram was collected. Turning attention to international and, in particular, English sources of media concerning long-distance fans, information was gleaned similarly to the media collected concerning domestic Aotearoa New Zealand football. A 'flashpoint' event was identified as a portal through which not only narrow down the search for information but also to

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[10] This website can be found at www.nzherald.co.nz.

[11] This website can be found at www.stuff.co.nz.

use as a lens through which to focus on specific discourses concerning long-distance fans.

Alongside these focused areas of textual data collection, relevant material concerning the supporting of a football team based in a country different from the one in which the fan currently resided was also collected. Such information was gathered from a number of sources. These included threads on the Yellow Fever forums such as 'which European team do you support?' Material was also sourced from the teams in which I am interested. The web-letters that I receive from both Arsenal FC and Leicester City FC were collected as well as any marketing material that either clubs would circulate through email. Additionally, the Aotearoa New Zealand-based blog *In the Back of the Net*[12] was followed, with blog posts delivered to my email inbox and saved. At the last count, over 300 posts from this blog concerning both international and Aotearoa New Zealand football had been collected. In the final section in this chapter I examine the method used to analyse the data collected for this research thematic analysis.

Thematic Analysis: Drawing connections across fan homes

An often overlooked and poorly demarcated method of analysis, thematic analysis is widely used across qualitative research (Braun and Clarke 2006). This process of analysis, which is often used but not named by researchers, is utilised through a system of coding data and identifying broad themes (Hill, Curtin and Gough 2014). As a flexible method, thematic analysis allows data to be examined under a number of theoretical frameworks (Galvin et al 2015). Thematic analysis facilitates the discovery of rich meanings from data with minimal organisation and description (Braun and Clarke 2006). Thematic analysis can be applied to a range of projects including theory or data-centric research, large or small data-sets across a variety of research questions (Braun and Clarke 2013).

This method of thematic analysis has been used throughout a number of recent studies across sports studies and geography. Taking a fluid approach during data analysis allowed the researchers to be reflexive and interactive with data (Schinke et al 2015). The use of thematic analysis feeds into wider debates in sports studies,

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[12] The blog *In the Back of the Net* can be found at https://in-the-back-of-the.net/.

concerning what constitutes 'good research'. Thematic analysis provides a basis for questioning searches for 'truth' and, through exploring themes which 'felt' important, validates research findings (Schinke et al 2015). Within geography, thematic analysis also allows researchers to take a reflexive and intuitive approach to data sets. In particular, thematic analysis is suited to examining embodied, multi-sensory encounters (Hill et al 2015). Through this process of identifying themes, meanings and patterns in the relationships across and between bodies can be identified (Hill et al 2014).

My use of thematic analysis began during the transcription of the first phase of interviews. Following the example of Braun and Clarke (2006), as each interview was transcribed in full, statements that were noted as linking to the wider research questions were highlighted. The time in the interview when the statement was recorded was also noted, enabling me to check the accuracy of the statement should it later be quoted. While interviews were being transcribed, certain sections that strongly pertained to research questions were read again to build familiarity with the material. Also, sections of text that 'felt' important or through which participants had expressed strong emotions such as excitement, happiness or sadness, were also noted and re-read.

Following the initial transcription, statements from interviews were sorted into themes. Despite a fluid approach to asking interview questions, there were common questions that each interviewee was asked and the interview data was 'coded' according to these questions (Braun and Clarke 2006; Hill et al 2014). These included questions on how interviewees became interested in football, which people had influenced their fandom, their habits concerning merchandise and the use of social media. The process of analysing interview data began with cutting and pasting the answers to each of these common questions from each initial interview transcript. These answers were then organised in documents relating to the wider interview question. For example, each interviewee was asked which national team they supported during international tournaments. The answers each interviewee provided were arranged on a document pertaining to the question of international support. Through this process of reading interviewees statements, it was possible to begin seeing patterns in interview transcripts.

Themes within the data that had been collected through interviews began to be identified.

Given the range of methods used to carry out interviews in this project, there was an impact on the way texts from differing media were analysed. For example, as email interviews are already 'pre-transcribed', the initial process of analysis during transcription did not take place. Also, as an email interview is more distilled than that of an in-person interview, it was easier to sort the text into themes. This is due to each interview question acting as a separate theme at the initial stage of analysis. Therefore, email interview transcripts could be cut and pasted directly into the larger documents used for analysis. In contrast to this, when examining a transcript from an in-person interview or a Skype interview, at times the core content relating to a particular theme was more difficult to locate in the transcript through dropped calls, video interference or shifts in the range of questions asked.

Through this process of sorting data into themes, initial empirical chapters were drafted. Based on the collating of coded interview sections (Braun and Clarke 2006), these began as short 'sub-sections' pertaining to a theme from the initial interview and linked to pervasive, emergent themes (Griffith, Hutchison and Hastings 2013). Drawing on the work of Hill et al (2014), these draft chapters were built around direct quotes from interviews. The subjects of these sub-sections included the influence of father figures on the formation of fan identity, the role of television coverage, and attitudes to domestic Aotearoa New Zealand football. As these sections grew through continued analysis, broad themes were identified across data sets. Over time these sections were organised into first two and then three empirical chapter drafts. The themes of these chapters were the influence of global process on fan identity, the impact of gender on fan identity, and the role of place in shaping fan attitudes and performances.

These three chapter drafts were based on initial data collected through the first phase of interviews. In the second year of this research project, a second phase of interviews was carried out. This echoes the work of Hill et al (2014), through carrying out initial phases of research, drawing emergent themes and then testing and elaborating on these themes through additional data collection. The interview

schedule remained as a foundation for the interview conversation, however, due to the information gleaned from earlier interviews, these conversations were more fluid. This fluidity was achieved through tailoring conversations to individual participants and therefore shaping the interview around their experiences and the emergent themes from initial interview analysis. During transcription, relevant passages were highlighted and the time noted. As chapter drafts already existed, and given the same interview schedule being used in the second phase, answers were again sorted according to theme. As themes had already been identified within the data, quotes from the second phase of interviewees which matched these themes in existing chapter drafts were added to the relevant sections. Throughout this process, data was 'checked' against the initial sorted and coded data to ensure consistency (Braun and Clarke 2006).

The second phase of interview analysis took place at the same time as theoretical material pertaining to this project was being re-examined. While the over-riding themes of the influences of global process, gender and place remained in place, the shift in the conceptual framework allowed different interview material to be drawn out. For example, the role of family and intimate ties became the subject of analysis with additional material from interviews relating to this theme being added to chapter drafts. In addition, the influence of place and 'senses of home' was bolstered with added discussion of the history of Aotearoa New Zealand football and the influence of this the creation of fan identity.

This process demonstrates the flexibility of thematic analysis (Galvin et al 2015). Despite a shift in conceptual framework, the thematic approach to data analysis was not adjusted, thereby demonstrating the multi-purpose nature of this method. What was also noted during the second phase of interviews was the importance of sub-themes. As noted by Schinke et al (2013) and Hill et al (2014), the fluid nature of thematic analysis allows for the identification of sub-themes that add further depth and richness to research findings. For example, and ass noted above, the role of family and intimate ties for football fans began as a sub-theme but through increasing familiarity with data, grew into a prominent theme.

Adding to the primary interview data that was collected during this project, textual material was also identified. Following a process of thematic analysis,

these items of textual data were analysed similarly to interview data. The collection of this material was guided by the themes evident in interviews, photography, participant sensing and go-alongs. Relevant passages of text were noted and used to add depth to the existing themes and chapter drafts. Following the example of McGrath (2008), themes were drawn on through analysing documents as sets of data. This was achieved through noting the dominant theme in the blog post or article and then sorting or 'coding' these documents into folders associated with that theme. Through this, documents were compared and contrasted to test and review themes.

Conclusion

In 2005 Weed (2005a and 2005b) argued research into sport appeared 'piecey'. Suggesting a lack of grounding in wide theoretical traditions, Weed (2005a and 2005b) called for sport research to become fixed to stable theoretical underpinnings. In a response to Weed (2005a and 2005b), Higham and Hinch (2006) offered geography as a potential solution to 'ground' research on sport. In particular, the core geographical notion of 'space' offers a foundation for holistic research into sport (Higham and Hinch 2006). Shedding light on the ability of research methods championed by geographers to explore how athletes, fans and spectators 'be' (Barrick et al 2016), the methods I have used to gather data for this project reflect an inclusive approach to football fandom.

Through discussing the participants who took part in this research, and the recruitment process, the background of the participants are unsilenced. Through exploring how I gathered participants for this research project, the foundation for data collection becomes visible. Echoing the need within sports studies for the inclusion of embodied methods (Barrick et al 2016; Weed 2005a), participant sensing was threaded through method/ology bringing fan 'bodies' to the fore of analysis. Interviews functioned as 'conversations' about sport, highlighting emotions and embodied experience between two fans. Adding to verbal stories about fandom, images recorded through photography provide a window into the visual world of fandom, reflecting both my experiences as a researcher and glimpses of private fan 'worlds' (Rose 2003b). Building a full picture of fan practice and identity, the embodied 'doings' of fandom were recorded during go-

alongs, focusing on how fan practices are 'lived' (Kusenbach 2003). Adding to the wealth of primary data sources, data was collected from textual sources, reflecting the stories fan tell themselves and the normative fan narratives that are privileged within the media (Andersson and Valentine 2015; Johnson 2004; Kleeman 2006). Following this discussion of method/ology, the themes which emerged from the use of these methods will now be discussed, beginning with the relationships between fans and 'things'.

Chapter Five: 'Things' - The emotional importance of material objects in creating fans' 'homes'

Fan relationships with 'things' act as a key component of how fan homes are created. As a symbiosis between meaning and materiality, home is a lived process that stretches beyond physical structures. Social interactions which take place within home give the material structure meaning:

> Material and imaginative geographies of home are relational: the material form of home is dependent on what home is imagined to be, and imaginaries of home are influenced by the physical forms of dwelling . . . Home is neither the dwelling nor the feeling but the relation between the two (Blunt and Dowling 2006 22).

This relationship between home and material objects highlights the integration of emotion and physical space. Material forms of home are reliant on what the space is imagined to be and ideas of home are heavily influenced by idealised physical spaces (Blunt and Dowling 2006). Home is the melding of belonging and an affective 'sense of home' within a particular place.

By examining the ways in which material objects constitute home, a gap which exists within literature on football fandom (see for example Brick 2001 and 2004; King 2011) can be addressed. Through highlighting the role objects play in creating feelings of home, the emotions attached to objects can be analysed. Home is the product of feelings of belonging. These feelings are co-created with emotional relationships and material objects. Therefore, the physicalities of dwelling spaces interwoven with relationships between people and material belongings illustrate how objects reinforce an emotional 'sense of place' within the home (Rose 2003a). Within this are concerns around the cultures surrounding material objects (Blunt 2005). These are the material physicalities and cultures which become inscribed with meaning and aid in reinforcing feelings of 'being at home'. Strong connections are again drawn between physical and emotional spaces.

To tease out relationships between fans and 'things', in the first section of this chapter I examine the influence of 'social media' on fan practice. By extending discussions of home into the role of media in creating fan identity, I show how

media functions to maintain imaginaries related to football clubs. Drawing on the work of Gorman-Murray (2006), I suggest fan relationships with online spaces and social media demonstrate ways in which home can be 'stretched', reinforcing fluid notions of belonging and a 'sense of place' (Rose 2003a). Linking discussions of home with 'imagined communities' (Anderson 1991; Guschwan 2016a), the internet acts to draw geographically dispersed groups of fans together to create 'neighbourhoods' (Guschwan 2016b). My aim in this discussion is to stretch ideas of what constitutes a material object, exploring how the materiality of home moves away from physical places, such as neighbourhoods or cities, and into cyber-spaces. Therefore, the media with which fans surround themselves act in a similar way to 'things' in co-producing home. The relationships fans create with internet and online fan spaces, such as forums and social media, play an important role sustaining connections to the notion of a football club as home and form the basis of community and belonging for fans.

The use of material items to create fan homes is the subject of the second section. I argue that acts such as wearing merchandise are demonstrations that a fan's body belongs to a specific club. Through this, fans embody the imaginaries associated with the club they support. The home these 'things' co-produce is written onto the space of the body, in contrast to a domestic dwelling. Drawing on work in material geographies, such as those written by Gregson (2009) and Rose (2010), I illustrate how merchandise allows feelings of belonging to become mobile. This mobility is achieved through bringing home to the scale of the body. Public symbols allow fans of the same club to identify each other, creating temporary but none-the-less important feelings of community and belonging between bodies. Threading through discourses of power, the use of merchandise also acts to mark authentic or non-authentic performances of fandom. The accumulation and display of football memorabilia such as programmes, books and posters provides a narrative to fan experiences and memory (Gregson 2009). Merchandise also acts to collapse distance between family members, such as occurs when objects are transmuted into 'gifts' via the gift-giving of club-related objects within family (Rose 2010).

In the final section of this chapter, I discuss the role that television and match coverage play in fan practice. Material objects such as laptops and televisions

become a gateway for fans to connect to home, collapsing distance between themselves and the home space of the club they support. Reconfiguring Rose's (2010) discussion of family photographs, I suggest television acts to remedy absence and the need for what Weed (2008) describes as spectators' desire for proximity. In a way that is similar to the wearing of club merchandise, televised match coverage is the basis of social relations and feelings of community between fans. The unequal landscape of television rights, and the impact this has on the availability of matches, influences the ability of fans to view matches. This directly influences not only the ability of fans to view their club on a regular basis; the lack of availability of coverage inhibits a fan's continual re-negotiation of emotional ties to the club they support. Media coverage also has the ability to become 'home ground' for long-distance fans. As 'home' can be both inclusionary and exclusionary, televised match coverage creates the sense of 'not' being at home for fans just as television coverage encourages feelings of belonging.

"And he would be in Auckland going . . .": Media, fandom and 'stretchy' homes

Media and long-distance fandom are interconnected. The use of media is one key way in which home is created by fans. In particular, media is salient in the sustaining of imaginaries associated with football clubs and plays a key role in the 'making real' of imaginary connections. Media usage acts as a source of knowledge from news to gossip; information which glues communities of fans together:

> [M]embers of these communities may never know or meet each other face-to-face, yet they feel a sense of belonging that emanates from shared knowledge, often disseminated by TV broadcasts, newspapers and all other forms of mass media. Members of 'virtual communities' might interact with other fans online, but never meet each other in actual life, or they might use the internet to stay connected with friends from the old neighbourhood (Guschwan 2016b 355).

Linking to the work of Gorman-Murray (2006) on the 'stretching' of home across public and private space, the importance of media to the creation of imaginaries is one way in which home is demonstrated to be 'stretched' by fans (Gorman-Murray 2006). The use of media by fans is a means by which homes can be stretched across spaces, establishing and maintaining connection between a fan

and a football club. Following Guschwan (2016b), who builds on the notion of imaginary communities (Anderson 1991), I suggest long-distance fans' relationship with media provides the basis of 'imaginary homes' which become 'neighbourhoods' of shared knowledge, shaped by the normative discourses evident in media coverage. The emotions of belonging, pride and feelings of community that accompany the establishment of an 'imaginary home', a space which may create an emotional 'sense of place' amongst online, mediated groups of fans (Rose 2003a).

Media is thus key in sustaining imaginaries of football homes. As Blunt and Dowling (2006) suggest, homes are both material and imaginary, with home existing as both a physical place and a set of feelings. Building on this notion, media and less 'material' objects have a key role in co-producing home for long-distance football fans. Based in 'imaginary communities', media functions as 'neighbourhood', part of fan homes which blur the boundaries between public and private 'homes' (Gorman-Murray 2006; Guschwan 2016b). Through functioning as a 'neighbourhood' media aids in reinforcing an emotional 'sense of place' for fans. This is achieved by encouraging feelings of belonging and community through the sharing of knowledge (Rose 2003a and 2010). By suggesting home for football fans encompasses multiple spaces, media is key in creating feelings of being at home and in reinforcing normative ideas around Europe and particularly the United Kingdom as the 'home' of football. Merging public and private, media establishes community between fans based on shared knowledges.

In an illustration of the importance of media for fan identity, Jeremy shared the following story:

> There was a pal of mine in Auckland who is an Everton fan . . . So he ran a business in Auckland which was a clearing house for international telex machines . . . he used to always go in on a Saturday night . . . he would go in at 3 o'clock in the morning and he would contact the police station next to the Everton ground and he would call in and say 'it's Dave here in New Zealand: any score yet?' And the police knew who he was and they would have radio contact with the cops at the ground and so Everton would score and the cop at the ground would go 'Sarge, Everton are one nil up' and then somebody in the control room would go 'Dave, Everton have just gone on nil up' and he would be in Auckland going [throws his hands up in the air] (Face-to-face interview, August 2016).

In the widest sense, Jeremy shows the importance of communication and information for long-distance fans. As a method of collapsing distance between himself and Everton Football Club, Dave used unconventional means to create belonging through shared knowledge (Guschwan 2016b). With the advent of 'new media' this process has become simpler, as explored by Rafaello, a fan of Inter Milan. Despite first living in the United Kingdom and then Aotearoa New Zealand, Rafaello still feels a close connection to the club. Many of his family members live in the area around Milan and he spoke about how his cousins attend Inter Milan home games, during which they send Rafaello images of the stadium and the 'live' game. His cousin and her family 'tweet' pictures of significant moments in matches and, as he noted, through the use of current technology, Rafaello is able to be brought back inside the ground. Thus, the experiences of being a 'home fan' in a 'home crowd' are brought closer to Rafaello. Evidence from Jeremy and Rafaello highlights the ways in which media functions as a key 'place-maker' for long-distance football fans. By collapsing the distance between fan and club, and between private fan practice and public displays of support, media creates imaginaries of home.

Despite the importance of media as a means through which knowledge about clubs can be accessed and feelings of community created, media usage is flexible. How and when media is accessed and the type of media utilised differs between fans. For several of the fans who took part in interviews, the act of checking internet sources for information about their club takes the form of a 'morning ritual'. Due to the difference in time-zones between Aotearoa New Zealand and the United Kingdom, for example, club activities take place overnight, and so fans establish a practice of checking news in the morning. For Steve, the first thing he does when he arrives at work is to check for information about Manchester United FC:

> I go on the internet every day first thing in the morning on the *Soccernet*[13] website or the *Sport365*[14] website or there's a *Talksport*[15] site

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[13] *Soccernet* refers to the *ESPNFC* website – the regional version for Australasia can be found here: http://www.espnfc.com.au/.

[14] *Sport365* is a website which streams live scores from a range of sports including football: http://www.sport365.live/en/home.

and the first thing I do in the morning is log on there and have a look at what's been going on. I'll have a look at the scores and the latest transfers and that's a daily thing (Face-to-face interview, July 2015).

For others, checking the internet for news and information takes place multiple times per day, and constitutes a key element of their fan practice. For Josh, his main sources of football news were social media sites. Josh spends upwards of four hours per day perusing for information about Liverpool FC:

> Yeah umm, I'm on Facebook so I'm on the Facebook Liverpool Supporters Club and I network with friends who have a similar interest. Just the usual stuff I suspect . . . About four to five hours a day . . . Yeah, that's probably on a quiet day. Yeah I'm right into it [laughs] (Skype interview, June 2015).

The advent of mobile devices and the use of social media such as Facebook or Twitter allows for a constant stream of information throughout the day, ensuring constant connectivity with a club and consistent availability of information, facets which reinforce feelings of neighbourhood and emotions of connection (Guschwan 2016b; Rose 2003a). The consumption of media concerning a club, and football in general, is important in constructing fan 'homes'. Through a constant stream of information available through social media, fans have the ability to surround themselves with news. Such immersion helps make real, an imagined community of fans associated with a football club (Anderson 1991). With the advent of the internet and mobile devices, the ability to retain an in-depth contact with a club and the communities which surround the club has become increasingly accessible for long-distance fans. The intensity and intimacy of such contact underpins feelings of propinquity established between fan and club.

Just as the men in Gorman-Murray's (2006) research have favoured bars and 'beats', fans have favoured sources of information. The use of online spaces blurs the line between public and private space, becoming 'home-like' and playing a key role in the construction of fan homes. Visiting news-sites regularly allows such sources to become absorbed into discussions of home and to form a kind of 'neighbourhood' around a home club (Buffington 2017; Guschwan 2016b). One

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[15] Talksport is an online radio platform which is devoted to sport and includes daily sports news and English Premier League updates: https://talksport.com/.

source of news cited by multiple fans is the online edition of the *Guardian*[16] newspaper. The popularity of the *Guardian* stems from its focus on English-based clubs and through being posited by the fans who participated in this research as a 'reputable' source of news. Hugh visits the *Guardian* website on a regular basis to look for information about Manchester United FC:

> But yeah, I mean the technology has really changed. I would probably look at the, I would usually go to the *Guardian* website because they have the latest football news. I don't really look at the official United website, and then there are a couple of football podcasts that come out of the UK that I listen to each week. So, I probably devote more time to looking at news now than when I lived there and it is on my doorstep (Phone interview, August 2015).

Hugh's use of the *Guardian* website has increased since re-locating to Aotearoa New Zealand, in contrast to when he lived in Manchester. Thus, having regular access to media coverage and news relating to Manchester United FC has become important in co-producing a shifting sense of home in Aotearoa New Zealand. Like Hugh, Miles also uses the *Guardian* website to gather information relating to his club, Manchester City FC, demonstrating the importance of news media to his fan practice:

> And I also . . . I would read stuff almost every day now, especially during the transfer window. And I also read the *Guardian* and the *Daily Mail*[17] because I think that they have good football websites (Skype interview, August 2015).

Miles makes a point of noting he values reliable information relating to Manchester City FC. Through this he suggests the *Guardian* and also the *Daily Mail* are sources of 'official' information relating to clubs. Temporal fluidity is also hinted at by Miles, who remarks his frequency of accessing media increases during the transfer window, when players are being bought and sold between clubs. Due to this, and through heightening his exposure to media, Miles is kept

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[16] The *Guardian* is a United Kingdom-based newspaper. The online version which has been used as a source in this thesis is the 'international' platform which can be found here: https://www.theguardian.com/international.

[17] The *Daily Mail* is another United Kingdom-based newspaper. The online edition has a United Kingdom and United States version and both feature sports content: http://www.dailymail.co.uk/ushome/index.html.

abreast of this knowledge, which increases his sense of connection to Manchester City FC.

Mike, a fan of Everton FC, also uses sites such as the *Guardian* or *ESPNFC*. Social media, such as Twitter, also features on his list of news sources:

> Yeah I do go to other websites like the *Guardian* and the *ESPN* [FC] site because they have good coverage of transfer stories. But Twitter is the main one yeah (Skype interview, July 2015).

A mix of media is evident in the maintenance of fan 'homes'. From sources of news such as the *Guardian*, *Daily Mail* or *ESPN* to social media such as Twitter, media plays a key role in creating feelings of belonging and propinquity for fans.

What is initially noteworthy is the ease of access to football content on the *Guardian* website. As shown in Figure 5.1, there is direct access from the *Guardian* homepage:
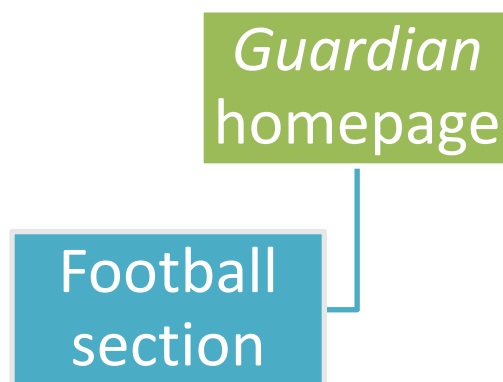
Figure 5.1: 'Map' of how to get to football content on the *Guardian* website

Once reaching the homepage of the *Guardian* online, there is an option on the menu at the top of the page which directs readers to football content. The football pages exist as a sub-set of the larger sports section, yet the presence of a 'direct' link from the *Guardian* homepage signals the prominence of football in the websites content. In an illustration of the sort of subject matter available to fans on the *Guardian* online edition of the newspaper, Figures 5.2 and 5.3 are screenshots of the *Guardian* online football homepage taken during February 2016. These images demonstrate the type of content on the site which is absorbed into fans' practices of 'home' and helps construct feelings of 'neighbourhood' (Guschwan 2016b):

116
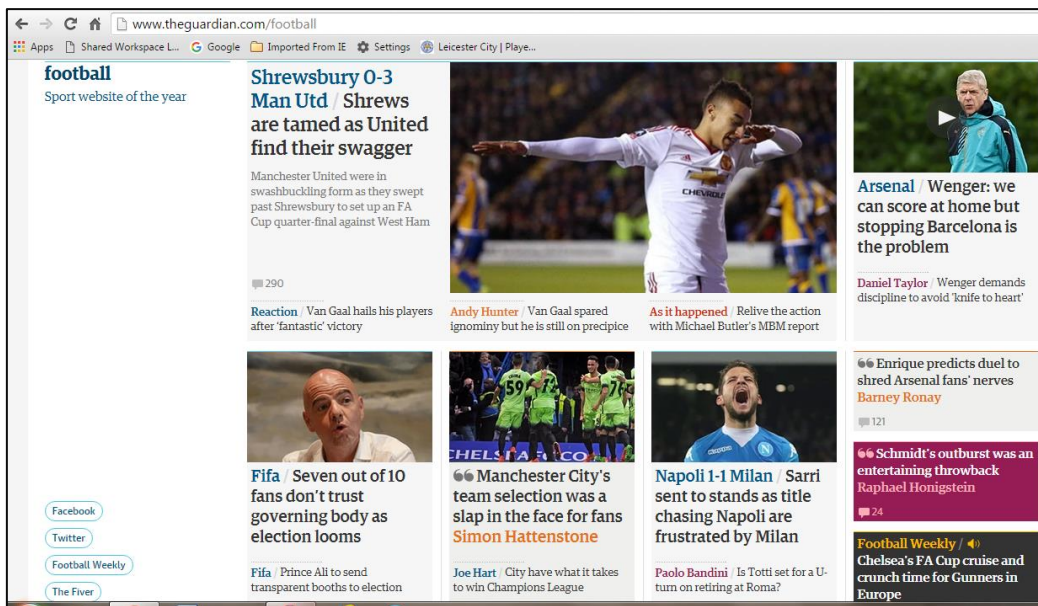
Figure 5.2: *Guardian* online football headlines, 23rd February 2016
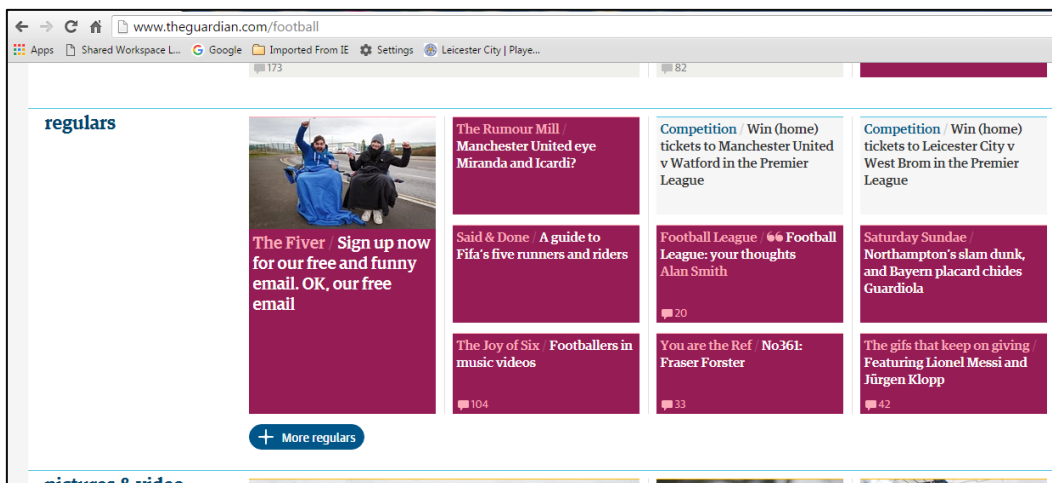
Figure 5.3: *Guardian* online football regulars, 23rd February 2016

Tying into the webs of power which underpin fan practice, as Figure 5.2 shows in the 'headlines' section, there is a privileging of European football, and English football in particular. While the edition of the online newspaper is sign-posted as the 'international' edition, this content still reflects the newspaper as based in the United Kingdom. The usage of this website by the long-distance fans interviewed for this research links to the dominance of support for European and English football teams and points to the positioning of these places as the normative 'home' of football. In the headlines section, of the eight items listed, seven discuss European football, with four concerning English Premier League teams and the eighth on the subject of impending FIFA elections. In the 'regulars' section,

shown in Figure 5.3, the focus is again on English football, however, the tone of the pieces is more informal as compared to the headline news items. With recurring sections such as 'the joy of six', 'the rumour mill' and 'the gifs that keep on giving', a contrasting side to football media is shown. Moving away from the headline section discussing news items and match results, these regular sections are posited as humorous and opinion-based, aiding in building senses of belonging surrounding shared knowledge of a club (Guschwan 2016b).

Despite the presentation of European football as normative, there is also coverage of 'world' football, as the screenshot in Figure 5.4 illustrates below.
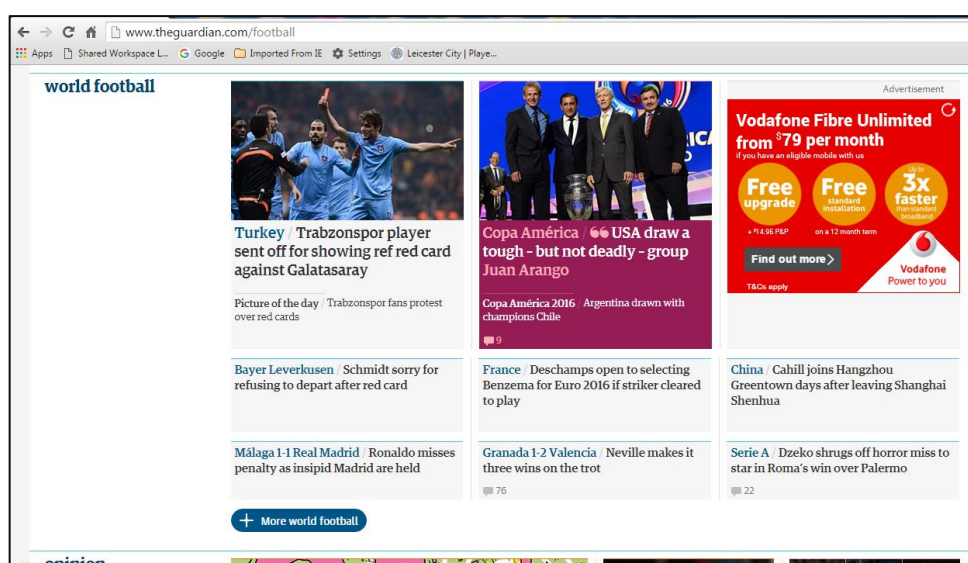
Figure 5.4: *Guardian* online, world football section, 23rd February 2016

In Figure 5.4 there is a focus on European football, with articles discussing German, French, Spanish and Italian football. There is also coverage of Chinese, Turkish and South American football, signalling a focus on multiple football leagues outside of Europe. Sliding together European and 'world' football, a complex picture of how the *Guardian* positions particular leagues as 'at home' or otherwise is painted. Through this pattern of media coverage, the dominance of Europe as the 'centre' of football is (re)produced within fan 'homes'. This can be highlighted through drawing out particular fault-lines of power. In the coverage of Turkish football, it is an 'out-of-the-ordinary' event in which a player showed a referee a red card, inverting the usual player-referee power dynamic. The article examining the Copa America competition, one of the primary Pan-American footballing competitions, is focused on United States. The accompanying image

showing four 'white' men again reinforces Euro-centrism running through the football content labelled 'world' football. The piece on China discusses the fortunes of an English player Gary Cahill as he transfers between two Chinese teams. Beneath a superficial appearance of 'world' football coverage, Europe remains positioned as the centre of the footballing world and as the 'home' of football.

This pattern of Euro-centricity is continued on two major Aotearoa New Zealand online news platforms. The following screenshots were taken from two major news platforms in December 2016, *Stuff* and the *New Zealand Herald*. Figure 5.5 shows the headlines from the *Stuff* football webpage. *Stuff Football HQ* features news about English and 'world' football but has a focus on Aotearoa New Zealand teams and the Australian-based A-League. Figure 5.6 shows the headlines from the *New Zealand Herald* football page which has a lighter focus on Aotearoa New Zealand football, heavily featuring news of the English Premier League:
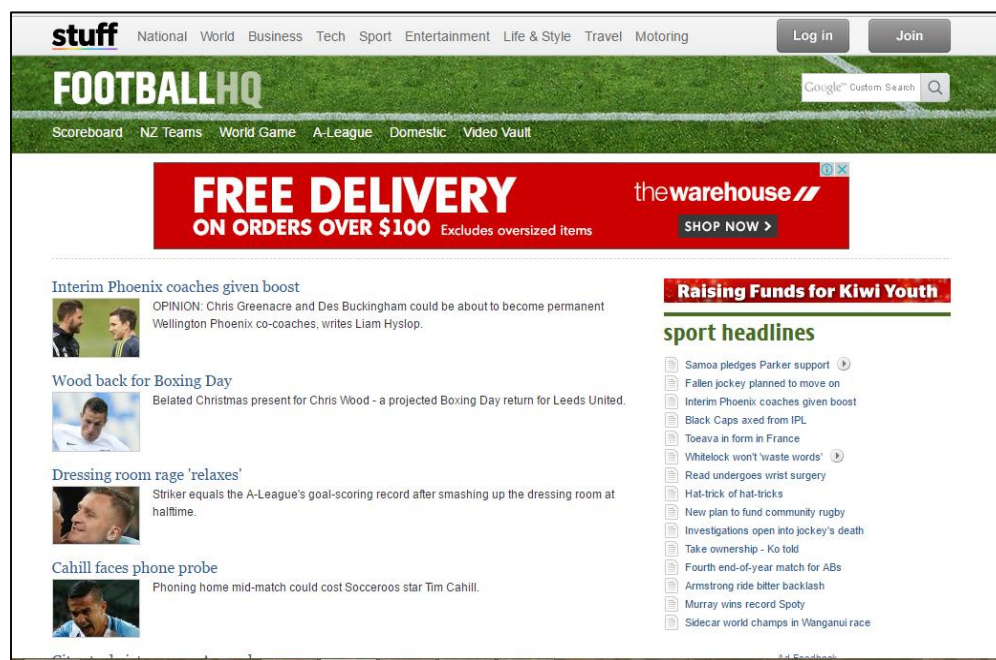
Figure 5.5: *Stuff* Football HQ headlines, 19th December 2016
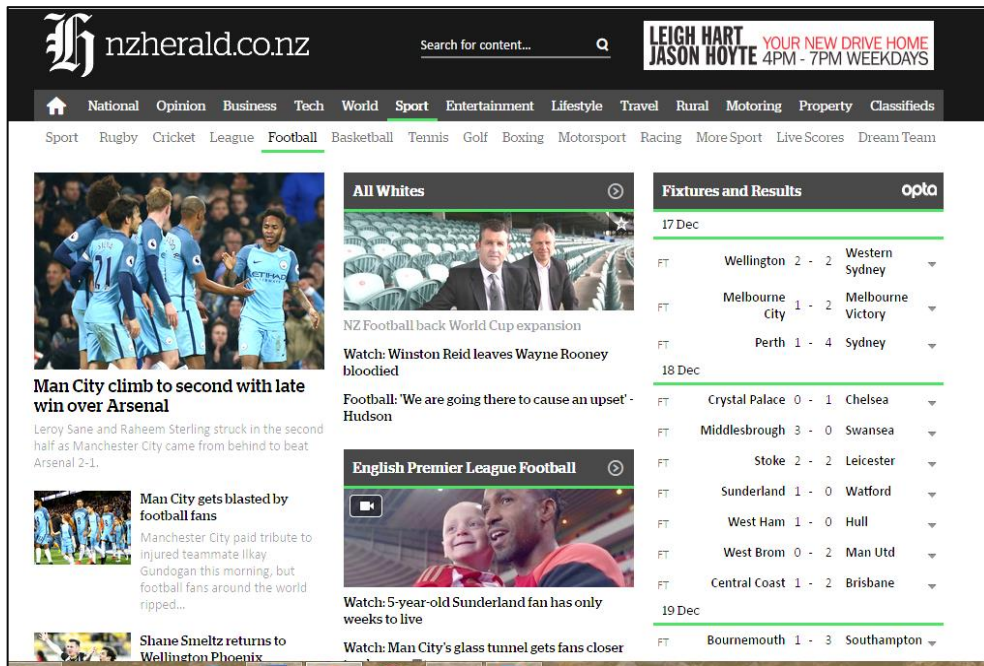
Figure 5.6: *New Zealand Herald* football headlines, 19th December 2016

The pages shown in Figures 5.5 and 5.6 both exist as sub-sections of the more prominent 'sports' sections of the news sites as demonstrated in Figure 5.7:
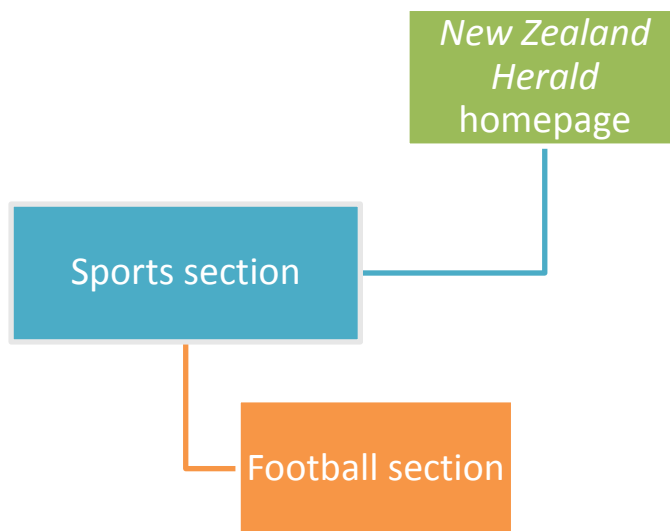
Figure 5.7: 'Map' of how to get to *New Zealand Herald* online football section

The screenshots were deliberately taken on a Monday morning, timing that aligned with coverage of English Premier League games played overnight. This mirrors the habits of checking media sources shared by the fans interviewed for this research. In the *Stuff Football HQ* headlines shown in Figure 5.5, it is Aotearoa New Zealand and Australian players and teams which dominate coverage. This is evident through a focus on the trans-Tasman A-League

competition and particularly on the Wellington Phoenix. By contrast in the *New Zealand Herald* football section (Figure 5.6), the focus is on the English Premier League, with the top news item about Manchester City FC. The *New Zealand Herald* page also has a scoreboard for recently played English Premier League games running down the right-hand side of Figure 5.6.

Along with sources of news such as the *Guardian*, social media plays a key role in virtual fandoms and in creating fan communities. Just as Hugh, Miles and Mike discussed their use of the *Guardian* website, they also shared their use of 'social' media. This continues to reinforce an emotional 'sense of place' for fans (Rose 2003a). Just as the frequenting of news websites is a means by which connections can be maintained between fan and club, 'social' media is a means by which fan identity can be performed. Virtual spaces such as forums and sites such as Facebook are also notable as a means through which communities can be created and performed between fans. Using the example of my own Facebook feed, social media acts in a variety of ways to create feelings of 'neighbourhood' through the proliferation of information (Guschwan 2016b). As a fan of Arsenal FC, I follow the official Arsenal FC Facebook page which acts as a 'formal' source of news. I also follow the Aotearoa New Zealand Arsenal FC supporters club Facebook page. This is notably a less formal, more participatory and more critical environment than the official Arsenal FC Facebook page.

Away from 'official' forms of social media, there are forums which are generated for and by fans. An example of this is the Yellow Fever[18], the supporter's organisation for the Wellington Phoenix, the only professional football club based in Aotearoa New Zealand. The organisation's website features 'tongue-in-cheek' news about the Phoenix and lists of events relating not only to the Phoenix but also to a range of domestic teams. The site also features forums, many of which discuss overseas teams. Membership to the site is free and the forums are public; however, membership is required to post comments. Forums are user generated and mirror the popularity of particular leagues and teams. Topics range from domestic Aotearoa New Zealand football, mainly focusing on the Wellington Phoenix and the All Whites, to threads entitled 'things that really annoy you' and

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[18] The Yellow Fever site can be found at: https://www.yellowfever.co.nz.

a game of musical tag. Encompassing a wide range of teams in the United Kingdom and Europe, the threads dedicated to discussing specific English teams, especially those competing in the English Premier League, are some of the most active with views and replies numbered in the thousands. The activity level of threads is not measured according to the number of replies or views and instead is based on the frequency of replies.

Figure 5.8 was taken in December 2016 and shows the most active threads on the Yellow Fever forums relating to British football. What is perhaps most notable is despite being housed under the 'English (and other British lower league) Football Discussion' thread, this first page of forums discusses mainly EPL teams:

Topic	Replies	Views	Last Post
Arsenal Tips 2016/17 by foal30 5 months ago	284	3,742	brumbys 7 minutes ago
(The not-so-temporary quite-official) Gooner Thread by Surge 4 years ago	12,454	238,256	brumbys about 3 hours ago
Viewing the Premier League (live) 16/17... by Surge 6 months ago	730	26,252	SW6 about 21 hours ago
Fantasy Premier League 2016/17 #NZTwitterFPL by LeighboNZ 5 months ago	66	1,718	chefmivec 3 days ago
Liverpool Thread by linds 9 years ago	11,848	118,199	Ronniemac 4 days ago
2015-16 GIF & Meme Thread by ajc28 2 years ago	327	14,471	paulm 4 days ago
Manchester United by erictheking 9 years ago	6,696	92,459	Leggy 5 days ago
Man City Thread by 2ndBest 8 years ago	432	4,258	Lonegunmen 5 days ago
Chelsea thread by barts 9 years ago	3,494	39,025	Briggski 8 days ago

Figure 5.8: Yellow Fever, British Leagues threads, 19th December 2016

Both the top two most active threads shown in Figure 5.8 discuss Arsenal FC. The first of these threads focuses on tips for the team's performance in the 2016/2017 season. The second most active thread is dubbed the 'the not-so-temporary quite official Gooner thread' and content includes following live matches, gossip relating to the club, and general moaning and complaints about the team's performances. Demonstrating the importance of television viewing to long-distance fans, the third most active thread relates to viewing the Premier League live. One of the functions of this thread is to provide a platform through which

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members can arrange viewing matches together, sharing times games are televised and venues in which matches can be viewed. In addition to creating 'virtual' communities, these forums facilitate community gatherings outside of cyber-space. Teasing apart the relationships between fans and objects, in the next section, the co-production of home between fans, material objects and imaginaries is discussed.

Shirts, ties and pyjamas: the importance of material objects to fandom

In this section I examine the relationship between long-distance fans and football club merchandise, acknowledging the importance of materiality to feelings of home. As Noble (2004 234) contends, the rich emotional terrain provided by material objects is not often recognised:

> The study of material culture has been central to recognizing the agentic, intersubjective, multiple and processual nature of our subjectivities, yet there is still a tendency to reduce this complexity while a particular aspect or instance is explored. Consumption still tends to be treated as a series of singular acts. The density and complexity of subjective life amidst our belongings over time are often left unexamined.

For football fans, merchandise plays a key role in embodying support for a club and narrating performances of home. Home is brought to the scale of the body through the wearing of replica match-day shirts, and domestic spaces are delineated as belonging to football through the collecting of football related objects. Furthermore, merchandise plays a role in narrating identity, and is imbued with memory and emotion:

> Assemblages of related objects acquired for their relatedness and whose meaning is located in this relation, but also in relation to their anchoring subjects . . . As things whose enduringness is critical in the narration of the self . . . the enduringness that is the product of protection and safe display brings with it a weightiness that I show to be felt most acutely by those whose accommodation in collections span the temporal registers of generations (Gregson 2007 106).

Acts such as wearing shirts or scarves are public symbols that fan bodies belong to a specific club. Fan's bodies are outwardly related to the anchoring subject of a football club. Through this home is re-orientated, providing a mechanism through which connection to homes and communities can be made 'real' through embodying particular imaginaries associated with the club they support.

Merchandise allows feelings of home to become mobile and this brings home to the scale of the body. Public symbols allow fans of the same club to identify each other, creating temporary, but none-the-less important, feelings of community and belonging between bodies. Identifying the workings of power which underlie the expression of fan identity, these public symbols can equally be used to cast bodies as 'not at home' should they not align with privileged normative performances of fandom.

In an example of how merchandise acts to narrate a fan's life and identity, Steve shares how his taste in merchandise had changed since he was a child:

> So yeah, as a kid, absolutely nuts that is all that I ever wanted for Christmas, for birthdays is a [Manchester] United tracksuit or a kit is all I ever wanted. As I got older, not so much, because I am just not into the clothes as much. However, I do still like it and I do still go on the website and look at it. I would like a tie so I do look at the ties (Steve, Manchester United fan: Face-to-face interview, July 2015).

Steve illustrates how for football fans 'things' play an active role in shaping identity (Gregson 2007). His interest in Manchester United FC is an enduring part of his identity and the material objects Steve discusses are important to him because they relate to this football club and his life journey as a fan. Steve's demand for merchandise such as tracksuits is linked to being a child and a young fan. He illustrates how this has shifted to adapt to his identity as an adult, his interest in merchandise evolving to focus on ties. This focus is perhaps a symbol of his occupation as a deputy principal in a school and his regular practice of wearing ties.

The volume of goods marketed by football clubs enables merchandise to illustrate fan identity and to be adapted to fan practice across different ages. For example, Lauren, a fan of Scottish Celtic FC, has a number of supporters' items:

> I definitely have pyjamas, like I already said. In the past Celtic have done some nice, like a nice range of ladies for casual wear . . . so I would have had three sorts of tops like that. I don't think that I have ever owned a match-day strip at all . . . Umm I have several Celtic scarves tucked away in my drawer and a couple of hats as well. Umm, [pause] I think I have a Celtic hip flask somewhere of all things. That's ringing bells. And a mug. So a fair bit of paraphernalia kicking around (Phone interview, September 2015).

Discussion of club merchandise highlights the degree to which a fan's identity could be marked as belonging to a particular football club. For example, in my own fan practice, merchandise does not play a major role in marking my identity. I own two pieces of Arsenal FC merchandise, a key ring and a t-shirt. The key-ring, despite being a small object, has played a more marked role in my identity as a fan, having been a permanent fixture on bags and backpacks since my younger brothers bought it for me on a family trip to Wellington nearly a decade ago. Compared to the t-shirt, which I have only worn twice following Arsenal FC victories in the English Football Association Cup, the smallness and unobtrusiveness of the key-ring means I feel at ease using it; it does not mark my identity as strongly as the wearing of a football shirt (King 2011).

The wide variety of goods available to fans also influences the degree to which fan identity can be embodied. The following Figures 5.7 through 5.9 are screenshots taken from the Liverpool FC online store. The Liverpool FC online store was chosen due to the high percentage of Liverpool FC fans interviewed for this research; eight in total. Captured in mid-December 2016 at the height of the marketing of Christmas gifts, these images demonstrate the breadth of material goods available to fans.
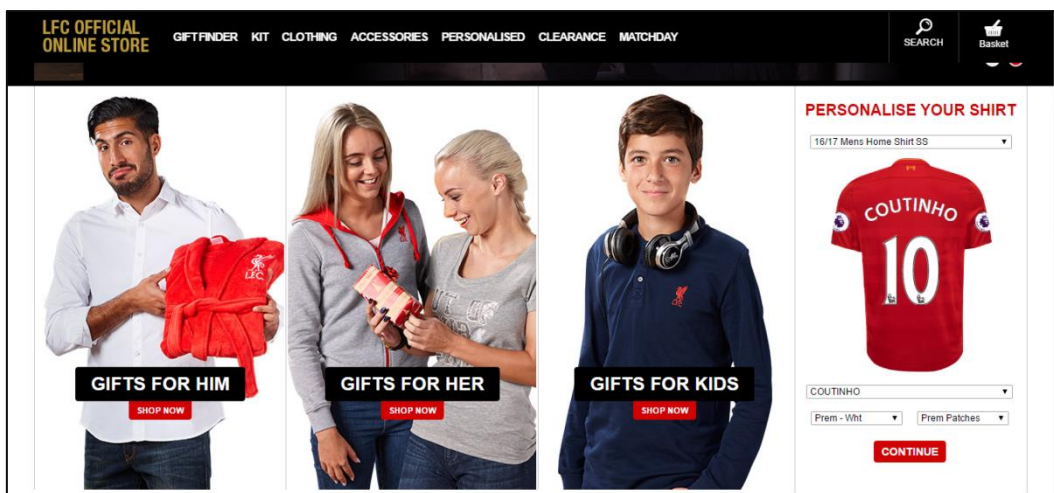
Figure 5.9: Liverpool Football Club online store: main page, 20th December 2016
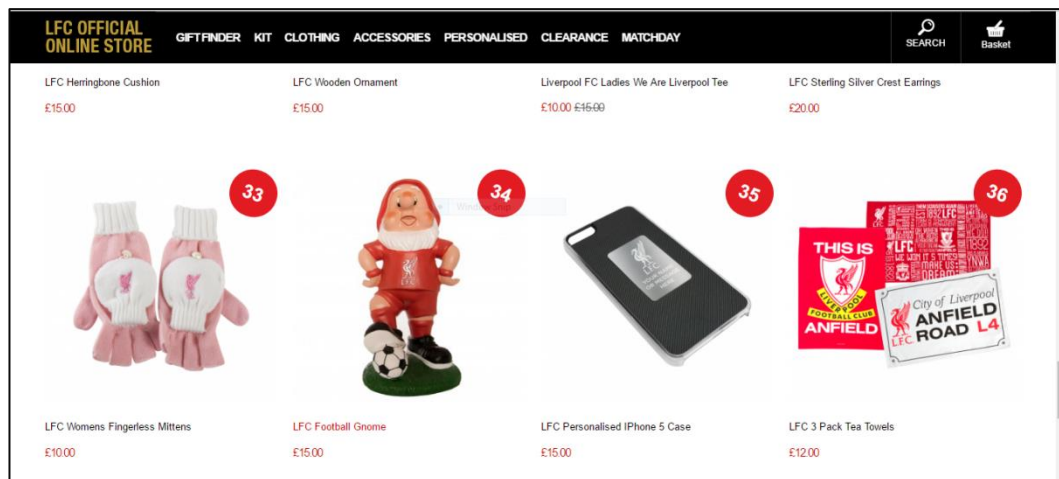
Figure 5.10: Liverpool Football Club online store: women's gift page, 20th December 2016
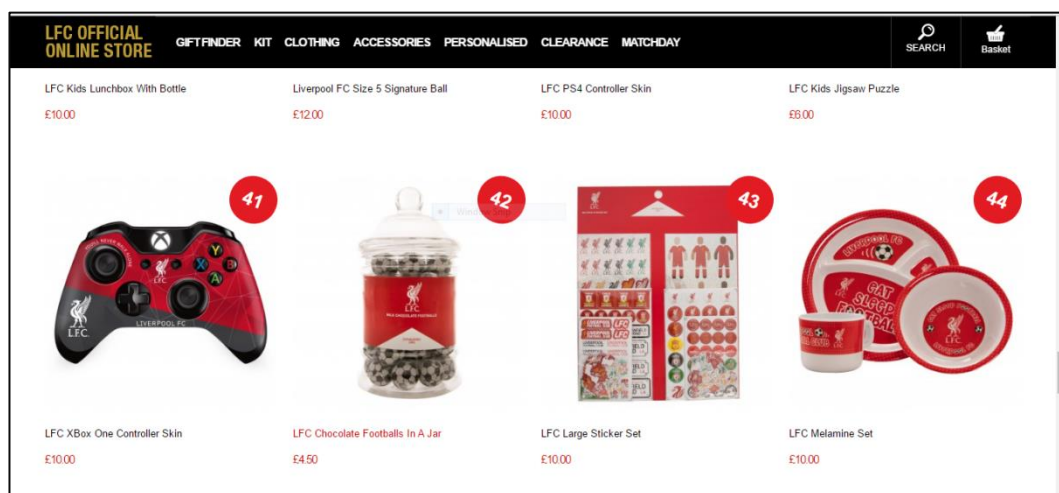
Figure 5.11: Liverpool Football Club online store: children's gift page, 20th December 2016

At first glance, it is clear how merchandise is demarcated according to age and gender. As the first image from the Liverpool FC store homepage, Figure 5.9 shows, gifts for adults are split into 'gifts for him' and 'gifts for her' reflecting binary notions of gender. The clothes evident on the list of women's gifts show gendered performances of fandom and will be explored further in chapter six. The tea-towels and pink gloves in Figure 5.11 illustrate this, as does the image of women on the gift-shop homepage image in Figure 5.9. Caudwell (2011a 337) explains:

> Today's female football fans are being encouraged, through conspicuous consumption, to embody football and femininity . . . Women and girls' bodies become potential sites and sights for the adornment of feminine football attire and concomitantly the display of femininity.

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Gifts deemed as suitable for children are presented as gender-neutral 'gifts for kids'. This is undermined, however, by the image of the young boy shown in Figure 5.9 underneath the lettering 'gifts for kids'. Figure 5.11 shows that some of the gifts positioned as suitable for children do follow through in regards to gender neutrality, such as the stickers or the chocolate footballs. It is the game controller, with video games posited as masculine territory and as a suitable activity for boys (Todd 2012), which again marks 'gifts for kids' as perhaps less gender neutral than at first appears.

While fans deployed a range of merchandise, ownership patterns show it is replica match-day shirts which hold the greatest emotional weight within fan narratives of football objects. Fans used these shirts in a variety of ways marking connections to family and to place. There was, however, consensus from the majority of fans that these shirts were not 'everyday' items. Fans such as Brody and Mike suggested that they would wear shirts to games, David noted that such shirts would only be appropriate worn at the gym, and Hugh stated that he did not wear his at all, instead keeping them folded in a drawer. This separating of shirts from the 'everyday' marks them as significant objects that may not be congruous with a fans everyday identity; for example, Brody suggesting that his body did not match that of a footballers, or Josh stating they were not suitable for work, As a privileged object, however, shirts allow fans to embody the spirit of playing for the club (Merkel 1999). Football 'home ground' and fans' bodies become mutually constituted. This mark of belonging to a club acts as a public symbol of support and brings fans together in temporary but vital feelings of community. Brody, a fan of Norwich City FC, provides an example of this. He recounts how he identified a woman wearing a Norwich City FC shirt - which he implicitly assumes was 'her husbands' - at a Wellington Phoenix game:

> Umm I actually scared the shit out of a poor lady at the stadium . . . she went to the Phoenix in a Norwich City shirt. I had just come from the Backbencher[19], getting a bit boozed and just started getting into 'on the ball city'[20] like literally two metres away from her and she is like 'what is

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[19] The Backbencher is a pub in central Wellington, which the Yellow Fever, the Wellington Phoenix supporters group, uses as a base.

[20] 'On the ball, City' is a chant sung by Norwich City FC supporters and is considered to be one of the oldest football chants still in use.

this guy doing?'. She must have literally just [been] out in her husband's shirt or something and there is this strange guy yelling at me (Skype interview, July 2015).

Mike, an Everton FC fan, displays similar sentiments to Brody as to the wearing of football shirts and the role such objects play in signalling team support. Again, there is acknowledgement, of fellow fans, and a feeling of community based on a sense of collective pride:

I suppose in New Zealand if you see someone [in a shirt] you go 'ahh' and go up to them and shake their hand. But um yeah I wouldn't say it is important but I do like wearing and there is a sense of pride (Skype interview, July 2015).

Shirts not only act as markers for individual fans; garments also signal collective belonging. This sense of belonging can stretch between a community of fans and also these shirts can act as a source of 'place-based' identity. The privileging of wearing replica match-day shirts provides the material basis for the establishment of a temporary feeling of belonging while also channelling the imaginaries surrounding a club and a particular place such as 'Liverpool' or 'Norwich'. The notion that shirts act as symbols of collective belonging is evident in the testimony of Antony, who is a key member of the Aotearoa New Zealand West Ham United supporters club, KiwiHammers. West Ham United, a club traditionally achieving moderate success within English leagues, has a well-organised fan-base in Aotearoa New Zealand. With 400 members in their Facebook group, KiwiHammers was created when West Ham United toured Aotearoa New Zealand in early 2014. Participating in the 'Football United' tour alongside fellow EPL team Newcastle United Football Club, the games West Ham United played in Aotearoa New Zealand solidified a network of West Ham United fans across New Zealand. As Antony asserted, the pride and passion shown by KiwiHammers fans prompted the creation of an organised supporters club. Since the 2014 tour, KiwiHammers members have organised regular gatherings where West Ham United games are viewed. Wearing team shirts to these events helps create a feeling of community:

Um, we distribute shirts. I did a big order of shirts, home shirts, about two or three months ago. Everyone has got an old shirt, doesn't matter if it is last years or 15 years everyone comes in a shirt (Zoom interview, October 2015).

Replica match-day shirts allow for the material and imaginary elements of home to be conflated on to the bodies of fans, becoming powerful repositories of emotion and memory. Shirts are also economic objects that are bought and sold. Replica match-day shirts do not function homogenously for fans and issues around consumption play a role for particular fans. Some fans, such as Patrick, expressed negative feelings towards replica shirts as symbols of hyper-commercialisation, particularly as exemplified by the large advertising slogans present on club shirts: "I mean it is enormous amounts of money; that is why they make a different shirt every year isn't it?" Ryan, however, posited a different view:

> But to wear I will probably buy their shirt every year, so a football top every year and apart from that it is probably more memorabilia would be the best way to put it . . . Umm I guess that it is filling the coffers of the club. Yeah it is just making your contribution towards what they are trying to do I guess . . . Yeah I guess when you look at it, if they want to compete then I know it is only a small contribution if you buy a shirt but there are a lot more Liverpool fans than Man City fans and in a way you are trying to counter the riches of the Arabs who own Man City and the Russian who owns Chelsea . . . they are bankrolled by billionaires so it is just a little contribution towards a level playing field. Yeah, that is my thinking anyway and it is always good to be able to wear the shirt when you go in and watch it with the lads (Phone interview, July 2016).

For some fans, shirts can be a significant financial investment. Being located in Aotearoa New Zealand, a significant geographical distance from the location of European football clubs the cost of getting shirts to Aotearoa New Zealand can be substantial. This is made clear by Gianni, who recalled the largest amount he has paid to ship an AS Roma shirt:

> Before it used to cost me more to ship the shirt to New Zealand than it did for me to buy the shirt. But it is much better these days. In fact, I think the last one that I bought is free shipping which is an absolute revelation to me . . . it is over 100 bucks once for a shirt I ordered but that didn't stop me (Skype interview, October 2015).

As a Manchester United FC fan that lived, and attended games in Manchester throughout the period in the 1990s and early 2000s, David has insight into the use of merchandise both as a tool to generate revenue for a club and how material goods are able to be used to make judgements concerning the validity of others' fandom:

Umm, real fans don't really buy merchandise . . . there is even a backlash when in the 90s, when people wouldn't buy shirts because people would get bussed in from Scandinavia and come out laden with 'megastore' bags and they would have the shirts on. They were plastic fans. They weren't real fans, so real fans wouldn't wear the shirts in the 90s. Because it is a way to advertise that you had just been to the megastore (Face-to-face interview, July 2015).

Oscar, when prompted about merchandise, also expressed negative feelings towards wearing shirts and collecting material objects:

No [emphatically] . . . It's not something that is important for me. I have got friends who have like 35 or 40 from teams across the world but I don't really see the point . . . I don't think it looks proper when you wear it, it doesn't go with anything else unless you are playing (Skype interview, September 2015).

Replica shirts and merchandise can provoke contrasting emotions for fans, swinging between the pride evident in Antony and Ryan's stories, and the discontent and judgement discussed by David and Oscar. The use of merchandise to privilege performances of fandom highlights the commercial value of such objects, bringing to the fore mixed feelings of pride and ambivalence. Merchandise also acts as emotional objects, repositories of memory and symbols of identity. Providing a demonstration of this, Figure 5.12 shown below, is a photograph of two Liverpool FC shirts owned by Josh. The accompanying caption, also by Josh, illustrates the importance of the shirts to his fan identity and as repositories of memory:

Figure 5.12: Josh's two oldest and most prized Liverpool Football Club shirts, August 2015

> These are my 2 oldest and prized shirts, from 1977/78 season. They were given to me by a mate that I went through High School with. That is his blood on the white (away) kit. Again, growing up I wore these to bed the night before a big game and occasionally under my school uniform too. I keep them locked away in a draw by my bed now which explains the creases! Obvious to note no sponsorship or logos on the shirts and original not retro! I have about 20 other kits from over the years (Photograph and caption from Josh, Liverpool FC fan)

Acting as symbols of memory as well as sites of emotional connection allows for shirts to become steeped in fan history. Sam links to the notion of shirts as markers of fan history and memory:

> But I have got a collection of shirts that I have collected throughout the years and from my parents and things. I think there is one that I got for my 40th birthday with number 40 and [his surname] on the back. And umm I can't remember what the last one that I got is but I have got a large collection of shirts dating back a number of years upstairs, all beautifully aligned as well (Skype interview, September 2015).

Building on the notion of shirts and merchandise as emotional objects (Gorman-Murray 2006; Rose 2003a), gifting of merchandise between family members adds layers of meaning to material objects. When merchandise is transmuted into a

'gift', layers of meaning and memory are added to objects, tying the objects closely to place and family. This can be seen through the practice of gifting merchandise between members of trans-national families. For Max, his extended family's practice of gifting him Liverpool FC merchandise during Christmas or on his birthday functions as a method by which distance between Aotearoa New Zealand and his cousins in the city of Liverpool can be collapsed:

> It has been a tradition since we have been here for my family back in Liverpool to get me a shirt for my birthday . . . But yeah like trendy stuff that I would beg for my family to send over because they all like Liverpool as well I suppose (Skype interview, May 2016).

For Emily, who has extended family living in the United Kingdom, the gifting of objects also functioned as a reminder of connection, collapsing distance between family members:

> Especially once you hit adulthood then they are still in the UK and you don't see each other very much so I expect that they are kind of like is Emily still interested in this or is she still as interested in it as when she was younger? So they are still sending like the football shirts and . . . Like I remember when I was in the UK in like 2004 or 2005 and for that Christmas my uncle is like oh I am going to get you a shirt and that will be my Christmas present for you. So we sat down and figured out which one to get and that sort of thing. It then turned out that two other relatives had also bought me shirts for Christmas and we didn't find out until we got home and I opened my presents. So there is a bit of a connection there (Skype interview, July 2016).

Following from the examples of Max and Emily and the significance of material objects between family members, Figure 5.13, with the accompanying caption from Josh, provides another illustration of how material objects relating to football narrate family history.

Figure 5.13: Josh's Liverpool Football Club scarf, August 2015

> The Scarf on the wall was sent to me from the UK, by my grandad in 1978, just after Liverpool had won the First Division title. I never met my grandad (who is a Man United fan) in person so this scarf represents our family history in a significant way. In 1978 memorabilia like this was very difficult to get (no internet or Prem League marketing!), so this was precious to me from the beginning. It has been around my neck, through some of the biggest and most famous Liverpool matches since then. Memorably, in the letter that accompanied the scarf, my grandad asked that next time, I ask him to send me something a little easier to find, like a race horse or a yacht! (Photograph and caption from Josh, Liverpool FC fan).

Echoing the work of Blunt and Dowling (2006) that home is a mixture of emotion and materiality, I have demonstrated in this section the importance of merchandise as physical representations of home for long-distance football fans. Fans interviewed for this research showed the breadth of objects available while an examination of official online stores show these objects are not free from power. Replica match-day shirts act as potent objects for fans, embodying home ground and acting as repositories of memory. In the following section, extending the notion of home as material and imaginary further, I argue for an

acknowledgement of television coverage as an integral 'thing' which aids performances of fan home and the sustaining of club imaginaries.

"I'd be dead without this": the 'politics of viewing', long-distance fandom and television

To be a long-distance fan of a football club is to be reliant on media coverage for connection to their object of support. Of the questions put to the fans interviewed for this project, the subject of television coverage raised some of the most animated, angry and excited responses. One fan in particular inquired as to whether completed research findings could be sent to Aotearoa New Zealand-based satellite television provider Sky to argue how important televised matches are to fans such as himself.

Objects such as laptops act as the means by which home is created, functioning as a conduit of shared knowledge between individual fans (Dodge and Kitchin 2009; Nansen et al 2011). Not only does match coverage act as a major connection between fan and club, with fans able to see their 'home team' in action, matches are also profoundly social. From workmates discussing the results of a weekend's matches to family members and friends meeting to view matches together, objects such as televisions and laptops act as gateway to the 'object' of 'home ground' and function as the basis of community and belonging. It is through the use of these objects that fans are able to 'see' their team playing, accessing the experience of being in a 'home' crowd. The importance of televisions and laptops as 'things' is demonstrated in Figure 5.14, a photograph Hugh has taken of the television and tablet he uses to view Manchester United FC matches:

Figure 5.14: A demonstration of the importance of 'things': Image taken by Hugh, Manchester United Football Club fan, August 2015

Televisions and laptops act as objects maintaining feelings of connection, linking to home as material and imaginary. Viewing football matches functions in a similar way to the family photographs discussed in the work of Rose (2003a and 2010), drawing family members together across distance. As Rose (2003a 12) asserts:

> Family snaps are seen as a trace of a person's presence; but they are also taken, displayed and circulated in awareness of the pervasiveness of absence and distance. Hence the spatial stretching of domestic space beyond the home. Photos bring near those far away.

Replacing the words 'family snaps' with televised, or internet-based, match coverage, the use of these mediums stretches performances of home stadium. Illustrating the co-produced nature of home, televised coverage also allows fans to project their imaginaries of a club. Through televised matches as the primary connection between a fan and 'home team', the experience of viewing matches collapses distance. Television coverage of football matches gives fans direct access to the 'object' of home grounds, remedying a fan's absence. The viewing of televised matches is a social, emotional and relational experience for fans, with

the presence of friends and family acting to create feelings of belonging. This is identified by Weed (2008 195) in a discussion of the rise of 'virtual' football spectatorship in pubs:

> It would seem that sports spectators' need for proximity is not for proximity to the event, but to others sharing in the experience of watching the event . . . As such, all the elements needed for the experience are present in pubs as sports spectator venues. The need for proximity is to the experience rather than to the game.

By acting to remedy absence, television coverage and the viewing of football matches occupies a key place in the construction of fan homes (Rose 2010). Through recognising the social element of fandom, homes are not only produced in relationship to a football club and associated 'things' but in relation to people and social relationships (Buffington 2017; Weed 2008). As the following image and caption in Figure 5.15 from Josh illustrates, his laptop is a key object which acts as a portal through which he can build a sense of community and 'proximity' to other Liverpool FC fans:
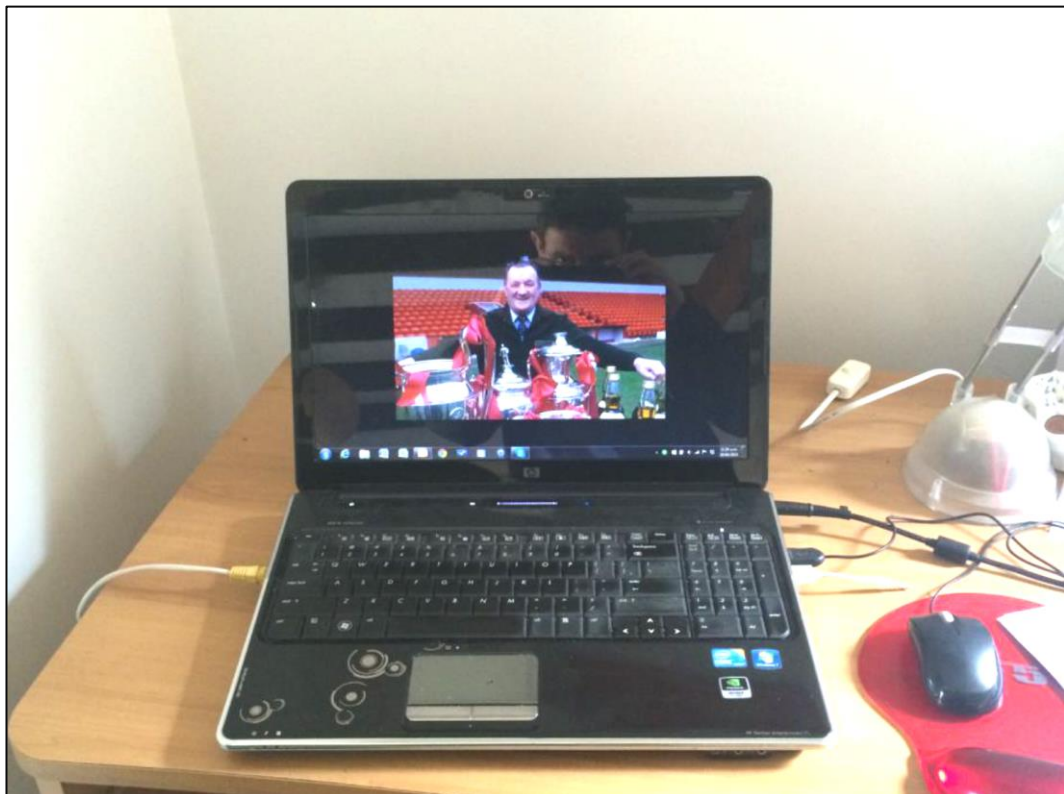
Figure 5.15: Josh and his laptop: His gateway to Liverpool Football Club, August 2016

> The gateway to all things LFC – Online fan sites and PLP [Premier League Pass]. I'd be dead without this. I spend hours on it a day reading, chatting and watching football with fans all over the world (Photograph and caption from Josh, Liverpool FC fan).

All fans interviewed relied on televised matches as the primary connection to their team. This relationship is perhaps indicative of the geographical distance between Aotearoa New Zealand and the centres of footballing 'power'. Jeremy explains the impact this distance had on fans from before the advent of satellite television:

> And if you wanted to know more, you either had to have people in England who would send you the magazines or you had to wait until they got to the stores here and it would arrive about six weeks later. In the 70s and 80s I was a football writer and I used to be the New Zealand and Australian correspondent for *Shoot!* Magazine [21] and I was paid for sending a paragraph in the mail and then six weeks after publication it would appear in the stores here. And we all put up with that because there was no alternative. And even televised matches were broadcast a week late. So our match of the day was not this weekend's game but last weekend's game because the video-tape had to get flown out (Face-to-face interview, August 2016).

While television acts to cement the connection between fan and club, this is not the experience of all fans. Of the 32 fans who participated in this project, 30 were fans of teams based in Europe. Despite Europe being presented as the core of footballing power (Goldblatt 2006; Rowe and Gilmour 2009), this is not necessarily reflected in the availability of televised football matches. Televised access to football content in Aotearoa New Zealand can differ from one season to the next. In an illustration of this, when I carried out the first round of interviews for this project in 2015, New Zealand-based fans had two methods of viewing content. The first of these was Premier League Pass, an internet streaming service which provided access to all the English Premier League games in the 2015/2016 season. As well as Premier League Pass, fans also could view content on Sky Sports channels with access to games of such commercially successful clubs as Manchester United FC and Chelsea FC.

When the second round of interviews took place in 2016, the landscape of televised football had changed. Following the re-negotiation of television rights

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[21] *Shoot!* is a long-running football annual with a focus on English football. Founded in 1969, the magazine is still publishing in 2017 and has a website which features English football news: https://www.shoot.co.uk/.

by the governing body of the English Premier League for the 2016/2017 season, the global landscape of access changed. As was explored in-depth in chapter two, following the dissolution of the Premier League Pass platform, the bulk of Premier League coverage and coverage of other European leagues was passed to Sky Sports. This coverage remained dominated by European and particularly English teams. While I suggest television acts as a means to bridge geographic distance between fans and football clubs, remedying absence (Rose 2003a), access to content is subject to the power relations which position Europe and the United Kingdom as centres of international flows of football media (King 2011).

A further illustration of the fluid nature of televised content is provided by Gianni, a fan of Italian Serie A side AS Roma. Serie A is the Italian first division competition and AS Roma is a club with a deal of history and prominence within the league. Gianni notes that within New Zealand, the Serie A competition is no longer seen by football media providers as a key league to broadcast. At the time his interview took place, Gianni's home team was no longer televised in New Zealand. Gianni notes this went as far as the major internet-based football platform at the time of the interview, Premier League Pass, having the rights to show Serie A during the 2014/15 season but choosing not to do so, a decision Gianni decried as 'reprehensible'. He notes, however, during the late 1990s and early 2000s, Sky TV in Aotearoa New Zealand regularly showed Serie A matches. This coverage had ceased in recent years and so Gianni is focused solely on finding content on the internet. Due to this, the quality, and legality of this content is not always guaranteed:

> Well you have to watch it illegally . . . there are places like *Sport Lemon* and other places and they are just dodgy. They are grainy and patchy and sometimes you spend more time staring at a frozen screen than actually watching the game so I find it really frustrating but at the moment it is all we have got so . . . (Skype interview, October 2015).

Similarly to Gianni, Oscar is a fan of a 'peripheral' club within the Aotearoa New Zealand context. He is a fan of Colombian first division side, Millonarios, one of two teams based in his hometown of Bogota. During his interview, Oscar was initially hesitant about discussing his allegiance to this side, perhaps assuming I had no knowledge of, or interest in, his support of Millonarios. This hesitancy is perhaps a symptom of the peripheral position Millonarios has within the Aotearoa

New Zealand media. When I asked about his support a club football when he lived in Colombia, it was clear he still retained very strong feelings of loyalty to this side. Physical displays of this loyalty have been limited while living in Aotearoa New Zealand because he is unable to find televised matches featuring his team. As a result, Oscar felt his support is marginalised and he began to lose interest:

> Again, I don't really watch games because there are just dodgy sites where you can stream them online, and I would not particularly pay a monthly fee to watch the Colombian tournament because it is not something that I am particularly interested in (Skype interview, September 2015).

Oscar's experience shows that in some situations television coverage can make fans feel 'not at home'. Given the privileging of English and European based content within the Aotearoa New Zealand media, the lack of coverage pertaining to his team has impacted his interest in the team. Claiming that he is no longer following the Colombian tournament signals Oscar's feeling that his support of the club is out of place within the Aotearoa New Zealand context which is dominated by commercially successful English clubs. This marginalisation of clubs is evident not just between leagues but also between sports. Indeed, fans have expressed dissatisfaction with the treatment of football coverage by Sky TV, highlighting wider power relations inherent in the treatment of domestic football by media outlets. For example, Everton FC fan Mike is vocal in his criticism of football coverage in New Zealand. In particular, he felt Australian and Aotearoa New Zealand football occupied a marginalised position within Sky TV's broadcasting schedule as compared to other sports:

> Yeah it's like their service with the A-League. They will just cut things off just after the final whistle, there won't be any interviews after the game or any talk like that. Whereas on Fox sports the commentators will do that. Whereas on Sky they will just cut it off and show a replay of some Super 14 game from 5 years ago. So yeah, fuck Sky! (Skype interview, July 2015).

Televised coverage not only impacts on feelings of proximity between fans and teams, but can also encourage or discourage community between fans. Having relocated to Aotearoa New Zealand from Manchester, David notes he is having difficulty re-adjusting to following his team. While resident in the city of Manchester, David's connection to Manchester United FC was based around

social occasions with his football fan friends. Once so 'local' and in close geographical proximity, these relationships are now inaccessible due to distance. This inaccessibility leads to David to suggest that he had lost some impetus in following his team. In particular, he pointed to the absence of friends who were no longer ringing him up to go and watch games together in the local pub. He also explained the time difference between Aotearoa New Zealand and the UK did not encourage football watching as a social activity:

> So umm I have Sky but it's hard here because it's at 3am . . . So you've still got the connection but it's hard to maintain it here . . . it's like I'm going to start following a sport. What time does it kick-off? 3am. Ehh (Face-to-face interview, July 2015).

In this quote, David demonstrates how televised coverage discourages football as the basis of social relations. While televised matches can collapse geographical distance, David identifies how temporal issues have affected his viewing habits.

Televised football can additionally create feelings of community. Two fans identified the workplace as a site in which 'football community' existed. In an example of this, Steve said he is able to record games and watch 'his' Manchester United FC play on delay. This is contingent, however, on his ability to not hear the score of a given match. He outlined how he knew which of his work-mates to avoid if he did not want to find out the score of a game and thus ruin his viewing of the match later in the day. David also recounted a similar relationship between workmates. He told the following story of a work colleague: "and I come into work in the morning and Harry is like 'oh shame about your team' and I'm like 'cheers Harry, I was about to watch it when I get home from work'." Sam, however, is employed at a workplace which is dominated by football fans, colleagues who have developed a method to avoid being told the previous night's scores:

> We have this unwritten rule that we don't tell anyone the score of their team until they say they have watched the game. We have just set up this code amongst the Premier League fans so that no-one walks into a room and everyone is like ahh you lost! So until they have said it, we don't talk about it amongst the five or six of us who like the Premier League (Skype interview, September 2015).

Reinforcing the notion of football fandom as a social activity, the examples of the negotiation between workmates to avoid knowing scores demonstrates the workings of football as a social activity. The shared interest between employees in Sam's workplace represents a way in which work and non-work, become blurred. Shared football interest is also a mode by which workplace culture can be strengthened through a sense of collective belonging 'borrowed' from non-work identities (Valentine 2001). Football fandom widens out to encompass and effect institutions such as the workplace.

The use of football as a basis for feelings of community may be identified in the use of matches as a social occasion. Extending Weeds (2008) assertion that sports spectatorship can be orientated towards a focus on the proximity to "others sharing in the experience of watching the event" (189), I argue home ground can be re-created across distance. Through television coverage becoming a replacement for 'home ground', the practice of being in a 'home crowd' can also be mirrored by fans. This is evident in the following discussion from Alex and Declan. Both fans have created a 'hierarchy' of which games will be watched with friends and which will be watched alone. Alex, a Liverpool FC fan, who at the time of the interview had a Premier League Pass subscription, explained his system of 'sorting' which matches would be watched live or delayed:

> Usually with a Liverpool - Manchester United derby we would definitely get all the boys round but with a normal league game like Liverpool Swansea then it would be by myself (Face-to-face interview, September 2015).

Similar sentiments surrounding the proximity between fans as the focus of spectatorship are evident in Declan's comments:

> Umm some of my mates in that group of football fans they have it [Premier League Pass] but it depends what sort of games are on. A few of them support other teams like Manchester United and City so we will go around to each other's houses every so often (Face-to-face interview, July 2015).

Television, laptops and computers as the carriers of match coverage act as a gateway to home team and home ground. By acknowledging how proximity can build feelings of closeness and belonging (Rose 2003a), the emotional impact of viewing matches can be identified. I have shown how football fandom and

watching matches can influence banal, every-day social relations in workplaces and, for Alex and Declan, the creation of a hierarchy adds an element of 'out of the ordinary' to the social watching of games.

Expanding on televised games as a social activity, notes taken during my participant sensing during the Euro2016 tournament in June, 2016 shed light on the embodied nature of football matches as social occasions. This event only occurs every four years, marking it as 'exceptional'. At the invitation of interviewee Gianni, I attended two games at Gina's Italian Kitchen in Auckland. As a major meeting place for the Italian community during football tournaments, I was invited to attend and watch the Italian senior men's team play.

As national identity is a powerful imaginary (Blunt and Dowling 2006), the relationship between the space of Gina's Italian Kitchen and the viewing of a match featuring an Italian representative football team created a potent environment for demonstrating the power of televised games. From the serving of Italian food, bomboloni doughnuts, to the dominance of the Italian language being spoken between the thirty attendees, the space of Gina's is clearly demarcated as belonging to Italy. In particular, in a demonstration of the marking out of Gina's as belonging to Italy, when the national anthems were sung at the opening of the Italy v. Belgium match, fans sang with such gusto it was impossible for me to tell the difference between the crowd in France and the crowd in Gina's. As I note in my research diary:

> The place is decked in Italian flags and football jerseys. I have tried to wear blue (a blue shirt and hat) but feel out of place due to not being draped in an Italian shirt or scarf! (Research notes, June 14th 2016).

The dominance of Italian in the exchanges between fans is so complete during the initial Italy v. Belgium match, Gianni suggested I would need an Italian dictionary to take notes during subsequent matches. Sound transforms the space of the café when, in the later stages of the first half of the Italy v. Belgium game, Italy went on attack:

> Around 15 minutes in, Belgium take possession and the room has gone quiet . . . 28 minutes into the first half and Italy has a shot on goal. The whistling and clapping starts up again and the fans in front of me leap off their seats with their hands in the air. Interestingly they are swearing in

English . . . Italy score in the 30th minute! The noise levels in the café and coming through the TV screen have increased exponentially. There is whistling and yelling, hugging and yelling. I clap politely unsure of what to do as the space in the café seems to have decreased as the noise levels go up! . . . the fans keep clapping and yelling every time the goal is replayed (Research notes, June 14th 2016).

This provides a clear example of television acting as a gateway between fans and a home team or home ground. The leaking through and blurring of sound between the space of the café and the television coverage allows for the spaces of the stadium and Gina's to blend and meld together.

Conclusion

In this chapter I focused on extending the framing of home as material and imaginary (Blunt and Dowling 2006). Addressing the relationships between football fans and material objects which co-produce home, the importance of material cultures to fandom is explored. Using the shared experiences of fans, I have demonstrated how the practice of long-distance fandom allows for the re-orientation of material and imaginary homes. Moving away from the vision provided by Blunt and Dowling (2006), I argue fans illustrate how material objects make imaginary connections 'real'. Through examining how media, merchandise and television co-produce fan homes, material objects and the homes these objects create are highlighted. Just as material objects are active in creating 'senses of home' and narrating fan identities, media is key in establishing 'homes'.

Media is bound up in every-day social interactions and the webs of power which shape the landscape of contemporary football. Football media across official news sources and fan-generated content is a key source for identifying the normative stories fans are both told and tell themselves (Guschwan 2016b). The wearing of football shirts is a privileged symbol of fan identity and embodies fandom, displaying loyalty to a club. Disrupting discourses of shirts as primary objects of fandom, merchandise can be imbued with emotion and memory (Rose 2003a). Stretching existing definitions of objects, drawing on the work of Rose (2010), the importance of televised match coverage also signals a need for proximity between fans and allows space for the performance of 'home fan' identity. Focusing on the importance of objects such as televisions and laptops, and the object of a home

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stadium, television thereby acts to glue communities of fans together. This presents fandom as embedded in not only material 'things' but also in relationship with 'people'. Having teased out the negotiations between material and imaginary 'homes' in this chapter, these relationships with 'people' that shape fan performance will be explored in the following chapter.

Chapter Six: 'People' - Gendered geographies of fandom and family

Home is not a neutral space (Blunt and Dowling 2006). Turning to the relationships with people which frame football fandom, home is produced through every-day lived and imaginary practice, people's senses of themselves being knitted together closely with home spaces. Home is a space in which identities are performed and where power relations are exercised. Due to home being an emotionally loaded space, how home is assembled and performed acts as the locus of identity and belonging:

> Home as a space and an imaginary constitutes identities – people's senses of themselves are related to and produced through lived and imaginative experiences of home. These identities and homes are, in turn, produced and articulated through relations of power (Blunt and Dowling 2006 24).

As Brickell (2009) explains: "while the home has been constructed as a radical political space in itself . . . it is nevertheless a vulnerable crucible to wider political processes" (227). Drawing on these wider political processes, the notion of intimacy plays a direct role in framing my examinations of power and identity in football fandom. Oswin and Olund (2010) note that intimacy and family may be unpacked to stretch intimate relationships and encompass the importance of relationships with 'people' that create and sustain fan identity:

> Whether by emphasizing intimacy's national, media-based performance . . . outlining its global, diasporic determinations . . . intimate relations cannot be considered synonymous with the body or the household, locations which then simply mirror larger social relations through their capacity to oppress or liberate at closer physical proximity. Instead, the closeness and belonging that intimacy affords (even when unwelcome) may operate at any distance, while isolation and estrangement may be very near (Oswin and Olund 2010 60).

Just as Brickell (2006) asserts of home, intimacy is both personal and political. Furthermore, and most importantly for long-distance fandom, discussions of intimacy offer a means of unfixing identity and fields of power. Through this, belonging and connection are stretched (Oswin and Olund 2010). Collating intimacy with fan identity provides a web of power linking to how identity is performed and how bodies made vulnerable. Spatially unbound, intimacy upends binaries between public and private, bringing the personal into the political,

spreading unpicked plural identities across the fields of power both large and small (Oswin and Olund 2010).

Beginning first with discussions of articulations of gender identities, I argue gender is a means by which fans are cast as 'at home' or 'not at home'. To provide a framework for examining gender, I mesh together discussions of intimacy, the work of Butler (1990 and 1993) and literature from feminist sports scholars (Caudwell 1999, 2003, 2011a, 2011b and 2011c). Discussing the experiences of the five women who participated in this research directly relates football fan homes to issues of power. Women who follow and play football are shown to occupy a complex position within the landscape of the sport and participation in football is aligned with social constructions of femininity. As is evident in the stories of football fans, women's fandom is posited as passive and private and therefore in binary opposition to public displays of masculine, normative fandom. This discourse is troubled, however, by women who make their fandom public and actively perform their fan identity. The stories of women who play football, with an active position in directly managing club affairs, troubles normative tropes of women in football.

Further addressing how fans are gendered and thus woven into power relations, in the second section of this chapter I argue that men are positioned as the archetypal fan. With men's elite football dominating media coverage, masculinities in football occupy a powerful position. Research about masculinities have, however, remained mostly silenced within discussions of football fans. When examining masculinities within the stories provided by long-distance fans, masculine identity is the unstated norm. Using Butler (1990), I argue this hegemonic masculinity is the result of the mundane repetition of gendered fan performances. For example, fandom is presented as a homogenous experience. What is evident in the stories of long-distance fans is, however, the existence of 'other' masculinities within fan performance, with such 'others' leading to fluidity of masculinity and re-negotiation of how to perform fandom.

The third section of this chapter digs into the relationships with people that shape fan identity and focuses on discussions of the role of family. Engaging directly with literature on intimacy (for example Berlant 1998; Oswin and Olund; Pratt

and Rosner 2006), and building on fan stories recorded during interviews, I suggest family is integral in (re)producing and challenging fandom. Family ties act as the pattern for football support, with team allegiances aligning either with the clubs supported by family members or linking to places of significance within family culture. Running deeply through this discussion is the role football has in sustaining ties between family members and collapsing distance, bringing trans-national families together and making visible family ties which otherwise remain hidden. Within this discussion I explore the multiplicity and 'stretched' nature of home. Allegiances to football teams, in particular teams which represent nations, act as signals of kinship and ancestry.

"Oh, that's cute": Football fandom femininities, gender and power

Sport and gender are deeply interconnected. The focus of this section is to discuss the experiences of the five women who took part in this research. I suggest that by examining these gendered fan identities it becomes possible to shed light on the microphysics of power woven through fan performance (Oswin and Olund 2010). Drawing on the Foucauldian notion of bio-politics, a microphysics of power acknowledges the body as the locus of power relations, and as such examining when and how bodies are made vulnerable allows for an exploration of power at the micro-level (Foucault 1978; Stoler 2006). Focusing on the scale of the body, I draw on the work of feminist football scholar Caudwell (2011b) to frame these discussions of gendered identity and demonstrate that fan homes are not 'neutral' and are deeply embedded in webs of power and privilege. Examining performances of gender also provides a window through which to examine fan identities cast as at home or not.

Drawing on Caudwell's (1999) assertion that the work of Butler (1990 and 1993) is key to untangling tropes of women in football, the notion of gender as socially constructed is key to my explorations of gendered fan performances. For regulatory bodies such as FIFA, it is tropes of femininity that are key in shaping attitudes to women's football as separate from men's football (Caudwell 1999). As Butler (1999) argues, however, performances of femininity are fictions which are made authentic through repetition and a series of imitations. These

performances are then validated through power, with gender identities existing within microphysics of power (Oswin and Olund 2010).

Five women took part in the interviews carried out for this research, Natalie, Lauren, Amy, Emily and Nora. Aged between 21 and 52, these women supported Chelsea FC, Celtic FC, Liverpool FC, Nottingham Forest and Liverpool FC respectively. All these participants stated during their interviews that football fandom was a family project with parents and siblings also supporting a football club. Four of these interviewees were overt in their self-identity as a 'female football fan' (Dunn 2014; Young 2005), with their experiences couched firmly in relation to their gender identity.

The five women who took part in this research demonstrate the socially constructed nature of footballing 'femininities'. Fans are highly aware of their body positioned as 'woman' and their identity as a 'female fan' becomes paramount (Caudwell 2003; Young 2005). For example, based on my own preferences, I was careful to use the word 'woman' instead of 'girls', 'ladies' or 'females' across all interviews. In conversation with women fans, however, they repeatedly referred to 'girls' in discussions of themselves and other women. Linking to this is the highly ambiguous terrain women occupy as football fans. The banal imitations and repetitions which construct gender are often invisible until borders are crossed and bodies cease to comply with feminine forms of corporeality (Butler 1990; Caudwell 2003 and 2011b; Cere 2002):

> Women and girls have been, and continue to be, active in all aspects of football culture, including playing, coaching, managing and spectating. And at almost all levels of the game – including playtime games, recreational kick-abouts, grass-roots development, competitive fixtures and professional play – they are active participants, albeit to varying degrees, and not to the same extent as their male counterparts. Women's and girls' past and current involvement in football in the United Kingdom – and elsewhere around the world – is visible, and has been acknowledged as such. However, it remains that their engagement with football is highly contingent on gender, and the general assumption is that the activity is something *men* and *boys* do (Caudwell 2011c 323; emphasis in original).

One theme evident in the experiences of women as players and fans is criticism and disbelief from people around them such as family, club members and

strangers, of their behaviour if stepping outside of tropes of women as passive (Caudwell 2011b). For the women who participated in interviews, there was a constant referral to their identity as women and associated fan performance as feminine fan performance. This is illustrated by Lauren, a Celtic FC supporter, who encountered shock from others when she shopped for football boots while visiting Glasgow:

> Umm, I remember being in Glasgow in a shop and trying on a pair of football boots and honestly, the reaction, there were people just standing looking at me shocked. It was like there is a girl trying on boots with this absolute horror! (Phone interview, September 2015).

In addition to her Celtic FC fandom, Lauren also became involved in local football as both a player and a coach. She enjoyed success as a coach at her local club in Howick, managing a team of young boys. Despite her coaching success, however, Lauren faced significant opposition to her attempts to start a women's team at her local club:

> But I remember having a hell of a fight on my hands umm trying to get a girls team at the club and I didn't succeed. I probably only got coaching positions at the club because the co-ordinators were family friends . . . it was just very negatively viewed, you know. Girls couldn't play soccer and they didn't want us involved. And even when I had a lot of success with the teams that I coached, you know, we did very, very well, it was seen as a fluke [laughs]. I couldn't possibly have known what I was talking about! [laughs] (Phone interview, September 2015).

Despite proving herself a capable and successful coach, Lauren was not able to translate her success into sufficient power to instigate the formation of a women's team at the club. She also notes the disbelief from other club members that a woman is able to demonstrate sufficient ability and knowledge about football to successfully coach a team. Troubling the separation between men's and women's experiences of the game, Lauren recounts her aptitude for coaching football, something which is positioned as comical or absurd (Caudwell 2011c). Lauren is stepping outside of the practices which make up 'footballing femininities', and her efforts to establish a team for girls at her club throws into high relief the microphysics of power which govern her embodied identity as 'woman' (Butler 1990).

Another example of women presented as 'inauthentic' participants in the landscape of football is provided by the experiences of Nora and her daughter. Nora's daughter, who was in her mid-teens at the time Nora was interviewed, plays football in senior women's teams at a regional level and her ambition is to play football professionally. When asked how she felt about how women who play football are treated at a grassroots level, using her experiences watching her daughter play, Nora responded she believed women are treated relatively equitably. She did note, however, she felt the sport at an international governance level is very sexist and suggested there were individual incidents which marred the image of Aotearoa New Zealand as accepting of women playing football. One example she provides are the comments directed at her daughter during a match:

> Men will say to you 'oh I don't watch women's football it is not as good'. [laughs derisively] And I am like what? I sit on the side-line here . . . it was me standing there and a football coach and he was like 'oh, she's a good footballer for a girl'. And I turned round and I said 'I think you will find that she is just a good footballer' and then I said it again [louder and with more emphasis] 'I think that you will find that she is just a good footballer' (Phone interview, July 2016).

Closely linked with Nora's story about the marginalisation of her daughter playing football is the following statement from Emily. Emily has been a fan and a player since she was a child and she is actively involved as a player and a referee at her local club. The following comment stemmed from discussions around why men's football receives more media exposure than women's football:

> I think that by default the men's teams are sort of seen as better because they do tend to have players in them that have been playing for a while and have a lot of skill. . . And I think that there is that implicit assumption that women's sport is not as good as men's sport because you know in some cases it is not a matter of better or worse it is simply a different way of playing the game . . . Like men's tends to be more physical and women's is a bit slower but it is just a different way of doing it. Maybe we just need to get away from that assumption that harder, faster, rougher is better. (Skype interview, July 2016).

These statements from Nora and Emily link strongly to the assertion from Dunn (2014) that women who support and play football are positioned as 'other'. This is through "an accepted popular myth that women have never attended men's football matches with any degree of regularity, despite there being evidence that women have always been fans of the sport . . . or that women attend football only

to accompany men, not through any interest of their own" (Dunn 2014 109). Women as fans and players are judged in relation to normative and privileged masculine performances of doing football. Furthermore, women are socialised not to play, and are not supported to play in the same way as men. Football is perpetuated as something which men and boys do (Caudwell 2011c).

As Nora recounted, her daughter is positioned as good at football 'for a girl' and this is positioned in opposition to being a good footballer without a gendered caveat, reinforcing gendered binaries between men's and women's football (Caudwell 1999). Due to the masculinisation of sport, women who play football complicate the 'traditional' and 'common-sense' notions which govern men's entitlements within the landscape of football (Caudwell 2011b). Reflecting this, Emily asserts she felt as if "the game is designed for men".

Through this trope of 'football as male', Emily explains she feels men's teams are 'by default' seen as better by fans due to higher levels of skill than women's teams and a more physical approach to playing the game. Men's bodies are seen to belong on a football pitch in contrast to women's performances of corporeal identity, which are not positioned as belonging (Butler 1990). Echoing Emily, Jeanes' (2011) study of pre-adolescent girls found while football is posited as an acceptable activity for girls it is loaded with caveats concerning a lack of tolerance for aggressive, assertive or physical play:

> The negotiation of playing football into a feminine identity was therefore less of a resistant act than it first may have seemed . . . in this context, girls had to play football in a 'girlie' way. They reflected Young's assertion that 'for the most part, girls and women are not given the opportunity to use their full body capacities in free and open engagement with the world.' Football participation accentuated rather than removed these constraints (Jeanes 2011 414).

The socially constructed nature of being cast as a 'girl' is highlighted (Butler 1990). What Jeanes (2011) points to is the dominance of embodied norms of gendered identity or what Butler (1993) refers to as 'girling the girl'. Footballing femininities act to perpetuate the tropes and behaviours which construct 'being a girl' as inherently different to 'being a boy', deepening binary divisions between women's and men's football. Women playing football are able to be aligned in binary opposition as 'other' and 'ab-normal' (Caudwell 1999). This can be seen

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explicitly in Lauren's statement in which she self-deprecatingly joked about her father being reluctant to watch her play due to being unable to 'bear to see females on the pitch':

> Umm you know if anything . . . I mean I wasn't discouraged but Dad was of the school that girls can't play football. Umm, he came a few times to watch me play but he only lasted a few minutes because he couldn't bear to see females on the pitch [laughs] (Phone interview, September 2015).

In contrast to his opposition to Lauren's public display of footballing abilities, Lauren's father welcomed her private, passive support for Celtic FC. This encouragement of her fandom stands in stark contrast to the reaction her father has to her playing football. Based on viewing televised matches in her home, support of Celtic FC is suitably 'private'. Lauren's fandom also exists as part of family 'culture' as her mother is a football supporter, moving her support of Celtic FC into 'public' imagination (Oswin and Olund 2010). Playing football, however, moves Lauren's interest in the game from passive to active, private to public and out of the realm of what her father considers to be normative feminine behaviour.

When asked what kind of response she has from others about her interest in football, Natalie notes that she has not had any strongly negative reactions, yet she feels there is surprise that she watches games alone. She also recounts a degree of incredulity that she remains strongly loyal to a team and there is an expectation her fandom would be more fluid than a man's:

> I guess that people are sometimes a bit surprised not massively surprised but a little bit and they do tend to expect you . . . I don't know the term or anything . . . but to have shifted your support to a team and they don't expect you to have picked a team when you were little and sort of stuck to them. That is somehow kind of the reaction that I've got [pause]. But I think sometimes the people get a bit surprised in the UK that I would be in a pub watching the game even by myself. Or here if I'm watching and just chatting. But nothing more than that so nothing sort of like 'out' or anything [laughs] (Skype interview, July 2015).

What Natalie recounts is the expectation that her fandom will be more fluid than a man's. What Natalie also notes during her interview is how her attitude to playing football has shifted due to her moving to New Zealand:

> Yeah, I didn't play football when I was in the UK. I grew up in a small town, which would probably be a large town here about 20,000 people,

and I don't remember ever having the opportunity to play football as a girl. There were opportunities for the boys all over the place but I don't remember having the opportunity as a girl. Umm, I think there is at university but it didn't occur to me to play because it never has so it didn't occur to me at university. Umm, so I think in Wellington there are a lot more opportunities socially particularly for women's teams and kind of younger girls' teams to bring them through as well. (Skype interview, July 2015).

Natalie, who played social football in Wellington, suggests while she is able to create and foster her supporter identity while living in the United Kingdom, she is not able to do the same with playing the game. When she moved to Wellington, however, there was an increase in opportunities for women to play football, especially socially. Like Natalie, Emily both plays and supports a club and along with expectations of fluidity in support, comes an assumption about a lack of knowledge about football:

I mean there is always the assumption that even if you are wearing a shirt that you still don't know that much? But once you start talking and really show that you know what you are talking about then people are really good (Skype interview, July 2016).

In an example of how women must prove their knowledge and their interest in sport, Emily marks her body as a fan through wearing a football shirt yet this still does not function as a clear signifier of her fandom. With her femininity positioning her as an 'other' fan, this requires an explicit demonstration of knowledge to signal Emily belongs within the category of 'fan'. Through the 'cultural ticket' of knowledge about the game, however, Emily then attests her identity as a fan is no longer troubled. This demonstrates the fluid position women occupy within football. While her embodied identity as a woman initially casts Emily as being an 'inauthentic' fan, her knowledge of football allows her to ascribe to traditional, masculine notions of fandom (Hoeber and Kerwin 2003).

Despite the imitations and repetitions which create social constructions of gender that are rooted in a 'hetero-reality' (Butler 1990), women's desire also troubles footballing femininities (Caudwell 1999). Women who follow football subvert the positioning of fans as voyeurs. This challenges the notion of the male gaze (Butler 1990). Hegemonic understandings of sports spectatorship as men watching men shifts when women are watching men. As noted by Emily, the act of women

supporting a men's football team, challenging the notion of women as the object of scrutiny, acts as a significant barrier to women's fandom being 'legitimate'. She recounts:

> Yeah like as a kid growing up David Beckham is always my hero growing up and I thought that he is a fantastic footballer and that kind of thing. But I imagine that other people may not feel so comfortable doing that? I think as a woman as well there is that assumption and I am like well no that is not the case he is just a fantastic footballer. If they are attractive is just a side issue but you are not taken seriously in that sense . . . Yeah it is ridiculous like people have said some things like that to me but then it doesn't take them long to realise that that just wouldn't fly. Occasionally you do get them though (Skype interview, July 2016).

This discussion from Emily concerning perceived heterosexual attraction to football players is echoed by Nora. Unlike Emily, however, who separates sexual desire from fandom, Nora is more open, as the following quote about Liverpool FC goalkeepers demonstrates:

> I have read a lot about [Loris Karius] their new goalie because I hated Simon Mignolet or however you say his name because he is bloody hopeless. So I read about this guy and what people are saying about him and stuff. And he is quite good to look at so that doesn't hurt [laughs] (Phone interview, July 2016).

The 'attraction' which Emily and Nora discuss is troubling as it sits as both a stereotypical and subversive behaviour. This was also evident in my own experiences as a researcher discussing football fans. For example, the troubling notion of how women's sexuality fits into fan practice was the subject of a discussion I had with Emily:

> Tegan: And I guess that is always a stumbling block to being taken seriously. Like I have had a few comments like 'just wait until you get sick of looking at football players legs' and I am just like hang on!

> Emily: Yeah it is ridiculous like people have said some things like that to me but then it doesn't take them long to realise that that just wouldn't fly. Occasionally you do get them though.

It is difficult for women to be taken seriously as football fans within a heterosexual context (Caudwell 2003). Yet, some women football fans – similar to men football fans – enjoy imagining footballers as sexual objects. Through men's football being the dominant game in regards to media exposure, the act of

women watching and supporting men's football adds a (hetero)sexual element to fandom: "a discussion of the delights of male bodies in tight shorts" (Hess 1996 357). Women's sexuality and desire is part of heteronormative fandom. Within general fan practice, however, sexuality is silenced except to marginalise 'other' performances of masculinity. Likewise the accepted corporeal performances of football femininities do not provide space for discussions of women's sexuality (Caudwell 2011a).

Within binary constructions of sport, the male body and men's physical prowess have been positioned centre stage (Armstrong and Giulianotti 1999). The microphysics of power underlining gendered fan performances privileges football as something men and boys do (Caudwell 2011b), silencing the role of the female gaze. In one of the few works examining the desire women fans may feel towards sports men, Wedgewood (2008) discusses women who feel sexually attracted to Australian Rules players:

> My point is that it is this show of male power that sexually attracts some Australian women specifically to elite Australian Rules footballers. In other words, to take up the Freudian concept of sexual desire, their emotional energy has been attached to those men in their community who embody hegemonic masculinity, and this is experienced at the embodied level as sexual attraction (Wedgewood 2008 313).

Applying the same notion to football fans un-silences the role male bodies can play in the practice of women football fans. The heterosexual attraction which may exist between female fans and male athletes has been assumed – as is evident in my own experiences as a woman researching football fans – but little explored in the studies which have discussed women's fandom (see for example Dunn 2014; Gosling 2007; Pope 2012), except as an obstacle which women must overcome to gain legitimacy within a community of fans (see Richards 2014). Despite acting as reversing the 'male gaze', Emily and Nora's statements rank as stereotypical, providing an illustration of the complex position women's fandom can occupy, disrupting the sex-gender-desire nexus constructed around footballing femininities by actively displaying 'desire' (Caudwell 1999). As Wedgewood (2008 312) notes, reducing the fandom of women to 'watching men in tight shorts':

> [I]s to undermine their ability to understand football and to take it seriously in the same way that men do, thus dismissing female involvement in the game. It also homogenizes women by denying that, like their male counterparts, they may also have ethnic, racial, familial, class, geographic, or other loyalties or motivations for investing emotions in a team.

In short, this brief discussion of the two women who hinted at the role 'desire' can play in women's fan identities expands on the complex terrain fans inhabit. Gender functions as a key element of identity in shaping fan performance. The position of women as players and fans clearly shows the functioning of a microphysics of power in creating an ambiguous terrain. Footballing femininities are socially constructed and, therefore, are created through the repetition of banal performances of 'being' a female fan (Butler 1990). While the experiences of the five women who took part in this project are not homogenous, signifying the gendered binaries evident in the sport of football do not translate to simple dichotomies of oppressed and privileged (Butler 1990). In particular, it is when these women transgress the silent, yet powerful gendered expectations which govern their fan performances that gendered discourses become the most apparent (Caudwell 1999). Be it through these fans consistent awareness throughout their interviews of their bodily identity as women, the ambiguous position women as players occupy or the expression of desire for men who play for the clubs they support, gender plays a key role in shaping which expressions of fandom are metaphorically at home or not at home. The women who took part in this research showed the troubled position that women inhabit within the sport of football, frequently negotiating between being 'at home' through behaving consistently with heteronormative expectations of behaviour, or being cast as 'not at home' through challenging normative notions of footballing femininity (Caudwell 2011). Continuing discussions of gender, in the following section I will again discuss the influence of gender on fan identity, in this case focusing on masculinity.

"I think I love them as much as the next guy who lives in Liverpool": Football fandom masculinities

Sport plays a powerful and often implicit role in constructing masculinities. As Anderson (2005 873) explains, "male-dominated sports have been described as a mainstay for reproducing heteronormative masculinity". Hegemonic

performances of masculinity have been positioned as 'at home' and belonging within football. This performance of masculinity is, however, narrow:

> Despite . . . arguing over a decade ago that football research needs to not merely concentrate on 'football hooliganism and male posturing', the hooligan or 'lad' fan type remains the conceptual yardstick by which all other types of fans are measured. As a consequence, many aspects of football culture and fan interaction have been overlooked and ignored (Richards 2014 4).

Through this, select masculine performances of fandom have been cast as normative. This positioning of masculinity as normative is based around narrow articulations of masculine identity and a "monosexual group of (mostly white) fathers and sons" (Selmer and Sülzle 2010 804). I argue, drawing on Butler (1990 191), that gender is "a performance that is *repeated*. This repetition is at once a re-enactment and a re-experiencing of a set of meanings already socially established; and it is the mundane and ritualised form of their legitimation". Normative performances of fandom are defined as masculinised through the mundane and repetition of fan identity. In this section I aim to uncover some of the nuances of these 'every-day' performances, gaining insight into the particulars of gendered masculine fan performances.

The discussions of masculinity in the following section are also highly spatially specific (Bruce and Stewart 2015; Hopkins and Noble 2009). Sport, masculinity and national identity are deeply inter-related (Mangan 2012). The Aotearoa New Zealand context in which the fans who participated in this project are located provides fields of power specific to hegemonic performances of nationalism and masculinity. For a number of participants, rugby union was positioned as the dominant sporting code within Aotearoa New Zealand sport, a focus that exemplifies hegemonic notions of Aotearoa New Zealand masculinity (Guoth 2006; Law et al 1999). Performances of football fandom by the men who participated in this research were often positioned in opposition to the dominance of rugby union. By doing this their footballing masculinities were constructed and performed in contrast to what they felt to be a privileging of 'rugby masculinities'. Acknowledging this spatial specificity does not, however, negate the repetition of hegemonic footballing masculinities.

One way in which football fan's performances of masculinities can begin to be unpacked is by examining the relationship between 'self' and 'other'. Drawing on the work of Oswin and Olund (2010), by untangling the relationship between 'self' and 'other' identity becomes unfixed, exposing not only the processes by which identity is constructed but also the micro-fields of power which govern the performance of identity. Due to the dominance of men as football fans, a 'mundane' illustration of this can be provided through examining how long-distance fans refer to their wives and partners. This also presents an example of the clear heteronormativity of fan performance. For some, partners were not mentioned at all during their interview, but for others, their wives and partners did enter the conversation. For certain fans, the positioning of their partners in relation to football fandom is firmly as 'other'. Through this, it can be seen how the fans themselves posited their own identity in relation to football fandom.

In an example of how men positioned their fandom in relation to their wives and partners, Brody provides a mundane illustration when discussing his match viewing habits:

> So anyway my, my girlfriend is not very interested in getting up at 3 o'clock in the morning and so it's usually by myself with the cats (Brody Skype interview, July 2015).

Again relating to television viewing habits, Mike contrasts his own fandom and habits with his girlfriend:

> My girlfriend she is a Chelsea fan. I don't know, well she is English so I don't know if you wanted to interview her but she has been here for about 10 years and she is a Chelsea fan but she only watches one third to half of all the games and I don't think she likes the streaming service I think she likes it on Sky Sport (Mike Skype interview, July 2015).

For long-distance fans, match viewing habits act as a major barometer of fan engagement. For Mike, his girlfriend not watching all available Chelsea FC games impacts on his opinion of her as a football fan worthy of being interviewed. Also constructing himself in contrast to his girlfriend, Mike shared later in the interview he does not like the coverage of football by Sky Sports in contrast to his partner who prefers the coverage on Sky Sports. The mode of viewing games becomes an indicator of fandom. As has been discussed in the preceding chapter,

for long-distance fans, viewing televised matches becomes the replacement for match attendance (Rose 2003a; Weed 2008). With what is viewed being an expression of intimacy between fan and club (Pratt and Rosner 2006), fluidity in this sense of closeness questions the 'belonging together' and the relationship between supporter and club (Rose 2003a). For Mike, his partner troubles the close linkage between football fan and match watching, aligning with discourses of feminised fandom as lacking in loyalty (Caudwell 2011b).

Steve also mentions his wife in relation to his football fandom, again positing her as 'oppositional' to his fandom:

> But my wife is not interested at all, not interested in sport whatsoever. So she will actually try and look things up on the internet to try and pretend she knows stuff to try and impress me. And I'm just like wow how did you know that? But she follows all the gossip websites so she tries to tell me things about how horrible Ryan Giggs is because she knows that winds me up. But if I said to her it's my hope and dream that you will come to a game with me then she would come if I asked her to. But I know she's not bothered and she prefers to do her own thing and that's reading and good movies and shopping (Steve Face-to-face interview, August 2015).

When discussing his wife, Steve positions her as embodying normative femininity by focusing on activities such as shopping and following gossip about players. This is constructed by Steve as counter-balancing the implied influence of football fandom on his masculine identity (Anderson 2005; Butler 1990; Parrish and Nauright 2013). Women must prove interest in sport or it is assumed they lack knowledge (Hoeber and Kerwin 2013), Steve asserts his wife 'tries' to 'pretend she knows stuff'. Posited as an effort to impress him, this repeats the position of the male fan as dominant: "orthodox masculinity looks disparagingly at femininity and helps reproduce patriarchy . . . to sustain a given pattern of hegemony requires the policing of men as well as the exclusion or discrediting of women" (Anderson 2008 261). Football fandom is based upon hegemonic masculine performances and one way in which fans can reinforce the normative behaviour surrounding their fandom is through creating oppositional practices to those perceived as feminine.

What is most clearly evident through male fans' discussions of their partners is not only is football fandom positioned as deeply heteronormative practice, within this practice men are assumed to be sports fans and women are not:

> Despite evidence that shows women attend and consume sport events and products, some female spectators are marginalised as inauthentic sport fans because male fans see them as exhibiting non-traditional characteristics and behaviours . . . As such, women's sport experiences have been categorised as supporters rather than fans . . . Given the absence of a formal sport fan definition, women must work to earn an ambiguous sport fan label that is often, although not exclusively, tied to gendered stereotypes (Hoeber and Kerwin 2013 327).

Not only is heteronormativity shown to be tightly woven through masculine fan identity, there is a clear separation of self/other dichotomy evident. What can be read into these statements is fans are positioned as loyal, remaining a supporter of the same club or team. Loyalty is expressed, in part, through viewing matches on a regular basis as this is the primary link between long-distance fans and the object of their support. Knowledge about football is additionally presented as integral to 'being' a fan and these are aligned with masculine qualities. Examining the way in which wives and partners are constructed by fans is one way in which these assumed performances of masculinity woven into notions of fandom can be made visible.

Another example of fan masculinity is that it is often a 'dad' figure that is key to shaping habits and practices of fandom (Parry et al 2014). This patrilineal pattern of fandom can be one way in which masculinised performances of fandom become perpetuated (Butler 1990). Traditionally, support has been positioned by scholars (see for example Dixon 2014; Dunn 2014) as being passed from father to son, reinforcing patrilineal notions of fandom:

> It has traditionally been assumed that football support is passed down through the male side of the family . . . downplaying the possibility of fathers passing the supporting tradition on to daughters, or mothers to sons, or even mothers to daughters (Dunn 2014 19).

This has come across strongly during interviews with male family members such as dads, brothers and grandfathers being the primary encouragers of fandom for all but one of the 32 fans interviewed. Watching and following football also becomes a family project, linking to the idea of fandom as belonging or not

belonging within a family (Chiweshe 2011). (Re)producing patrilineal notions of fandom also signals the importance of shared history within the culture of football support. Children's relationship with a father figure is privileged with children following the lead of 'dad's' regarding which team to support. Weaving through ideas of intimacy, football fandom is one way in which 'private' family history becomes visible and part of wider public projects and imaginaries (Oswin and Olund 2010).

The passing of football fandom occurs between fathers and children, offering the opportunity for normative performances of masculinity to be repeated and (re)produced (Butler 1990). Sport and sports fandom can provide one arena in which hegemonic fathering practices can continue to be identified (Brandth 2016; Richardson 2015). With figures such as fathers positioned as the main agent of transmitting fandom inter-generationally, fandom becomes couched as masculine territory and embodied performances of masculinity embedded in fan practice (Butler 1990). Through this process of socialisation into masculinised fandom, football becomes marked as a 'male' space (Hopkins and Noble 2009).

In an example of this, Gianni recounts how the pivotal person in introducing him to football was his older brother, who initially encouraged him to watch Italy in international tournaments:

> Yeah there is definitely a pivotal person in terms of introducing me and that would be my older brother. He is actually quite a lot older than me, he's a half-brother, and he is the one who got me into watching Italy at the World Cups (Skype interview, October 2015).

Sam asserts he became a fan of Aston Villa because of his father and grandfather and because of his father impressing upon him that, as a child, he was living through a defining period in the club's history:

> I remember my dad coming home and saying that we have won the first two games of the season and they were top of the table and he cut the little thing, the little table out of the paper and he said to me keep this son because you might never see it again. And we went on to win the League and that is another defining moment of being an Aston Villa fan and I think that is 1980 (Skype interview, September 2015).

For both Sam and Gianni, male family members played a key role in introducing them to football and through this set up patterns of normative gendered fandom

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(Butler 1990). For both men, the influence of place is clear in shaping their fandom as expressed through the clear interweaving of family history and football support (Hopkins and Noble 2009; Richardson 2015). In Gianni's case, it is an older sibling who acted as the linkage to family culture and support, and for Sam, it is his father. For Sam, his father acted as a link between himself as a child and the wider goings-on surrounding the club. It is clear from talking to Sam he felt the weight of family tradition behind his support of Aston Villa as he notes the male members of his immediate family has all been supporters of the club. Following Aston Villa acted as an integral part of 'belonging' within Sam's family and as a key element of performing masculinity. Through the family history and the patrilineal nature of supporting the club, being a fan of Aston Villa is woven into normative performances of masculinity (Brandth 2016; Richardson 2015).

The role of a 'dad' figure is also expanded on in Steve's story about how he initially became interested Manchester United FC:

> I just asked my dad in the kitchen and I can still remember it like it is yesterday. I asked him, dad who should I support? And he said to me, and he is actually a Wolves fan, but he said to me, he said you need to support Manchester United. And again he talked about all those things like the great players, especially through the '60s and said that they were just a great team. And so I thought well that's just me (Face-to-face interview, July 2015).

In contrast to the experiences of Sam with Aston Villa, Steve is not acculturated into following a club his family has traditionally supported. What is introduced through Steve's memory is a culture of following football not necessarily based on a specific team but on aspects of a club such as great players and values like a shared interest in football and a valuing of specific aspects of a club such as history and success. Within the quote from Steve is the close link between his father explaining which club his son should support and domestic space. While men have not been typically associated with the space of the kitchen (Ahmet 2013; Gorman-Murray 2006), there is a clear weaving together of family, domesticity and intimate relations which can begin to broaden discussions of normative masculinity (see for example Johnson 2006a and 2006b). Broadening the notions of 'circuits of intimacy' used in the work of Meah (2017), the

intimacy expressed in the domestic space of the kitchen between Steve and his father moves the function of the kitchen away from a space in which food is prepared. Rather, the space of the kitchen acts as the frame for intimate relations between family (Meah 2014 and 2017).

As has been demonstrated, football fandom is commonly passed on through patrilineal family connections between male family members. This, however, is not always the case. For example, Amy, one of the five women who was interviewed for this research, followed the examples of her mother and grandmother who both supported Southampton, a club based in southern England. While Amy is now a Liverpool FC fan, in the initial email she sent to me, shown in Figure 6.1, she was careful to note that none of the men in her family take any interest in football:

Not sure if you are still looking for comments, but your statement about female fans piqued my interest as in my family only the females watch football. My mother is from Southampton in England and she used to go to games with her dad. When we were young I picked Liverpool and one sister picked Manchester United as they plated each other that year in the FA cup final. It never change until the Phoenix turned up as I always said a Wellington team would be my first team, my sister stopped watching all football but if asked states she is a Man U. fan. My other sister supports Phoenix and Southampton. My father and brother don't follow any sport.

On the EPL I worked with an Argentinian guy who 100% supported his towns team above any of the big Argentinian teams (actually I am not sure who an big Arginian team would be).

My partner is a Liverpool fan, not sure who he puts first above Liverpool and the Phoenix.

Figure 6.1: Initial email from Amy, November 2015

In another example of the patrilineal notion of fandom becoming troubled, James is a long-time Liverpool FC supporter based in Wellington. He was introduced to football through his father who is also a Liverpool FC fan. When asked what first sparked his interest in football, James recounts how he has been interested in football for as long as he can remember and some of his most pivotal and earliest memories were of playing football and listening to radio commentary of matches. Despite living overseas now, football still plays a key role in James' relationship with his father and is a connection he is forging between himself and his young daughter:

> Well, yeah there is the strong family connection and it would never cross my mind to stop supporting them? Uhh if anything it is something that I have supported and encouraged in my daughter. She will watch it with me, she knows who Jurgen Klopp [Manager of Liverpool Football Club] is and she has a little shirt (Skype interview June 2016).

Stepping outside of traditional notions of fandom as passed from father to son, James troubles the patrilineal continuation of fandom, interrupting the mundane

repetition of normative fandom as masculine (Butler 1990). James' encouragement of his daughter's interest in football and his interest in crafting her identity as a fan, signals that support of football clubs exists as an element of a wider family culture, broader than the relationship between fathers and sons. Emphasising this for James, whose father lives overseas, is the daily email his father sends containing news about Liverpool FC. These emails are one of the key methods through which his 'transnational' family connections remain intact. James' young daughter becomes part of this family project yet it remains to be seen if her growing fan identity will occupy differing territory once 'the girl is girled' (Butler 1993).

While homes are not neutral spaces, home spaces are not performed or experienced in homogeneous ways (Blunt and Dowling 2006). Therefore, within football fandom, performances of masculinity are also not homogenous. Quoting Berg and Longhurst (2003 352):

> Masculinities . . . are highly contingent, unstable, contested spaces within gender relations. It is this very contingent and unstable character that makes the process and spaces of identity production so important in both the construction of masculinities, and - we argue - in the construction of ways of understanding masculinities.

By acknowledging the fluidity of masculinities performed by fans, and building on Berg and Longhurst (2003), a broad articulation of fan masculinity can be identified. While hyper-masculinity has been the orthodoxy for many fans and the focus of much academic research, this does not mean other forms of masculinity have not been able to exist (Caudwell 2011a; Gee 2014; Pringle and Hickey 2010; Waitt 2003). Masculinity functions as a narrative, shaping the self and relationships to others and may be viewed as a 'free-floating artifice' not attached to any particular body (Butler 1990). Masculinities, in the plural, have the ability to shift, change and morph (Berg and Longhurst 2002). As noted earlier, masculinities are also spatially specific, with mores of national identity heavily linked to performances of masculinity through sport (Hopkins and Noble 2009; Mangan 2012). Despite football acting as a key site for performing and creating hegemonic masculinities, the 'lesser-than status' of football in Aotearoa New Zealand allows space for inclusive and flexible masculinities. This is despite football at times being positioned "in New Zealand sporting culture as the game

for 'poofters', 'girls', or 'blouses'" (Keane 2001 51). Plural masculinities are fluid and multiple ways of performing fan 'masculinities' can be identified.

The distance from the roots of fan culture that is implicit in fans being resident in Aotearoa New Zealand allows for fluidity in performances of masculinity. In an example of this, Josh disrupts this assumed heterosexual nature of football supporters (Klugman 2015). By questioning his own sexuality in the face of his feelings for former Liverpool FC manager Kenny Dalglish, Josh troubles the perceived heteronormativity of archetypal male football fans:

> I don't know, I don't think I'm homosexual but there is the great debate they have now with Gay Pride that if you love somebody, you love them it doesn't matter who they are man, woman . . . but you know what I'm saying your love is the over-riding thing. And that's why you feel confronted when someone says your love is invalid, you are not even in the same area, you don't speak the way they do and that's why I said to you all defensively, I think I love them as much as the next guy who lives in Liverpool . . . I called him Kenny because, you know, I love him (Skype interview, July 2015).

The clear emotional ties which Josh has for Liverpool FC are clearly shown in the above quote. While it is implied, although it is an assumption little explored in academia, women who follow sport will develop an attraction to male celebrity athletes (Wedgewood 2008). There has been scant reflection on similar attractions men feel: "If the sexual desire of (some) women for elite male sports players has tended to be presumed, the embodied desire and pleasures of the many men who devote themselves to watching these players have tended to be elided" (Klugman 2015 197). It may instead be useful to offer a nuanced view of Josh's sentiments through the concept of the continuum of homosocial desire (Sedgwick 1985).

During his interview, Josh describes his relationship to Liverpool FC as a 'romance' and as an 'old girlfriend', firmly establishing his love for the team. Weaving through notions of intimacy, these feelings of closeness and connectivity trouble hegemonic performances of normative masculine fandom (Butler 1990). His articulations of his feelings towards Kenny Dalglish disrupt the hegemonic, aggressive masculinity often predicated on male sporting 'heroes' (Klugman 2015). While Josh articulates his feelings toward Liverpool FC in terms of homosexuality, using the lens of homosociality offers a more gradated view of his

relationship to the club. Josh explains throughout the interview the emotional attachment he feels towards Liverpool FC is love, providing a demonstration of the depth of connection he feels to the club (Oswin and Olund 2010). Josh has positioned this love as 'sexual' however it can also be positioned as an expression of 'intimacy (Oswin and Olund 2010) or a closeness based on homosocial 'desire' (Sedgewick 1985). Moreover, within the dominant hegemonic Aotearoa New Zealand masculinity, sporting prowess plays a key role (Cosgrove and Bruce 2005). Homosociality is also at the basis of reinforcing ideas of hegemonic masculinity, whilst the social bonds that Josh discusses are symptomatic of homosocial male intimacy within football culture positioned as feminised and weak (Hammerén and Johansson 2014). This, therefore, provides space for varied performances of sporting masculinity, expressed through intimacy or homosociality, as demonstrated by Josh (Keane 2001; Little 2002).

The positing of football as a feminised 'minnow' sport within Aotearoa New Zealand and feminised is clearly illustrated through the following quote from Patrick:

> No, I can remember when I was teaching in Auckland, I don't think they would do it now, but I would be walking down to the gym and someone would go [sniffs], I can smell perfume there must be a soccer player around, trying to wind me up because it is seen very much as a second-class sport in those days and they wouldn't dream of doing that now (Face-to-face interview, August 2015).

Patrick, an Arsenal FC fan who has played football in both England and New Zealand, provides an example of how the positioning of football as 'second-class' equated to femininity (Keane 2001; Little 2002). Running contra to an idealised, rugged, hard hegemonic Kiwi masculinity (Cosgrove and Bruce 2005), the quip Patrick relays concerning soccer players wearing perfume posits an 'other', effete masculinity exemplified through football. Patrick prefaces his comment, however, with 'I don't think they would do it now', noting this occurred early in his career. When his interview took place, Patrick was recently retired as a secondary school teacher in an all-boys school. As such, Patrick is in a unique position to comment on how the discourses of footballing masculinity have shifted since he began teaching. As Patrick notes, he suggests there were increasingly more football teams at the secondary school at which he taught. Stemming from this, as playing

the game became more dominant within the school environment, so the performances of masculinity became less marginal and no longer posited as feminised by the pupils. The minnow status of football within Aotearoa New Zealand sport allows for performance of fluid masculinities. As a peripheral sport, football is not cast as representative of national performances of masculinity.

The workings of power and privilege in underlining the expression of fan identity can be demonstrated through investigating how fandom is gendered. Due to the dominance of both men's elite football in the media and men's experiences in discussions of fans, the repetition of narrow, normative performances of masculinity render such embodied norms 'taken-for-granted' (Butler 1990). Through uncovering the details of these articulations of identity, I have exposed the fluid and heterogeneous masculinities on display in the stories of fans interviewed for this project. While heteronormative performances of masculinity are those cast as most at home and at the centre of power and identity within the landscape of football (Anderson 2005), the narratives shared by fans demonstrate that articulations of masculinity by football fans are more nuanced and complex. Building further on the notion of home as a locus of power and identity and how fan homes are shaped in relationship to 'people', in the final section in this chapter I discuss the role of family in creating and maintaining fan identity.

"I just wanted to give them the gift of it": Intimate ties and the role of the family in shaping fan identity

Linking to Valentine's (2008) assertion that 'family is an absent presence' within geography, family plays a key role in creating fan identity. Building on this, Harker (2008 2625) notes "families and family spaces have, by and large, not been the focus of much critical geographical attention in and of themselves. They are usually in the background, playing a supporting role to a whole host of other geographies". Acknowledging this, in this section I aim to push the role families play in creating fan identity to the fore:

> So, clearly families do matter. But we also want to ask what makes a family? And if there are many answers to this question, then how exactly do families come to matter, in what ways? Where, when, and to whom do families matter? While geographers have provided rich analyses of gender, social reproduction, and capitalism; sexuality and space; and the

boundaries of public and private space, these approaches have circled around `the family' (Harker 2012 768–769).

Just as Harker (2012) claims, in the stories of long-distance fans, family clearly matters. Within geography, the focus has often been on the relationship between parents and children:

> Little or no consideration has been given by geographers to other forms of familial relationship beyond parent/child: for example, between: adult children and their adult parents; siblings; grandchildren and grandparents; and wider familial networks of aunts/uncles, cousins and step children/step parents (Valentine 2008 2101).

Heeding this, I demonstrate how the relationships between brothers and sisters, grandparents and grandchildren, cousins, and step-brothers and sisters signal football support as an aspect of wide family culture. The notion of a football 'family' becomes fluid, being based in continuously evolving practice (Nash 2005). Building on the idea of family as fluid, linking to relationships between people which shape fan practice, the intimate connections surrounding fans offer the opportunity to unfix identity. Drawing family back to notions of intimacy, unfixing identity provides a flexible template for examining how fans as 'people' create feelings of home in relation to family. As Oswin and Olund (2010 60) assert:

> Intimacy becomes a matter of degree rather than kind, insofar as the bodies and spaces it marks, and is marked by, are processes rather than essences. Yet if intimacy has neither fixed geographies nor identities in this literature, it still has its object, a sense of self in close connection to others, other selves or other things that inhabits that elusive space somewhere between a purely solipsistic 'me' and a wholly subsuming 'us'. Rather than straightforward liberation or oppression, then, what intimacy offers these scholars is subjectification. It is the sphere in which we become who we are, the space in which the self emerges.

The space of the family, particularly taking note of familial relationships beyond that of parent/child, offers a field of intimacy, 'a close connection with others', in which to examine the formation and nurturing of fan identity. Acknowledging that spaces such as family are riven through with power relations, family presents a space in which fan identity as an aspect of the 'self' can emerge (Oswin and Olund 2010).

The first question asked of fans during interviews is their earliest memory of football and if there is a pivotal person involved. For 28 of the 32 participants, the pivotal person is male and overwhelmingly a father figure. When discussing the influence of families on football support, it is clear, however, the influence of family stretches outside of patrilineal fandom passed down through male family members. Disrupting the normative patriarchal inter-generational flows of fandom, Nora has been the key influence in prompting the interest in football of her two children. This is clear when discussing who she views matches with:

> Although not so much with my daughter because she is an Arsenal fan so [son] and I will watch it. Although we will watch the Arsenal Liverpool game together, altogether. And we will watch the Manchester United game together because we all hate Manchester United [laughs] (Phone interview, July 2016).

When discussing the role of her parents in influencing her fandom, Nora notes her father is English so due to the assumed knowledge about football he had, both Nora and her brothers are exposed to coverage of the sport. Nora does not indicate, however, which team her father supports. Nora highlights the importance of her father's class status in shaping her identity. Differing from other fans interviewed for this research, Nora directly addresses the influence of her father's 'working-class' status in creating her identity as a fan: "Like my dad is working-class English so I wouldn't support a London club for that reason". Due to her father's class status, she noted she would never support a team from London linking into wider discourses of London clubs as 'middle-class' and effete (Robson 2000).

Football fandom is a key element of family fan performances and, as noted by Josh, can be used to role-model behaviour to his children:

> Umm, [pause] well when they were babies it is quite important but now that they are getting into their mid to late teens, its less so ahh to be honest. Umm we talk about it all the time and watch the games and when that's what they will remember me by when I'm gone and that's where I wanted to leave it. But the only thing that I role model in terms of my football is that when the chips are down you don't give it a heave, you express your frustration in appropriate ways and I hope that they take that on-board and model that for themselves as adults in terms of their lifestyle. And also I just wanted to give them the gift of it (Skype interview, July 2016).

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Josh also specifically cites 'role-modelling', using football support to establish certain behaviours and normative performances with his children. This is not related to the privileging of Liverpool FC fandom; in particular, Josh did note both of his sons have taken an interest in the same club as their father. Of particular importance for Josh to pass on to his children is the notion of loyalty, a key element of traditional framings of fandom and something he associates with being a Liverpool FC fan. Behaviour he asserts he models through football support is the appropriate management of emotion, especially the expression of anger and frustration.

An initial introduction or a pivotal person is not, however, always necessary in creating fandom. In an example of this, for David, he felt no one member of his family is responsible for enforcing a culture of support within his childhood home. Rather, he asserts his 'home-town' of Manchester is saturated in football culture, signalling a close connection with a wider community that becomes 'family':

> I don't remember ever not liking football . . . I mean there is a view that fandom is passed from father to son but when Manchester United won the European Cup in 1999 I sort of remember my great-grandmother crying and every member . . . My brother is not into football but he's the only one male or female, young or old I know who is not. So, it's difficult to say it's that person. It's so culturally ingrained that everyone you know is supporting it and even if you don't support a team then you at least feel affiliated to something because of your family or your partner so it's difficult to say it's one person who helped it happen (Face-to-face interview, July 2015).

The linkage between family and home is 'stretched' (Gorman-Murray 2008). Fandom is positioned as something not taught but 'picked up' through learning performances of belonging in a family, suburb or city. Privileging the public domain over what he positions as 'private' family influences, David posits fandom as is posited as deeply embedded in practices of belonging. David also demonstrates the open nature of 'home'. The linkage between public and private is fluid with football fandom as ingrained as part of belonging within Manchester and within his family. The intimate connection between fan and club is based on geographic connections as well as 'by degree', with family acting as the conduit between the scale of the individual fan and the scale of the city (Oswin and

Olund 2010). While David asserts that he finds it difficult to name an individual who introduced him to football, family remains a key element of his fandom. The ties between the scale of the family and city are made clear through the assertion feelings of affiliation to a team can occur through family members.

Originally from Bogota, Colombia, Oscar expressed similar sentiments to David when asked about how his fan identity was formed:

> It's completely normal back home. I mean if you don't support the football team then you are a weirdo so yeah, it's completely normal. Like even when I was growing up I remember my grandmother, she supported the other team in Bogota while the rest of the family, they support the other team and I can remember that since ages ago. So, women take the side too and it is not when they come to play football but when they choose sides it is very, very common (Skype interview, September 2015).

As with David, Oscar presents the place in which he grew up as saturated in football culture. He does not attribute his identity formation as a fan to a particular person within his home creating a culture of support. The creation of his fan identity is widened out beyond domestic space and intimate relations to encompass belonging within a suburb, city or nation (Oswin and Olund 2010). Again, family is posited as part of his formation as a fan but in close linkage with being from Bogota and his identity as Colombian. This acts as a signal of belonging 'in-place', with a fluid and blurred relationship between family and city. Through this, family and city become interchangeable, adding legitimacy to fandom. Oscar also uses the fandom of women to emphasise the encompassing nature of football support, although more explicitly than David. By rendering the positioning of sports fandom aligned with masculinity as fluid in his family and in Colombia (Dunn 2014), Oscar seeks to show how pervasive and ingrained the support of football is with the people who shaped his fandom.

Looking beyond relationships between fathers and children, family culture also plays a role in creating fan identity. When asked if there is a pivotal figure in prompting her interest in football, Emily noted that both of her parents are key in sparking her interest in Nottingham Forest. Her father is a pivotal force in introducing her to football, while Emily drew on her mother's family – and a desire to 'wind up' her father – when choosing which team to support:

Umm yeah at some point during that year my dad has said to me that I should look at supporting a football team. Because he is from the UK, he is subtly like well you should support Derby County because he is from Derby and mum is from Nottingham. And I was like what are the teams from Nottingham? And so he had a bit of a look and he was like 'there is [Notts] County who your cousin's support and then there is Forest' so I thought Forest. I was like I am not going to support the team that you support (Skype interview, July 2016).

The role of family and of 'intimate ties' is also evident in the experiences of Patrick, an Arsenal FC fan. When speaking of the matches he has attended while living in England, Patrick notes he and his father had been present when England won the football World Cup in 1966. What follows is his story concerning how his father received tickets to the match:

Someone in the village, who worked for the Portuguese embassy, my father who is a taxi driver and used to drive him around, and Portugal didn't make the final so he has access to some tickets and he asked my father did he want some. He obviously jumped at the chance and that is why we went (Face-to-face interview, September 2015).

This quote not only reveals the importance of Patrick's father to his development as a fan but also the role other ties with significant people had in shaping his fan identity. He asserted that being present when England won the World Cup is a pivotal experience for him. It is also clear the role the relationship between his father, as a taxi driver, and his clients had in initiating this pivotal experience.

Applying this notion to football fandom, this stretching of intimate relationships acknowledges the key role friends or 'mates' play in fandom practice. Stretching discussions away from normative discourses of 'family', acknowledging the importance of friends and 'mates', illustrates a spreading notion of intimacy (Oswin and Olund 2010). Exploring a flexible vision of 'family' (Valentine 2008), fans listed friends as inhabiting a key space. In an example of this, while Declan acknowledges the role his father's English connections have had on his interest in football, it was a school friend who first inspired his interest in Chelsea FC. As he explains in the following quote, it was the influence of his friend showing videos of Chelsea FC which helped spark Declan's fan identity as a supporter of the club:

Umm, probably, this isn't my dad, but it is one of my mates and we used to live in Taupo and play at the junior level, like sixth grade or something. And he showed me, this is how I got into Chelsea, and so he is like they are a good team they won on the weekend and he showed me some of the goals. So that is kinda what got me into that aspect of it, supporting Chelsea and I just liked them from then on (Face-to-face interview, August 2015).

Declan notes his father is a fan of Nottingham Forest, and acknowledged the role his father's interest in football had on influencing his participation in the game. As he suggests at the end of his interview, if his father had not been a fan of the game, then it is unlikely he would have taken an interest in football. It was the role of his friend, however, in showing him videos of Chelsea FC who first initiated his interest in the club which he continues to support. Through the support of his friend in exposing him to Chelsea FC and suggesting they were a successful, 'good' team to support, his fandom was instigated.

Through this, it becomes clear football support is an activity nested in social relations both rooted in the family and in other relationships. Fan homes are created in relation to 'people' and the self in close connection to others, be it family, friends or the culture of a city (Oswin and Olund 2010). Indeed, the role of sharing the experience with friends is important. James notes his father was a pivotal influence in both creating and maintaining his fan identity. Stretching feelings of emotional ties and 'football families' outside of his relationship to his father, James explained he previously had neighbours who supported Liverpool FC:

My neighbour he is a Liverpool supporter as well and he has moved away and we used to go together. So, having that person there to go with and also my other neighbour who is a good friend of mine and is also a Liverpool supporter he recently had his third child so he has stopped going as well (Skype interview, June 2016).

As James notes, going to watch Liverpool FC matches with his neighbours used to be one of his fan practices. Feelings of belonging which aids in creating James' football 'home' and family links to his relationship with his neighbours. With both of his friends now unavailable, through one moving away and another having increased family responsibilities, James has ceased visiting pubs to watch Liverpool FC play.

Expressing the importance of social relations for fans, Ryan notes the social element of football fandom is important to him. This is expressed through viewing games with friends. It must be noted, however, this practice for Ryan is based on specific criteria:

> So, if you can't watch it at the pub then we tend to get a bunch of friends around especially for the big matches . . . being surrounded by kindred spirits . . . and you do tend to get a bit snobby and only invite people who know their stuff as well . . . we tend not to invite the kind of token fan because we want an informed conversation and not just, you know, small talk (Phone interview, May 2016).

Ryan asserts having 'kindred spirits' with which to share matches with is important to his fan practice, privileging an expansive knowledge of football as key to normative fan practice. He also, however, aligns himself as a loyal and passionate fan through not inviting fans who he perceived as 'token'. Ties between 'mates' are key for Ryan and these connections are based on footballing knowledge and his 'mates' status as a 'loyal' fan. While the social element of sharing match viewing with other fans is noted as being important, Ryan's statement suggests there are underlying caveats regarding who is or is not positioned as a 'loyal' fan and invited to watch matches with him.

A lack of ties and a friendship group can also inhibit the expression of fan identity. As David explains, his connections to Manchester United FC have been loosened through distance and lack of familiar media coverage. David also notes the absence of a group of mates to watch games with has also dampened his interest in Manchester United FC:

> I guess there is a sense of being less close to it now because I watch less games and I don't go to the pub with my mates and there is no *Fantasy Football*[22] or *Match of the Day*[23] on a Saturday night. So, there is a loosening of connections. It's still there and if I went home it would just pick up again (Face-to-face interview, July 2015).

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[22] *Fantasy Football* is an online game in which participants choose a virtual squad from players currently competing in a particular league. Participants then win points based on match results within the league. An example of *Fantasy Football* can be found on the *Fantasy Premier League* site: https://fantasy.premierleague.com/.

[23] Match of the Day is a weekly programme screened by the BBC which runs analysis and highlights of the weekends football matches in the United Kingdom: http://www.bbc.co.uk/programmes/b007t9y1.

For David, a key difference between his fan practice in Aotearoa New Zealand and his habits when living in the United Kingdom revolved around the lack of access to games being televised in pubs. There were no longer friends contacting him, asking to view matches with him, so the social element and collectivity dominating David's fandom is now absent. In addition, the shift to live matches being played on television in the early morning inhibits the development of any social game-watching practices in Hamilton. Additionally, David hints at the role of media coverage in encouraging social interactions surrounding fandom. He does not have access to *Fantasy Football* or *Match of the Day* in New Zealand. With this lack of media, there is a resulting lessening of prompts to discuss football and a perceived dearth of understanding about football around him.

As a representational sport, football teams function as palimpsests for communities from neighbourhoods through to nations. Through this, and acknowledging the role football fandom plays in identity articulation, support of representative teams becomes not only a symbol of place-based identity but also loyalty and connection to places. Football support becomes part of "searches for cultural pedigree and ordinary senses of loss" (Nash 2002 29). As discussions of intimacy prompt an unfixing of scale (Oswin and Olund 2010), I argue family acts as a conduit and a meeting point between the scales of the nation and the individual fan body. In particular, fandom acts as an expression of family history with family acting as an anchoring subject for discourses of national identity (Nash 2005).

Through the conflation of family and nation, this loyalty also acts as an acknowledgement of family connections to place. Through the stretching of notions such as home, family and intimacy (Valentine 2008), loyalty continues to function over distance. Football support, and the teams chosen both at the club and international level, can be used as a mechanism by which family history and connections can be acknowledged and made visible: "home, like nation, is symbolically constructed through the deep personal meanings that attach to it. It is a place of the mind, imagined and remembered through connections that span time and space" (Dougal 2011 7). As football support becomes ever more loosened from traditional 'homes', ethno-centric notions of culturally distinct

places become salient. An example of this is national representation reflecting familial connection as a means of collapsing distance between trans-national family members (Nash 2002; Rookwood and Chan 2011).

How family members support and encourage a fan's development also varies according to place and political context. As I have outlined, there can be an open relationship between family and city, with a fluid sense of belonging between the two. This can also be identified in regards to national identity at a wider scale. When family is conflated with nation, family also acts as a crucible through which discourses operating at a national scale are identified. This can be clearly seen in the case of Ryan:

> Yeah well you wouldn't have got a lot of support from the elder generation or the generation above you if you supported football. I mean my father would never have taken me to a match or bought me a shirt. He would always have brought me to the GA, the Gaelic matches, no problem because he didn't have any interest in football but neither did anyone of his age – it isn't really encouraged (Phone interview, June 2016).

GA refers to the Gaelic Athletic Association, the organisation founded in 1884 which oversees the governance of both Hurling and Gaelic Football, Irish derivatives of association football. In his interview, Ryan wove his experiences into the events occurring in Ireland during the 1980s and how sectarian conflict, national identity and religion were tied closely together. To illustrate this further the following quote is taken from the 2016 Guide to the Gaelic Athletic Association: "The primary purpose of the G.A.A. is the organisation of native pastimes and the promotion of athletic fitness as a means to create a disciplined, self- reliant, national minded manhood. The overall result is the expression of a people's preference for native ways as opposed to imported ones" (Gaelic Athletic Association 2016 4).

Through football support, family can be blurred with suburbs and cities. Ryan provides a clear demonstration family is also open to nation, national identity and religion. This quote from Ryan clearly shows the open and porous relationship between the intimate and the political, family and the nation (Blunt and Dowling 2006; Pratt and Rosner 2006). Seemingly simple acts such as a father showing support, or not, for his son's sporting passions unravels complex narratives of

belonging. Family and the senses of belonging evident in family practice act as a distillation of national identity and religion.

As a link between family and national identity, football can become part of the project to keep memories of homeland alive within family and family 'culture'. As demonstrated by the following quote from Daniel, football can function as a connection to 'home' and family, keeping intimate ties (Valentine 2008) active across distance:

> I support Dundee United from Scotland. My family is Scottish and both my parents were into football. My dad supported Hearts and my mum supported their arch rivals Hibs . . . When I told my mum who I'd chosen she let my granny know (who is still in Scotland) and found out that she worked with the wife of Eammon Bannon, one of United's midfielders and she organised a shirt and a signed photo to be sent out (Email interview, July 2015).

The family focus of myth-making football projects is evident in this discussion of Daniel's decision to support Dundee United. Privileging powerful notions of Scottish identity within his family, Daniel's support of Dundee is a matter of pride. Despite not supporting Hearts (Heart of Midlothian Football Club[24]) like his father or Hibs (Hibernian[25]) like his mother, this fandom is accepted by his family both immediate and extended due to connecting to normative notions of being Scottish. This differs from other 'footballing families' with children supporting the same club as a parent. The choice of a team which differed from his mother and father, signals expressing a Scottish national identity through football is of deeper importance than regional or city-based support. Showing the close relationship positioned between family and nation, family tradition and interest in football bleeds into the macro-scale of national identity (Nash 2005).

Conclusion

Homes are not neutral spaces (Blunt and Dowling 2006). As fan identity and fan homes are constructed in relation to 'people', the expression of fan identity is underlined by power relations. In this chapter I have elaborated on the workings of power and identity in long-distance football fandom. Centred around

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[24] Heart of Midlothian is a football club based in Edinburgh. Formed in 1874, the club plays in the Scottish Premiership (http://www.heartsfc.co.uk/).

[25] Hibernian Football Club is an Edinburgh-based Scottish club/ Formed in 1875, the club currently competes in the Scottish Premiership (http://www.hibernianfc.co.uk/).

discussions of gender and family, this chapter was framed around intimacy and the micro-physics of power inherent in intimate, multi-scalar relations (Oswin and Olund 2010; Pratt and Rosner 2010). Acknowledging the extensive work carried out by geographers on gender and the home, I depart from the work of Blunt and Dowling (2006) in this chapter as the football fans who participated in this research did not explicitly discuss the materialities of home in relation to their identities. Instead I used home as a metaphorical concept to signal the belonging, or not, of particular identities within the fields of power operating within football fan practice (Oswin and Olund 2010).

Articulations of gender identities demonstrate the webs of power and privilege underpinning fan practice. Women who follow and play football are shown to occupy an ambiguous position within the landscape of the sport. In contrast, the normativity of masculine fandom is the result of mundane repetitions of particular gendered fan performances (Butler 1990). With masculinities positioned as dominant, performances of masculinity become visible when examining how fans negotiate their identity in relation to those they positioned as 'other'. Masculinities are, however, not an homogenous experience (Berg and Longhurst 2003) and the existence of 'other' masculinities within fan performance leads to fluidity of masculinity and the constant re-negotiation of how to perform fandom. Building on discussions of gender and power, family offers a window into the (re)production and disruption of fan identity. Engaging directly with literature on intimacy (for example Oswin and Olund 2010; Pratt and Rosner 2010), family is a key element in creating fan identity. Stretching ideas of family to include the influence of places, friends and mates, disrupts normative notions of fandom as a family project (Dunn 2014). Family also becomes an intermediary between fan and performances of national identity and 'place'. In the following chapter this relationship with 'place' will be discussed, untangling the influence of local, national and fluid spaces on fan practice.

Chapter Seven: 'Places' - Domestic, (trans)national and mobile fan feelings

When the threads of home as physical and imaginative, and as the locus of identity and power, are brought together, home may be framed as a multi-scalar, porous space. Constructed through emotion, imagination and memory, and shaped by social processes and power, home is open to extra-domestic forces:

> Home as a place is a porous, open, intersection of social relations and emotions . . . Home is not separated from public, political worlds but is constituted through them: the domestic is created through the extra-domestic and vice-versa (Blunt and Dowling 2006 27).

Multiple identities are able to be established and troubled through constructions of home (Blunt and Dowling 2006). Feeling at home within domestic spaces influences senses of belonging across other spatial scales such as neighbourhoods, cities or nations (Blunt and Dowling 2006). Home is stretched across a number of spaces and places and, in light of this, relationships to place matter in discussions of fan homes. Drawing out the 'imaginary' homes fans inhabit emphasises the fluidity of home, moving away from the privileging of singular homes. By re-configuring home to embrace multiple places, fan connections are expanded to include plural home spaces: "This reconfiguration does not take place through the heroic act of an individual (the migrant), but through the forming of communities that create multiple identifications through collective acts of remembering" (Ahmed 1999 329).

The subject of Ahmed's (1999) critique is that of the migrant, illustrating how 'leaving' home represents not loss of belonging but the opportunity to re-configure ideas of home. I suggest these sentiments may be applied to football fans, placing emphasis not on the leaving of homes and the act of migrancy but with the creation of imaginaries. Acknowledging the multitude of imaginary and real places fans inhabit, such as fan communities and virtual internet fan-spaces, implies that an actual leaving of home may not need to take place. The establishment of multiple homes occurs through connections with an imaginary community of fellow fans, multiple identifications of home and collective acts of remembering relating to the club which is supported.

The aim of this chapter is to give shape to the multiple places which infiltrate fan practice. I build on this notion of fluid homes through the establishing of imaginaries:

> The movement between homes hence allows Home to become a fetish, to become separated from the particular worldly space of living *here*, through the possibility of some memories and the impossibility of others. In such a narrative journey, then, the space which is most like home, which is most comfortable and familiar, is not the space of inhabitance – I am here – but the very space in which one finds the self as almost, but not quite, at home (Ahmed 1999 331; emphasis in original).

For football fans, the moving between homes, be they imaginary or otherwise, offers the opportunity for multiple homes to be realised. In this chapter, I argue for the importance of place in constructing fan identity. Tying together the threads of home as porous and multi-scalar makes it possible to identify the many homes working in fan practice.

The first section of this chapter addresses attitudes to domestic Aotearoa New Zealand football. Re-positioning long-distance fans relationships to 'local' places, I address the importance of the 'home' in which long-distance fans reside. Alongside the other 'homes' which fans can inhabit, I draw on the notion Ahmed (1999) provides in which homes become fetishised. Discussions of domestic football in Aotearoa New Zealand illustrate how places provide 'friction', inflecting fan practice with particular narratives. What is of interest is the positioning, and perception, of football in Aotearoa New Zealand as a 'minnow' sport (Keane 2001). Constructed by fans as a binary with privileged 'global' leagues such as the English Premier League, a lack of attention to domestic football parallels discussions of the domestic. This is in relation to homes in which the private sphere is positioned as inferior to the public (Blunt and Dowling 2006). Upending this binary, domestic and global are re-framed to illustrate how the stickiness of 'local' place influences the support of 'global' clubs (Massey 2005).

The themes of belonging and identity are in evidence in the next section, where I explore connections between belonging, (trans)national identity and football support. Demonstrating the influences of multiple homes on fan practice, I argue the acknowledgment of a 'national' home opens dialogue between fan bodies and

global processes (Massey 2005). What is clear from fan stories is the importance of national representative teams and international tournaments to fan identity. National imaginaries provide powerful discourses of belonging and identity, with teams embodying the nation and the people (Burdsey 2006). The processes which govern support of national sides are, however, variable and offer the opportunity to re-negotiate plural national identities. For some fans, the notion of 'birthright' is key and the national side which is supported is that of the country in which they were born. For other fans, genealogy plays an important role with teams selected according to ancestral family connections. Due to the 'extra-ordinary' nature of international tournaments, there can also be a fluid relationship to national teams.

Discourses about national football teams include evaluating the importance of 'return movements'. Acknowledging the multiple places which influence fan identity, certain places are positioned as 'homes' of teams. These spaces are then held as 'sacred' by particular fans (Ramshaw and Gammon 2010). These significant places draw fans to visit as an expression of deep emotional connection to a certain club. Building on recent work in 'emotional mobilities' (Boccagni and Baldassar 2015; Terry et al 2015; Gorman-Murray 2009), and drawing on Ahmed's (2004) notion of 'affective economics', I argue that the movement between homes and the journeying to a significant home highlights the transference of emotion across space and the construction of emotional 'homes'. Building on the multiple homes at play in the practice of sports, fluid returns occur across a range of scales. Returns to a specific football culture, and symbolic returns, are discussed as ways in which emotion can leak through a range of spaces.

"Sport is something you do": Domestic feelings of fans at home in Aotearoa New Zealand

Within previous literature examining long-distance football supporters, the place where these fans live has rarely been explored. Long-distance fans have been positioned by football scholars as the exemplification of hyper-commercialism. In existing discussions of distanced fans it is physical connections to football clubs and the global, commercial flows of football that have been privileged. As the following quote about distanced football flâneurs from football scholar Giulianotti (2002 39 - 40) attests:

> Within the context of a postemotional panoply of social relations, the flâneur is definitely low in genuine collective affect . . . Rather, this cosmopolitan has relatively little biographical or strategic interest in discerning an underlying meta-narrative from the medley of football signifiers around which the flâneur dances, save for the instrumental identification with an avant-garde, winning brand.

Freed from the influence loyalty to a singular place in which both fan and club reside, for Giulianotti (2002), the distanced fan is presented as wandering the virtual streets of contemporary football, with a lack of roots in any one place or team. As the embodiment of consumption, the distanced flâneur is positioned as solely associating themselves with 'winning brands'. The positioning of long-distance fans as consumption-based is also evident in this quote from Kerr and Emery (2004 880) when discussing distanced Liverpool FC fans:

> Furthermore, satellite supporters expressed intense loyalty for, and appeared to derive psychological benefit from their support of, the foreign-based team. As such, satellite supporters present an opportunity for sport marketers to tap into a lucrative fan base and enhance their own team brands.

In contrast to Giulianotti (2002), who does not mention loyalty, Kerr and Emery (2004) express surprise at the emotional connection distanced fans feel in connection to the club they support. Both of these quotes demonstrate a gap which exists within literature on football fans. What discussions with the fans who participated in this research suggest, however, is that football fandom leaks into fans' places of inhabitance (Ahmed 1999). Fans are presented as situated in multiple places and I examine how fans' attitudes to Aotearoa New Zealand football highlight the influence of place on fan identity.

I did not expect Aotearoa New Zealand football to be discussed during interviews, yet domestic football leaked into conversations. Fans wanted to talk about football in New Zealand. I suggest this willingness to discuss domestic football and the, at times, strong emotions expressed by fans shows the importance of multiple places in creating fan identity. The willingness displayed by fans to discuss Aotearoa New Zealand domestic football provides an example of the importance of place to fans, reconfiguring previous literature on long-distance fandom as demonstrated in the above quotes. As Conner (2014 525) asserts:

In the study of sports and society, there has often been an excessive focus placed on the roots (i.e. origins) of collective identity. While certainly important, the genesis of a collective does not entirely explain why certain people choose to join that collective or not, especially regarding sports fandom in today's globalized world.

Discussions of the influence of domestic football on long-distance fans' identity clearly show the existence of multiple homes and the friction provided by place (Blunt and Dowling 2006). The importance of plural places to long-distance fans is re-articulated, not just in the context of the distanced clubs they support but the place in which they reside. Recognising the places in which fans find themselves inhabiting (Ahmed 1999), fans displayed a willingness to discuss 'domestic' football and, for some, these conversations were a significant part of the interview. Despite distanced relations and a primary focus on an overseas based club, fans displayed a considerable 'festishising' of the place in which they reside (Ahmed 1999). While much sentiment was not entirely positive towards Aotearoa New Zealand football, which will be discussed further in this section, I suggest this presents fans as deeply connected to multiple places which runs contra to previous discussions of long-distance fans as solely consumptive and 'place-less' (Bale 1999).

When discussing domestic football, fans appear to construct a binary between football in Aotearoa New Zealand and football 'overseas'. In particular, all fans who discussed domestic football articulated sentiments in relation to European or English football. This acts to position Europe and the United Kingdom as centres of footballing power. The construction of this binary echoes sentiments towards 'domestic' space as inferior to public space 'out there' (Blunt and Dowling 2006). Upending this binary, I push the 'domestic' to the fore and position Aotearoa New Zealand football as part of global flows of fandom and fan practice.

Based on the willingness of fans to discuss domestic football during interviews, I carried out an interview with key informant Bob. Bob has not only been involved in supporting and playing football with teams based at Gower Park in the Waikato, he also has extensive experience as a journalist covering the sport at a regional and national level. I asked Bob why he believes fans positioned domestic football as inferior to European teams. He responded by identifying cultural traits

as being paramount as to why such teams are positioned as central to the footballing world:

> Part of our New Zealand upbringing is that sport is something that you do. So, it is part of Kiwi culture that sport is something that you do. Compare it to the heritage of the English umm and it is something to follow. So, this is kind of the final frontier for football on the world stage. So, we um kind of I don't think that within football that we have great heritage . . . I think that football suffers in comparison . . . We can't draw a similar comparison when you see the La Liga in Spain on the TV or the English Premiership I mean that is light-years away from what we produce here. So umm to find the very best of the code you follow, you find it by following the umm by pay-tv rather than by turning up to the ground. And so that doesn't reinforce the notion that if you want to see good football then you come down to Gower Park[26]. It is ingrained, you sit down and watch it on TV (Face-to-face interview, May 2016).

Clearly illustrating the 'friction' places provide to fan practice and outlining the alignment of power in Aotearoa New Zealand sport, Bob suggests it is not only part of Kiwi culture to play sport, it is also part of sporting culture to support successful teams. Elaborating on this further is Zach the manager of a premier men's team in Hamilton. Echoing Bob, Zach recounts his experiences growing up playing football and positions domestic teams to be played *for,* not institutions to be supported:

> Umm I think that we all played football and we played for our local club and there was the National League going at the time and I kind of followed North Shore United because I used to spend my holidays there. So I went to a few North Shore games but the culture of following them wasn't there. You didn't follow New Zealand teams, they were sort of amateur not very good. And it is probably still the same (Face-to-face interview, May 2016).

As with Bob's experiences, Zach positions domestic football clubs as a community in which to participate as opposed to an institution which is supported. He suggests watching North Shore is linked with holidays and through this, his support of North Shore United is posited as 'out-of-the-ordinary' as opposed to an ordinary practice. Zach's every-day experience of football is positioned as supporting an 'overseas sweetheart' and playing for a local team which is not deemed an object of support, echoing a domestic/public binary (Domosh 1996).

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[26] Gower Park is a football ground in the west of Hamilton city were first division domestic club Melville United play.

Charlie echoes this binary between 'local' being aligned with domestic or private when I asked about his experiences of supporter numbers at 'local' matches:

> So, whereas in England, and in that type of place, you play in the morning and go and watch the senior club in the afternoon. That is a different mentality here, people think 'oh we have got that over and done with' so then they have family time or whatever in the afternoon. So I don't think it is an easy fix, I don't think that it is an easy fix (Phone interview, May 2016).

Charlie has extensive experience playing in the Wellington region and was involved in the management of Kapiti Coast United and uses the workings of football clubs in the United Kingdom as a reference point through which to map the success of Aotearoa New Zealand clubs. The United Kingdom and Europe is therefore posited as a binary opposite to New Zealand. This is achieved through fans positioning Europe, and in particular the United Kingdom, as a 'home' of football and a centre of footballing power. This is present throughout participant comment, as are the comparisons between the state of football in Aotearoa New Zealand and the United Kingdom. The existence of this comparison can be seen directly with Steve, who regularly attends games at Hamilton club Melville United. When asked about crowd numbers, he commented:

> You get a few people at the games carrying like a red and white Melville scarf but geez it's a small community of people at that level. I mean the Phoenix is the closest we've seen to that kind of fervour outside of England (Face-to-face interview, July 2015).

Reiterating the positioning of Europe as the centre of football, fans suggest English and European football as having a higher level of quality, glamour and star power than Aotearoa New Zealand football (Bruce and Stewart 2015; Guoth 2006; Wagg 2010; Williams 2006). For fans, this celebrity is directly linked with professionalism. In Steve's comment there is a direct connection drawn between fervent, visible support and professionalism. As he notes, the supporters of the Wellington Phoenix are the closest examples of 'fervent' football supporters he has seen outside of the English context. The Wellington Phoenix are the only professional club in Aotearoa New Zealand and fervent support is closely aligned as 'at home' with professional teams. This further emphasises the notion of the United Kingdom as the centre of football and functioning as the spiritual 'home' of the sport (Ramshaw and Gammon 2010).

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Miles elaborates on this idea, aligning amateur clubs with not only low supporter numbers but also with a lack of player quality. As he notes, the lack of 'quality levels' he perceives in Aotearoa New Zealand football inhibits his interest in the game:

> It's also the quality levels . . . But I suppose you have to get to a certain level before you can get really interested in it? Like, I am a cricket fan . . . And it is sometimes there and not others. Like I am not like a 12-year-old kid and only support the winning team, but a team has to reach a certain level of skill before I am going to invest any emotion in it (Skype interview, September 2015).

Despite his lack of interest in domestic football, Miles displays a fetishising of the place in which he resides (Ahmed 1999). Loyalty to place and the materiality of Miles' home in Aotearoa New Zealand are in evidence when Miles is discussing his feelings towards Aotearoa New Zealand football. I argue, however, that a selective element has been added to this. Miles asserts success is a key attribute in him 'feeling at home' within a certain sport or sports club. His use of football as an expression of his national identity is contingent on the success of the teams he is looking to support. Hence, Miles chooses not to map his loyalty onto the territory of Aotearoa New Zealand football, providing an example of how place provides friction for fan identity in a negative sense (Ahmed 1999). This is unless the team he supports provides a suitable reflection for the qualities with which he wishes to align himself and provides an example of a 'push' factor towards supporting a 'global', 'public' and 'successful' club (Massey 2005).

Max expresses similar sentiments to Miles, reinforcing the position that domestic Aotearoa New Zealand football provides friction in shaping the identity of fans, be it in a negative or a positive manner. Max suggests he does not take a major interest in Aotearoa New Zealand football due to lack of player quality:

> Like you want to watch the best players . . . I quite enjoy watching the Spanish league as well even though I don't like particularly follow any team in that league but if you have got like fucking Lionel Messi playing [laughs] which you don't have in the Waikato or whatever . . . I feel like if you are not the fucking All Blacks then no-one really cares? So you have to be winning . . . then with the Phoenix they will go on a three match winning streak and everyone is like yeah and soon as they start fucking losing then no-one wants to hear about them (Skype interview, May 2016).

Max positions Spanish football and in particular Barcelona player Lionel Messi as examples of footballing prowess. The quality levels of play within Aotearoa New Zealand are positioned in comparison to Spanish football and fall short, and Max illustrates how as a fan he feels 'pushed' towards globally 'successful' clubs. In this instance, Aotearoa New Zealand football is positioned as marginal. The second part of Max's statement refers to how he feels football is perceived in the wider scope of Aotearoa New Zealand sport. Having worked in the ticket booth at Wellington Phoenix games, Max suggests that in his experience the fortunes of the club are reflected in match attendance. As he notes in the quote, when the Phoenix was winning, match attendance would go up and when the club suffered a losing streak, attendance declines. Teams that are winning are seen by Max as a more suitable representation of their identity than teams which are losing.

Charlie, like Max, uses overseas leagues such as the EPL and La Liga as a reference point judging the quality of domestic football. Departing from the view expressed by Max, Charlie uses such leagues not as symbols of footballing power but to demonstrate Aotearoa New Zealand football as different. Shifting narratives away from discussions of privilege and the split between 'local'/domestic/amateur and public/'global'/professional, Charlie illustrates how place can inflect styles of play, with the mechanics of domestic football being different across place:

> I mean our club is probably up with the best. I mean we have a New Zealand Under-20 player and three or four age-group players. We play a very good brand of football, possession-based football and it is good to watch. But it is not the EPL, it is not La Liga, it is what we do here. I mean if you have someone who is going to come along and think that the football is going to be the same as the EPL then they are going to be disappointed [chuckles]. You have got to come along with an open mind and you will see that your local is great (Phone interview, May 2016).

Strongly illustrating the influence of place, Charlie asserts while the brand of football Kapiti Coast United play is not 'the EPL, it is not La Liga', it is 'what we do *here*'. Definitions of 'success' are negotiated with reference to Aotearoa New Zealand clubs as opposed to existing in a marginalised binary. Charlie moves away from the notion of a football 'home' existing in the United Kingdom and Europe. By suggesting the football played in Aotearoa New Zealand is different, Charlie makes footballing 'homes' fluid and troubles the role of globally dominant leagues as the centre of the sport.

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An additional way in which fans demonstrated the friction of place influencing support of domestic football was through discussing media coverage. Equating media coverage with visibility, a number of fans highlight an inability to access information about matches as a reason for not actively supporting domestic football. As explored in chapter five, media coverage of football is underpinned by power and the privileged position of leagues such as the English Premier League which inhabit the core of footballing 'power'. Complaints about the lack of media coverage of domestic football are an additional way in which a domestic/public binary was established by fans, with media visibility aligning with privilege, 'public' information and interest in clubs (Massey 2005).

As fans who participate in domestic football note, the responsibility for sharing media content is reliant on volunteers from within the club. Upending a simple binary between public and private, information on domestic football was perceived as patchy, fluid and variable (Berlant 1998). Ella, who had volunteered for a club on Waiheke Island, asserts:

> I guess that people just don't know what to look for so they don't know what is there. So maybe that is yeah and I think the other element of it is that until you are doing the volunteer work and putting together the events and putting the teams together for the season then you have no idea of how much goes into it and how kind of much human resources it takes . . . I guess like with the websites and stuff the people who hold the information are . . . not that good at putting it into a language that a non-football person would understand. Like if you are a non-football person and you want to get into it but you don't quite know so umm you sort of feel like you have to be in the club to know what is going on (Skype interview, July 2016).

Ella suggests that as the bulk of club activities are carried out by volunteers, media content is generated within and shared by clubs. In her experience, Ella argues that despite detailed information being available through the internet, sharing match times and locations, these sources of information are not written in a language she feels a 'non-football person' would understand. In Ella's opinion there is a binary visible between 'football' and 'non-football'.

The role of the media is key in helping establish sentiment surrounding sporting codes (Falcous 2015; Guoth 2006). Fans were active in critiquing media coverage of domestic football. When asked about how they viewed the current state of

football in New Zealand, the media was critiqued by fans as not showing what participants saw as adequate attention to football. While the level of coverage articulated as adequate varied from fan to fan, the media positionality of the sport on both television and print media was argued as marginal (Guoth 2006). For example Hugh expresses his frustration with an inability to find results about local clubs in Auckland:

> Loads of times I have wanted to find results from Auckland. And like if I've wanted to find the result from the final of the New Zealand football championship and its Auckland against Waitakere I'd just like to see a minute's coverage to see what happens and all they are showing is [EPL team] Crystal Palace and I have found that frustrating (Phone interview, August 2015).

The power relations evident in television coverage (Goldblatt 2006; Sandvoss 2003) are also evident in news media. As Hugh notes, Aotearoa New Zealand television news media coverage of football is dominated by the privileging of European teams in regards to exposure. In his statement, Hugh cites the results of Crystal Palace shown on television news as being irrelevant to him as a fan. Through citing a final taking place between two New Zealand-based teams as being more important to his identity than the results of a game involving a team such as Crystal Palace, Hugh troubles binaries between Aotearoa New Zealand and European football. Through this, he upends the local/global and domestic/public binaries between domestic and international football, questioning the availability of 'local' football content and his wishes to view more coverage.

Brody also signals dissatisfaction with media coverage, pointing to issues of what he perceives to be a general lack of coverage of the sport:

> I get completely sick of essentially the lack of coverage in New Zealand of football and of local football. Like the media, some guys on the coverage of the A-League for instance they say 'if you play the game at 5 o'clock and it finishes at 7 then well we can't put it in a news bulletin. Ok so why don't you put it in the next days? Well it's old news then'. It just completely irritates me (Skype interview, July 2015).

Brody suggests structural issues surrounding how news is gathered are to blame for a lack of coverage of football. Historically, the Aotearoa New Zealand media, initially with newspaper coverage, was established as a 'for profit' venture (Guoth 2006). Particularly with sports coverage, it became clear readers were interested in

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teams that have achieved success both at a national and international level. As football has had a patchy history within the scope of Aotearoa New Zealand sport (Guoth 2006; Keane 2001; Little 2002), there has been little established focus on Aotearoa New Zealand football from sources generated within New Zealand-based media. Despite the focus of such fans attention being located in another country, the influence of football in Aotearoa New Zealand plays a key role in shaping fan identity. In the next section the relationship between long-distance fans and place is further expanded through examining the influence of the scale of the nation on fan identity.

"Well, I am a New Zealander so I support the All Whites": the politics of belonging, football and (trans)nationhood

'Home' nation is a potent imaginary. Sport plays a powerful role in capturing sentiment surrounding 'home' nation; of the 32 fans interviewed for this project, all fans claimed to follow at least one national representative team. The support of such teams also appeared to vary in regards to emotional importance. For example, Oscar indicated the power of national imaginaries associated with football:

> I think that there has been a huge change in Colombia because of how we did in the last World Cup. We have been really, really bad for the last 12 years and then there are two or three guys who came along who no-one knew about and they just made the team super-strong and we were playing really good. We didn't go through but in the country, like with politics and economics, we keep fighting against each other but with the team itself that made people join together and that is something that made you feel proud of it. And made you feel like yeah there are some things that are not going well but you can see how working as a team can help you succeed. And everyone sort of gets that picture so that is why I think everyone is more supportive than five years ago . . . It's been a psychological empowerment for the country (Skype interview, August 2015).

Oscar uses the word 'we', signalling the sense of communion he feels with the recent performance of the Colombian men's national representative team at the 2014 FIFA men's elite World Cup. Clearly showing the representational power of the collective identity teams can embody, this quote also illustrates the interweaving of communal and individual identity. As proposed by Massey (2005), to understand the relationship between fans and national support it is

necessary to open dialogue between the fan 'body' and national 'homes'. Through dis-establishing the binary between 'local' and 'global', it becomes possible to envisage space as relational, and the multiple homes which influence fans being interwoven.

Notions of 'global' and belonging are stretched to encompass emotional and imaginary attachments (Massey 2005). Expressions of support for international teams are by no measure homogenous:

> Here, home is indeed elsewhere, but it is also where the self is going: home becomes the impossibility and necessity of the subject's future (one never gets there, but is always getting there), rather than the past which binds the self to a given place. It is such transnational journeys of subjects and others that invite us to consider what it means to be at home, to inhabit a particular place, and might call us to question the relationship between identity, belonging and home (Ahmed 1999 331).

Fandom may be seen as an inter-relationship between spaces centring on the fan body. One example of this enmeshing of fan and national identities is evident in the gendering of national representation. Questions about international support during interviews were framed as gender-neutral; for example, inquiring if a fan followed any international team. Despite this, all of the fans interviewed uniformly cited senior men's teams as the primary object of internal support, referring to such teams as 'New Zealand' or 'Germany', representing the privileging of a particular type of national representation (Burdsey 2006). This points to one of the key issues with examining the influence of 'home' nation on fans:

> Of considerable . . . significance in this regard are those teams that are selected to represent 'the nation' – or, as is it popularly conceived, 'the people' . . . the symbolism that these teams possess is so powerful that they often become the main outlets for popular articulations of nationalist sentiment … However, a pertinent question to ask is: who are 'the people' that these teams are perceived to represent? (Burdsey 2006 12).

The key question to ask when discussing the influence of 'home' nation on football fans is what role representation plays. As demonstrated in the image in Figure 7.1, there are very particular and often exclusionary performances of nationalism at work in sports spectatorship surrounding the types of 'bodies' represented by both supporters and teams.

Figure 7.1: Image of a 'White Out' during an All White World Cup qualification match, November 2009 (Image from Fairfax Media/*Dominion Post*) [27]

Figure 7.1 is an image of a 'White Out' performed by supporters of the Aotearoa New Zealand senior men's team known as the All Whites.[28] This image was taken during the teams' successful campaign to qualify for the 2010 FIFA elite men's World Cup, which is referred to by fans in the ensuing section as 'the World Cup'. There is a very particular performance of New Zealand-ness occurring in the image with certain fan 'bodies' being interwoven with discourses of nation. The term 'White Out' is appropriate as the crowd is dominated by 'white-ness' in regards to clothing and members of the crowd being white and male. This aligns with studies of 'ultra' fans as being predominantly white, working-class and male (see for example Armstrong 1998; Giulianotti 1994; Robson 2000). When attached to performances of nation, however, these performances and representations become exclusionary.

Cleaving together individual bodies and national home, birth is one trope of national representation. This is one of the ways an exclusionary notion of national

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[27] Retrieved from http://www.stuff.co.nz/dominion-post/news/3064790/White-out-extends-to-Santa s. Reprinted with permission from Fairfax Media / Dominion Post.

[28] The moniker All Whites refers to the elite Aotearoa New Zealand men's representative team. The team acquired this name due to the white kit in which they play.

representation can be identified as a connection is established between self and nation which is based on the 'mythical' notion of 'blood and soil':

> Both the intimate family and 'family of man' thus feed the metaphor of nation as family and together mask the corollaries of harmony and unanimity - hierarchy and differentiation - and naturalize biologically ordered relations of connection and distinction, closeness and difference, affinity and antipathy (Nash 2005 453).

The idea of nation as family has been mobilised within sport from the commodifying national identity to market sports events (Knott et al 2013 and 2017) to the connections between sport and morality within colonial projects (Mangan 2012). For the long-distance fans who participated in this research the idea of nation as family can be seen most strongly in the manifestation of a connection to 'home nation' through privileging discourses of birth. This can be seen most strongly in the participants who manifested a connection to a 'home nation' through privileging discourses of birth. Due to this, as teams at international tournaments represent the nation, the people are also represented. This is expressed by Charlie, in a statement suggesting his identity as a 'New Zealander' directly relates to the national team he supports:

> Well, I am a New Zealander so I support the All Whites . . . they don't play a lot of international games which is a bit of a worry but I suppose the substitute for me is the English team. So because New Zealand don't play a lot I support the English team. But yeah . . . it takes more of a back seat because we don't play that often (Phone interview, June 2016).

While Charlie suggests he also supports the English national men's team at international tournaments due to family connections to the country, his immediate response - when asked which national team he supports - is 'as a New Zealander he supports the All Whites'. Charlie directly aligns the country of his birth with the national team he supports. Through asserting he is a New Zealander he presents his support of the All Whites as an extension of his 'home nation'.

This association between national identity and support of a national team as representative of 'New Zealand-ness' is echoed by Declan. Like Charlie, due to the lack of visibility of the All Whites, Declan introduces a secondary team. This team is again noted as being more visible but does not carry the same emotional connection as the team governed by birth:

> Uh yeah so, because I am New Zealand-born I am quite into the All Whites . . . I do follow them quite a bit. But um at like other events I would support England (Face-to-face interview, August 2015).

While Declan notes he has a strong connection to the All Whites through being born in New Zealand, he asserts he supports England at other international events. This, he noted throughout the interview, was due to his father being English and strongly supporting the English national men's team at international tournaments. For Declan, however, his connection to the England was not as strong as his father's. Instead, he asserted due to being born in New Zealand, he felt a stronger emotional connection to the All Whites, claiming his support of England was simply due to a family connection.

For both Charlie and Declan, the national team which is supported aligns with the country of their birth. Supporting the All Whites becomes woven together with 'being a New Zealander' and 'home nation', privileging the idea of 'birth' as key to belonging in a national 'home' (Nash 2002). Through this, the All Whites become representative of 'the nation' and 'the people' (Burdsey 2006). When tied together with the concept of 'home', this equates the All Whites with representing 'home nation'. Birth becomes associated with 'blood ties' and connectedness to home nation which can then govern football support:

> It seems more about fixing cultural origins than challenging the mandatory coincidence of blood, soil, and political affiliation within the nation-state . . . Yet ideas of ancestral roots and origins can have more complex and contradictory relationships both to collective and to personal identities than has often been assumed. The genealogical language of biological inheritance often coexists with, and is challenged by, more complex genealogical imaginations (Nash 2002 47).

In discussions of 'home nation' and biological connectedness to territoriality, certain identities are positioned as 'at home' within the space of the nation while others are not. Aligning birth with national support becomes an exclusionary practice. With birth governing national support ideas of 'home nations' are centred on fixity (Nash 2002). Through this fixing of support, however, 'home nation' becomes oppositional to what it is *not*. Charlie and Declan see themselves as New Zealanders, defining the self in relation to nation and birth. Implicit in this is the emphasising of boundaries between self and other, themselves and New

Zealanders, and implicitly that which is defined as 'not' aligning with New Zealand-ness (Blunt and Dowling 2006).

What also runs through Charlie and Declan's statements is the importance of visibility: that in order for a national team to be supported, it first needs to be 'seen' to be performing qualities of national representation. Bob also expressed such sentiments:

> When was the last time that we saw our All Whites play in New Zealand? I mean there is a real disconnect at an international level. Umm it is not a question of we never see them in Hamilton. We never see them anywhere. So the All Whites are just sort of a vague rumour. I mean we can have opinions about who should be in the squad but half of them we wouldn't recognise them if we saw them. I follow the game and I don't even know who they are (Face-to-face interview, May 2016).

For a national team to adequately represent 'the people', 'the people' need to be able to 'see' the team on the world stage and in the 'public' arena. Bob highlights the feeling of belonging between a team and nation through suggesting the All Whites need to play in their 'home nation'; the team belongs to Aotearoa New Zealand and needs to play in the country. Through this, the All Whites as a national representative team are not only linked to notions of Aotearoa New Zealand-ness through birth for fans such as Declan and Charlie, but there is a wider scale of national belonging in which the team must be 'seen' to be performing duties of national representation.

Building on the notion of national ties as fluid and encompassing multiple 'homes', shared cultures of support can leak across and between national boundaries. Support of football teams can encompass not only national identity but also pan-national and continental identities. In the following quote, Oscar echoes the work of Müller (2014) in illustrating how pan-national identities can eclipse allegiances to individual nations:

> I mean if you ask anyone from South America, they will tell you the same thing as me. It is rarely one or two that will tell you they don't care but that's the way that we are raised . . . My friends buy it. Some of them have prescriptions, mainly the Brazilians, so we get to go to their houses and watch them there or it depends on the time sometimes we might go out and watch it somewhere . . . And again, because we are not from here it is something that keeps us together (Skype interview, October 2015).

Through a shared 'South American' identity based around football support, 'home' is stretched to encompass continent-wide identities:

> Although territorialized practices and interactions are of paramount importance, the constructed 'football locality' . . . is not geographically bounded. The symbolic transnationalism – the identification with a homeland-oriented club – observed within the most successful teams, and at the most competitive tournaments, borrows symbols and images of world football (Müller 2014 69).

Genealogical connection and notions of birth remain an influence in governing the support of national sides (Burdsey 2006; Nash 2002). The focus is shifted, however, to connection across nations and shared genealogical connections between nations are established. Adding meaning to the social practice of viewing matches together is Oscar suggesting that due to not being from Aotearoa New Zealand, watching football is a method through which pan-South American identities and feelings of belonging can be practiced. Through this, football, national identity and belonging are meshed together to emphasise pan-national cultures of support which are rooted in collective connection to a continental identity (Müller 2014; Ramírez 2014).

While for some fans, 'blood ties' and 'birthright' govern the national representative team which they support; for other fans the 'roots' and 'routes' of national support are more fluid (Gilroy 1997). The sometimes multiple teams supported at international level reflect multiple 'homes' for football supporter identities. This support of plural teams offers the opportunity to examine the influence of multiple 'home' nations in relation to fan practice. In an example of this fluidity, when asked about which international team he supported, Josh notes he does not support England, the country of his birth:

> I have a complexity about supporting England mainly because bizarrely my background is Irish and this is what's so interesting about this club thing, although I was born in England I don't identify with the likes of the monarchy and I identify with my Irish-ness for a bunch of reasons . . . and if the spin-off is why don't you support England it's because I identify much more with my Irish-ness (Skype interview, July 2015).

Running contra to discourses of supporting the country of 'birth', and the parallel 'blood ties' between fan and nation, Josh asserts that he feels more 'in-touch' with his 'Irish-ness' than with being 'English'. Despite being born in England Josh

does not feel connected to 'English-ness'. Josh's assertion that he feels a closer emotional attachment to Ireland through genealogical connections challenges notions of 'blood ties' and biological connectedness. Instead, through moving away from discourses of 'birthright', Josh links himself to a shared culture and values (Nash 2005). This linking with a shared culture rather than a biological connection reflects the powerful emotional element of constructing home and illustrates the key representational elements of sport. Perhaps Josh's lack of willingness to support England could be read as an expression of a post-colonial rejection of an English imperial consciousness which may reside at the base of his support of Ireland (Nash 2002). An element of self-identification is introduced which adds further complexity and multi-layeredness to notions of belonging and kinship. His support for a national representative team is based on emotions of belonging and association.

The anchoring of football support on genealogical 'roots' hints at wide notions of belonging and cultural identity based on ancestral connection and 'primordial kinship' (Nash 2002). The idea of heritage, in concert with associated notions of 'blood ties' and 'birthrights', allows for feelings of collective belonging to take root. These feelings are not, however, limited to one nation and can be stretched across loyalty to multiple 'roots' of identity (Ahmed 1999). Brody identifies this in his discussion of his parents' heritage influencing his support of Scotland and Germany at international football tournaments:

> But yeah, I support the All Whites. I've got the shirt and I go to the games, they aren't very good but if we are talking second nationalities and I want to support a team and see them do well then it's Scotland or Germany because both my heritage sort of lies there (Skype interview, July 2015).

As a representation team the All Whites do not preform sufficiently to be the sole base for supporter identity. Following the 'routes' of his heritage, Brody expands his support to Scotland and Germany. This not only reflects the ancestral connections of his family but also both teams have traditionally been more visible at international tournaments than Aotearoa New Zealand and are consequently more visible at a global level. Through this, Scotland and Germany function more readily as representational (Bale 2000).

As is implicit in the above discussion, the support of 'nations' is fluid and can encompass multiple 'homes', with conceptualisations of nation being flexible and fluid (Ahmed 1999). The following quote from Hugh concerning his affection for the Netherlands national team shows his support was fostered by England's absence from the 1974 World Cup. The scenario Hugh recounts is one in which Hugh and his grandfather felt it was necessary to 'find' a replacement team:

> The national team that I have a lot of affection for and part of it is for childhood reasons is the Netherlands, the Dutch team. When I say that I watched the 1974 World Cup, England didn't qualify for that World Cup so me and my grandfather we supported the Dutch all the way through to the final. So, I mean the Netherlands are my second team if that sort of makes sense (Phone interview, August 2015).

Furthermore, the entanglement of sport and national identity is changeable, not only across nations but also over time (Ward 2009). This can also be seen in the following quote in which Nora responds to being asked which national side she supports:

> I try to fall out of love with [Brazil] but they keep dragging me back in . . . I am a bit of a wannabe dancer so the teams that I support always look like they are dancing. Like I could never support Germany because they are far too disciplined . . . I love the beautiful almost creative play. I love all the grandstanding so I love South American football. I love Italian football and I love Spanish football but I can't stand the Bundesliga. I can't stand Dutch football either. I can't stand it, it is too formulaic or something (Phone interview, 2016).

Loosening the connection between national representation and birth further, Nora illustrates the influence of more ephemeral 'national characteristics'. South American football also exerted a powerful imaginary with Miles, who despite being born in Aotearoa New Zealand, asserts his loyalty is often torn between Brazil and Argentina:

> Every four years, I have an existential crisis between Brazil and Argentina . . . Any particular reason for those two? Well I am a Latin American, I am a Latin Americanist . . . so anything Latin American I am naturally interested in. And those are the two teams with pedigree, obviously, and in '78 . . . I was too young for the great Brazilian team of 1970 umm but I wasn't too young for the great romantic Brazilian team of the 1982 World Cup and they are still my favourite team ever. And in the '78 World Cup in Argentina I had no idea of the politics around it and quite frankly they were pretty horrendous. But I was just amazed by all

the passion for the game. So the '78 World Cup was part of making me a Latin Americanist and I went on to get a PhD in Latin American history (Skype interview, 2015).

Similarly to Nora, Miles' support for national teams is focused on Latin America. He points to two pivotal World Cups in cultivating his interest in both Argentina and Brazil. What is instead introduced is the ability of teams to embody specific traits separate from what may be deemed part of a 'national character' (Gibbons 2011; Ward 2009). Moving away from notions of birth and genealogy, connection to nation is re-positioned as emotional and imaginary. Nora and Miles are able to establish personal connection to Brazil through the traits they see as being inherent to an imagined Brazilian style of play. In particular Nora suggests a sense of belonging through explaining how she is interested in dancing and linking herself to Brazilian football through positioning the style of play as appearing like dancing. For Miles, he refers to the Brazilian and Argentinian teams as 'great' and 'romantic'. His passion felt during the 1978 World Cup in Argentina and the Brazilian team of the 1982 World Cup creates his interest in Latin American football. Through this, the strength of the characteristics and mythologies embodied by teams representing 'nation' can be identified.

Feelings of attachment and belonging for Nora and Miles are based on the power of what they perceive nation to represent. In particular, Brazilian football exerted a powerful 'imaginary' which is mirrored in wide-ranging support during the 2015 FIFA Under20 World Cup in Aotearoa New Zealand. I wrote the following during a quarter-final match between Brazil and Portugal, which took place at Waikato Stadium in Hamilton on the 14th of June, 2015:

> There are more people in our block of seats now and it is clear that there are many, many Brazil shirts and flags in the crowd. There are also now several groups of drummers playing around the stadium – one of which appears to be a group of 'samba boys' with drums and decked out in shirts and flags. During the Brazil anthem I can hear some people join in – there is another group of supporters with flags and banners behind the opposition goal . . . The samba band strikes up whenever Brazil attacks (which is not often in the first half) and they are quiet when their team falters. The teams go back to the pitch to resume the second half. It spits[29] on and off and the wind has changed direction – it is now blowing directly at us and is freezing. A similar pattern resumes with the crowd

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[29] The term 'spits' is a colloquial New Zealand-ism which is used to refer to light rain or drizzle.

and the bands encouraging Brazil on when they attack – it almost seems like Brazil are playing in their home country (Excerpt from participant sensing notes, Brazil v. Portugal FIFA U20 World Cup quarter-final, June 14th 2015, Waikato Stadium Hamilton).

This excerpt provides a clear example of the upending of national 'homes'. Through the emotional attachments many fans clearly felt in the space of Waikato Stadium, Brazil and performances of Brazilian-ness were detached from ideas of national territory and brought into the space of the stadium across distance (Massey 2005). This demonstrated how the potency of national imaginaries can be freed from 'traditional' conceptualisations of national homes and projected onto fan bodies (Massey 2005). Space is shown to be interwoven, with 'Brazil' leaking into Waikato Stadium through the emotional connections felt by fans (Ahmed 2004). The support of international sides is of clear importance to in the relationship long-distance fans have to place. Exploring the multi-scalar nature of home further, in the next section I discuss fans' 'return journeys' to significant footballing sites.

"And worst of all I haven't seen Arsenal play": Return journeys to home

Home is stretched across multiple spatial scales for long-distance fans. Expressing the power of place for football fans, Ramshaw and Gammon (2010) elaborate:

> Self-proclaimed 'spiritual homes' are powerful representations of sport. These locations are not the actual birthplaces of the sport but are and home the 'keepers of the flame'; the protectors and interpreters of the traditions and values of particular sports (Ramshaw and Gammon 2010 88).

These 'spiritual homes' can be the basis for 'return journeys' in which fans visit significant sites associated with the club they support. Providing a 'sticking point' for fan identity:

> [T]he journey between homes provides the subject with the contours of a space of belonging, but a space which expresses the very logic of an interval, the passing through of the subject between apparently fixed moments of departure and arrival (Ahmed 1999 330).

These significant places draw fans to visit as an expression of deep emotional connection to a certain club. Building on recent work in 'emotional mobilities' (Boccagni and Baldassar 2015; Terry et al 2015; Gorman-Murray 2009), and

drawing on Ahmed's (2004) notion of 'affective economics', I argue the movement between homes and the journeying to a significant home highlights the transference of emotion across space. Emotion and affect not only allow for words and signs to 'slide' together, but also spaces and places to slide together, melding imaginary and 'real' homes, allowing fans to reinforce, celebrate and share their fan identity (Green and Jones 2005).

As Terry et al (2015) identify, events such as football matches are assemblages of places, emotions and bodies, and I also argue for an inclusion of 'imaginary' homes. It is the emotional element of this which stretches home: "In such affective economies, emotions *do things*, and they align individuals with communities—or bodily space with social space—through the very intensity of their attachments" (Ahmed 2004 119; emphasis in original). When the football fan becomes a 'migrant' (Ahmed 1999) or a 'sojourner' (Brown et al 2014) and leaves home, creating temporary communities across and between spaces, making the distinction between home and away fluid (Boccagni and Baldassar 2015; Waitt and Johnston 2013). What becomes of prime importance is the emotion felt by fans within a significant space: "Emotions, feelings and senses are posited as the connective tissue between the embodied self and place. Comfort, belonging, desire and fear felt in and through the body shape attachments to place, and play an under-recognised role in mobility" (Gorman-Murray 2009 443 – 444). This allows fans to embody their imaginaries of home and create 'emotional homes'.

Not every fan interviewed for this project had journeyed to a significant site or expressed a desire to do so. For the seven fans who had, however, it was clear the experience had been deeply emotional.

> I've got a great story about Arsenal. I used to coach youth football in Auckland in the '70s and I had a very talented player who was called up and he was an absolute mad Arsenal fan just from watching them on the telly. And he smashed his knee-cap when he was 16 and so he could never play again, which was sad because it ended his playing days early. I lost contact with him and then when I was doing my OE and I was living in England, I pick up the phone one day and it goes "Gidday Jeremy, its Dominic here. I'm in England can I come round and catch up?" And his story was that he had never been out of New Zealand and he was there at around age 44 or 45 working in Auckland and one Friday night he must have been the last person at work, and he felt his head swelling and hurting . . . because he was having some kind of aneurysm

or something. So the ambulance came and they smashed their way in and he ended up in hospital and he was lucky to be alive and while he was recovering he thought to himself "What if I had died? There are all these things that I haven't done. I haven't travelled, I don't even have a passport and worst of all", he said, "I haven't seen Arsenal play" (Jeremy, face-to-face interview, August 2016).

Josh recounts the emotional impact 'returning' had on his friends' fandom, providing an illustration of the clear influence return journeys can have on fans. Following a near-death experience, one of Dominic's first priorities was to travel to England to watch Arsenal FC play. Discussing his own fandom, as a Liverpool FC fan, Josh notes throughout his interview his relationship with Liverpool FC has a key impact on his identity, referring to his fandom as both passionate and obsessive. Josh's 'return' to the city of Liverpool during the 1980s, however, had a notable personal element. Having written to the then manager, Kenny Dalglish, about the emotional impact Liverpool FC had had on his life, the letter resulted in an invitation to visit Liverpool. As Josh recounts:

> I wrote a four page letter. I wish I had taken a photocopy of it because if you had read it you would've thought wow this guy needs to be put away . . . But I wrote this 4-page letter just about my love of Kenny Dalglish and how Liverpool had saved my carcass from this horrible abyss . . . And I got a letter back saying 'come over' so my wife and I saved up to go to the UK and when we got there I rang and they said come to a training session. So I went to a training session with all the big players of the day like Ian Rush and Stevie Nicol and Kenny was there. And it was just one of the most profound events of my life because it was closing something. Umm yeah part of the success of life is just doing some things and it's actually that you did it? I loved something so much that I went back around the world just to stand on it (Skype Interview, July 2015).

This quote offers insight into the deep emotional impact 'returning' to Liverpool FC had on Josh. Josh describes his emotional connection with Liverpool throughout the interview as 'passion', 'obsession', a 'relationship' and 'love'. Through this, it becomes clear the deep emotional connection Josh has with Liverpool FC and the intimacy created between himself and the club acting as the basis of his 'return' (Gorman-Murray 2009; Waitt and Gorman-Murray 2011). For Josh, the act of visiting the 'spiritual home' of Liverpool provides a powerful 'sliding' together of sport and home. Describing it as 'one of the most profound

events of my life', his return to Liverpool functions as a return to a mythical, spiritual home.

Gianni also had 'returned'. Gianni echoes Josh's sentiments when discussing the impact of his two visits to see 'his team' Roma play in Italy:

> Oh it was really, it was emotional. I went to two games: one was a European championship game between Roma and Sporting Club Portugal which was amazing. And I went to the derby against Lazio which was scary [laughs]. But cool, once in a lifetime really something that I will never forget (Skype interview, October 2015).

Again, the 'place' of the home stadia functions as a key site of belonging and emotional attachment. This broadens the notion of 'return' to not only a significant footballing site but also to family and a nation: "In both 'origin' and 'destination', ideas of ethnicity, nationhood, and collective identity have been, and continue to be, shaped and informed by imaginative and material travel" (Nash 2002 30). Through Gianni's narrative, pilgrimage to a football match is linked with family signalling the tightly woven relationship between team choice and family. The entanglement of family, fandom and nation, adds multiple layers of meaning to complicate 'returns' such as those carried out by Gianni and Josh, intersecting with wider cultural process and social concerns (Nash 2002).

This stands in stark contrast to Gianni's discussions of the emotions he felt when AS Roma visited Australia at the beginning of 2015 for a pre-season tour:

> I mean I have never wanted to be like anyone else so when I come across another Roma fan I almost think how dare you! So I found it hard when I went to Australia to watch Roma play Real Madrid and Manchester City earlier in the year. I felt in some ways when I was surrounded by Roma fans in Australia, not in Italy because in Italy it is different because you expect to be one in a big crowd, but in Australia I felt a little bit, it kind of, it hit me a bit that there are all these people in this part of the world who support my team and I am not sure if I liked it [laughs]. I feel like it is mine! (Skype interview, October 2015).

Beginning to trouble the notion of 'returns', Gianni positions large-scale support of AS Roma as belonging within the cultural context of Italy (Nash 2002). Providing, again, an example of how football support becomes closely inter-twined with issues of family and cultural belonging, Gianni claims he felt out-of-place when surrounded by other long-distance fans cheering on the team to which

he felt a strong sense of ownership. With support for AS Roma shifted to Australia, 'home' for Gianni becomes liminal (Ahmed 1999). Shifted away from the locus of his body, which is the primary mechanism through which his support can be read, and also taken away from Italy in which Gianni positions AS Roma support as 'belonging', his 'return' to Australia becomes complicated by notions of imaginary homes (Ahmed 1999).

Unlike Josh, who visited England with his wife, Gianni arranged to watch AS Roma play with a group of fellow AS Roma fans he had met via an online forum called *Roma Addict*. One of his fellow *Roma Addict* fans made a biannual 'pilgrimage' to Rome from his home in Oslo. The following story tells of the reaction the *Capo*, or leader, of the main group of AS Roma *ultrá* fans to being told of this particular fans pilgrimage to Rome each year:

> Interesting story, one of my friends umm . . . when I met up with the guys from the *Roma Addict* forum, one of them is from Oslo and he actually went and met the Ultras and one of the first things that the Capo said to him, the Capo, the big boss of one of the Ultras groups, the big scary Ultras group called Boys said to him was you are a bigger fan then me because you make the effort to come here twice a year from Oslo so that is a bigger effort than me who just walks down the road to every game. You are a real fan. So I thought that was really interesting . . . So I wonder how that relates to me who has only been twice, three times in my life but you know for me it is a plane fare and a small fortune (Skype interview, October 2015).

Contra to conceptualisations of fandom which equate geographic proximity with 'care', loyalty and passion (Giulianotti 2002), the statement of the *Capo* can be read as relating effort to fandom. 'True' fans are not necessarily based in the same town as their teams, and may be judged on the lengths that are undergone to see their team play as a measure of 'love' (Gorman-Murray 2009). Shared support of AS Roma also functions as the basis for the *Capo*'s comments. Linking with Guschwan's (2016a) autobiographical account of an American student attending a game with Boys *ultras*: if the body of a fan is marked as the same as Boys, a sense of belonging is created allowing for the reinforcement of a fan's sense of identity (Green and Jones 2005).. Political ideology also plays a key role in the *Capo's* comment. Signalling the open relationship between football fandom and politics, Boys *ultras* are a neo-fascist group adhering to an extreme right-wing ideology (Guschwan 2016a). By 'being' an AS Roma fan, *ultras* also identify belonging

within a particular ideology – unless a body is clearly marked otherwise. It is only when Boys are confronted with bodies marked as belonging to a different club, and an associated different political ideology, that the group begins to identify binaries between self and other (Guschwan 2016a).

Meshing directly with notions of 'home' and belonging is Zach's experiences of visiting England to watch Leicester City FC. Zach has 'returned' to Leicester frequently and when this interview took place he had just arrived back in Aotearoa New Zealand from attending matches following Leicester City FC's historic win of the EPL 2015/16 season. Despite attending matches on a frequent basis, the emotional resonance is still strong for Zach:

> But when I go to England, the first time that I went I did feel very at home. And I suppose that when I was growing up it was part of our culture. Playing football, buying books and watching TV. And now it becomes more so. So yeah I could probably live over there quite easily (Face-to-face interview, July 2016).

For Zach, a feeling of belonging and comfort is articulated directly as 'being at home'. This is couched in regards to already having a feeling of belonging through his childhood being dominated by English books and television programmes. Zach weaves his identity together with feelings of 'being' English. A pre-disposition to 'belonging' within English culture and the English nation is posited with England as Zach's 'imaginary home'. Zach obtains a feeling of home not only within Leicester but within the wider United Kingdom. Stemming from this is a weaving together of 'home', belonging and 'nation'. Due to feeling at home and being exposed to the cultural landscape, a sense of belonging, which extends to the scale of the nation, is established.

Notions of nation, home and family are also woven together in Zach's discussions of 'return' to Leicester. He began his discussion of 'returning' to Leicester by recounting how on one of his visits, one of his friends inquired if he was related to a well-established family living in the area of Leicester as they shared a surname. Zach asserted he could not be sure but as his family had originally come from the United Kingdom then there was the possibility his family had resided in Leicester. This 'sliding' together of family and emotional connection further solidifies Leicester and England as an 'imaginary home' (Ahmed 2004). This adds a layer

of legitimacy to his feelings of home, belonging and 'being at home' when visiting Leicester, along with the shared culture with which he also identifies.

While the desire to 'return' does not appear to be a defining aspect of all football fans in Aotearoa New Zealand, there is evidence of a strong 'homing desire' (Brah 1996). 'Homing desire' is not the same as a desire for home, linking to Ahmed's (1999) discussion of homes existing between places, away from the place of inhabitance. There may not be the desire to return to a material place but rather cultural identification may function as 'homing desire' (Brah 1996). In an example of 'homing desire', Simon, a fan of Atletico Madrid, discussed touring around South America, a part of which was going to several football games:

> I went to a Boca Juniors game . . . and it was just [pause] incredible. Like in the UK but also in New Zealand as well people are just like sitting you know maybe sitting in sections. But there the whole stadium is just rocking and the ends with the more hard-core fans it just never, ever stops. And it's just so loud and exciting. Umm it was quite easy fitting in because it's quite safe once you are in the stadium and so I was with a tour group and the tour guides were Boca fans so they were just singing and dancing which was really cool (Skype interview, July 2015).

While Simon had not 'returned' to the Calderon, Atletico Madrid's home stadium, he did display a 'homing desire', which prompted him to feel 'at home' within the cultural space of a Boca Juniors[30] game. Despite Simon not returning to the 'space' of his main team, he had returned to what he felt to be a similar culture of support and fandom. Through this, he perceived himself as returning 'home'.

Throughout the interview, Simon also suggested he felt dissatisfied with what he perceived as a lack of passion demonstrated by crowds watching sport in Aotearoa New Zealand. He enjoyed the opportunity to be part of a crowd which openly displayed passion for a football team, helping him to feel 'at home'. South American football is frequently positioned as an 'unsafe' space due to a reputation for fan-based violence (Goldblatt 2006). Simon noted he felt 'quite safe' within the space of the stadium, and this was aided by the presence of Boca Juniors fans

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[30] Boca Juniors is a club based in Buenos Aires, Argentina. Formed in 1905, Boca is one of Argentina's top clubs, and also one of the most widely supported. With a strong base in immigrant communities and a fierce rivalry with fellow Buenos Aires Club River Plate, Boca supporters have a historical reputation for gang violence, hooliganism and drug trafficking (Goldblatt 2006).

leading his tour group who could 'show' him how to behave – such as when to dance and what to sing.

The space of La Bombonera, Boca Junior's home stadium, functions for Simon as a 'spiritual home' or symbol of a form of both football and fandom with which he identifies (Ramshaw and Gammon 2010). As opposed to returning to a specific destination associated with a football team, as has been demonstrated by other fans returning to Rome or Liverpool, place plays a secondary role in Simon's return journey. Rather, the focus is on experiencing fan behaviour deemed more passionate and exciting than what he has experienced in Aotearoa New Zealand, and watching a style of play similar to his favoured team with Boca Juniors acting as a palimpsest for both (Puwar 2012).

Providing another demonstration of how 'homecomings' need not take place in the geographical 'home' of a club, is Charlie. Charlie's experiences of watching Liverpool FC play 'in the flesh' are pivotal in solidifying his supporter identity. In the following quote he elaborates on the emotions of watching Liverpool FC play in Melbourne:

> Having been there and having watched a game there, I have been to the MCG[31] and watched them play the Melbourne Victory a few years ago. You know when you have 96,000 people singing 'you will never walk alone' it is a special type of thing . . . I mean when I first heard them sing 'you will never walk alone' when I first saw them at Anfield the bloody hairs on the backs of my hands stood up and it is quite something to behold. Even for a non-soccer player (Phone interview, May 2016).

As demonstrated by Charlie, the place of Anfield Stadium is 'home' for Liverpool FC. Having visited Anfield Stadium, he suggests it was a pivotal experience for him as a fan. Charlie identifies significant practices which create 'home' outside of the Liverpool FC's home ground through discussing his attendance at a game between Liverpool FC and the Melbourne Victory in Melbourne. Singing 'You Will Never Walk Alone' slides between the spaces of Anfield and the MCG (Ahmed 2004). The song becomes 'home', co-produced with the other fans in the stadium, marking the space of the MCG as Liverpool FC territory. The presence of the team, fans and song blurs the boundaries between the two spaces, rendering

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[31] The MCG refers to the Melbourne Cricket Ground, the largest sports stadium in Australia which is located in the city of Melbourne.

them interchangeable and creating the scenario in which a significant 'return' can occur in both spaces.

The idea of return journeys can be moved even further from the influence of material space. Drawing on photographs and field notes taken during go-alongs to Gina's Italian Kitchen during the Euro2016 tournament, I argue returns can take place through engaging with powerful imaginaries and 'home-like' spaces, allowing emotional connection to leak across space (Ahmed 2004). As Drozdzewski (2007 864) notes:

> The (re)construction of places that are culturally familiar is decisive in the formation and maintenance of distinct ethno-cultural identities. These distinct identities inform a group's own sense of ethnicity and cultural heritage . . . Thus, for migrants, there may be an active intention to create places that impart the sense of locality and home, and that are symbolic of the homeland and/or certain cultural traditions and practices.

Through meshing together televised coverage of watching the Italian senior men's team play and the presence of particular material objects, multiple scales are folded in on themselves, establishing both a physical and emotional window to Italy. Through this a space is created which imparts "the sense of locality and home" (Drozdzewski 2007 864). During the go-alongs to Gina's Italian Kitchen, there was ample evidence for the space of the café imparting a sense of an Italian 'home', creating an Italian 'locality' in the city of Auckland. Gianni, who accompanied me during go-alongs, points out two particular objects which help to achieve 'locality and home' – wooden chairs, and red and white checked tablecloths, as shown in Figures 7.2 and 7.3. He suggests these objects are similar to what can, in his experience, be found in any café in Venice.

Figure 7.2: The chairs that can be 'found at any café in Venice', 14th June 2016 (Photograph by author)

Figure 7.3: Red and white checked 'Italian' tablecloths, 14th June 2016 (Photograph by author)

These chairs and table-cloths are not the type of objects which would be found within a football stadium. These objects bring Italy into Gina's space. With the imaginary of an Italian 'home' brought into the material space in which a game is being viewed, the television coverage is given added piquancy for fans through being surrounded by material reminders of an Italian 'home'. The bodies of the fans inside of Gina's do not travel to Italy, instead a liminal home between spaces is created in which an emotional window into 'being' Italian (Ahmed 2004). The tablecloths and chairs are physical reminders of Italy but also, perhaps more importantly, create the 'sense' of being in Italy, functioning as emotional reminders of a spiritual home.

Another facet in creating a 'return journey' in the space of Gina's was the presence of flags. The use of such flags is a particularly potent way in which Gina's space is marked as Italian territory and as an Italian 'home'. Relatively simple objects and signs of banal nationalism (Billig 1995; Valentine 2001) flags can act ambiguously (Brown et al 2014 103):

> [T]he meaning of a sign, such as a flag flown during a public event, depends on the individuals who encode and decode it . . . a flag is a symbol that carries different meanings, as by definition a symbol is something that stands for, stands in place of, or points to something else beyond its presence.

The flags displayed within Gina's allow for emotions and affect to 'slide' between bodies and spaces (Ahmed 2004). Through this sliding of bodies and spaces emotion associated with the nation of Italy and normative discourses of Italian nationalism can be mapped onto the space of Gina's Italian Kitchen. A number of national flags are present in the café playing a variety of roles within the process of creating 'home' as shown in Figure 7.4.

Figure 7.4: An Italian flag displayed in Gina's Italian Kitchen, 14th June 2016 (Photograph by author)

This particular flag occupies a liminal location within the space of Gina's. In the image above, it is draped over a window at the back of the main seating area during the game. This positioning meant the audience members had their backs to the flag during the game. Functioning as a sign of Italian national identity, this flag is a banal reminder of the 'Italian' nature of the space. The location of the flag highlights its banality by the space this object occupied; an easily recognisable reminder of the Italy nation yet relegated to a peripheral position during the match. In an example of a less 'banal' use of a flag, highlighting the ambiguity of flags as objects, one other Italian flag was placed in a more prominent position within the space of Gina's (Brown et al 2014). This flag can be in Figure 7.5:

Figure 7.5: Gina's Italian Kitchen home of Italian *Calcio,* 14th June 2016 (Photograph by author)

Hung directly below the screen onto which the match was being projected, this flag was visible to those outside from the main window of the restaurant. This flag, however, is modified, with the words 'Gina's Italian Kitchen, home of Italian *Calcio*' printed on it. The flag stands to represent both Italian national identity as the symbol of 'home nation' with the 'identity' of Gina's superimposed functioning as a repository of Italian-ness and 'emotion' within Auckland. The positioning of the flag was particularly prominent as directly outside Gina's was a line of bus-stops which appeared to be well patronised by commuters the morning of the first groups game between Italy and Belgium - one commuter can be seen standing to the right of the flag in Figure 7.5. The use of these flags within the café not only signals a sliding together of sport and national identity, but also mirrors what is occurring in stadia as shown on live television.

What I have discussed in this section are the 'spiritual homes', which function as the focus of powerful emotional connections for fans (Ramshaw and Gammon 2010). Drawing on Ahmed's (2004) notion of 'affective economics' and 'emotional mobilities', I argue emotional connection allows for the 'sliding

together' of spaces, making imaginary homes 'real'. These experiences of return can vary between fans; returns can be fluid and encompass multiple spaces, stretching notions of football club homes. What I propose is key in marking all returns, however, is the making real of imaginary homes based on deep emotional connections (Ahmed 2004).

These 'returns' can, however, be troubled. In an example of this from the go-alongs carried out at Gina's, the performance of home enacted by the crowd members became challenged when it leaked out from within the café (Longhurst 1999). As the first group match took place early on a weekday morning, it finished at around 9am. Italy beat Belgium in their first match of the tournament much to the delight of those in attendance. Following the match, the owner of the café and several of his workers spilled out onto the street, banging pot lids, blowing a klaxon and smoking post-match cigarettes. Gina's, positioned on the outskirts of the Auckland central business district, is on the route of a number of buses taking commuters to work in the central city. With a number of these buses stopping directly outside the café, this celebration appeared to be interrupting the flow of commuter traffic.

In particular one café worker was busy celebrating his teams' victory and collided with a passer-by waiting for their bus. This resulted in the commuter missing his bus, and an exchange of words - and shoves - between the two men. This tussle throws into question the carrying out of 'return journeys'. When the fight took place on the sidewalk, the fans backs were to the television screen severing any visual connection which had governed their return to Italy during the match. Additionally, once this celebration and fan behaviour which may have been at home within a football stadium leaked out into a busy city street its connection with the sport became tenuous. When literally colliding with a disciplined city body, the fan practices exhibited by the fans inside Gina's were thrown into question once they left the territory designated as 'Italian'.

Conclusion

When the threads of home as physical and imaginative, and as the locus of identity and power are brought together, home is framed as a multi-scalar, porous space (Blunt and Dowling 2006). Constructed through emotion, imagination and

memory, and also shaped by social processes and power, home is thereby open to extra-domestic forces and power. The aim of this chapter has been to give shape to the multiple places which infiltrate fan practice, unpacking the relationships between fans and 'place'. To achieve this I have built on the notion of fluid homes through the establishing of imaginaries. Through examining emotional, plural configurations of home, emphasis is moved away from the privileging of singular 'home spaces'.

The role of 'local' places where distanced fans live has been silenced in previous discussions of long-distance fandom (Giulianotti 2002; Kerr and Emery 2011). Fan stories of domestic football positions 'local' football in Aotearoa New Zealand as private while privileging clubs in the United Kingdom and Europe, as 'global', 'public' and successful. Through upending this binary and pushing domestic football to the fore, a more complex and fluid picture is produced (Massey 2005). The influence of place can also be untangled in relation to the powerful imaginary of the 'home nation'. Presenting the potential of fan identity to re-position notions of place, home nation being presented as imaginary and fluid (Ahmed 1999). Performances of home nation can be based on 'blood and soil' (Nash 2005), emotion (Ahmed 2004), and flexible notions of genealogy hence removed from connections to singular home nations.

As 'spiritual homes', certain places are the focus of powerful emotional connections for fans (Ramshaw and Gammon 2010). The act, therefore, of moving across and between homes allows for the transference of emotions, highlighting the role of such connections in creating 'emotional' homes (Gorman-Murray 2009; Ramshaw and Gammon 2010; Waitt and Gorman-Murray 2011). Bringing emotional connections to the fore of analysis allows for the 'sliding together' of spaces, making imaginary homes 'real', emphasising the importance of plural relationships with place in fan practice.

Chapter Eight: Football comes home - Conclusions and directions for further research

Home and sport are deeply inter-twined. Yet, this relationship has been little explored. For geographers, for whom lively scholarship on homes has been occurring for nearly two decades, discussions of home do not extend to sport. For scholars of football, fans have remained implicitly attached to place and the fluid, emotional and embodied elements of fandom remain silent. To examine how sport creates and influences feelings of home is to uncover alternative means of constructing home (Brickell 2009). Sport functions as a way in which multiple homes can be established and to analyse sporting homes is to acknowledge the deep emotional connections sport can encourage.

This research demonstrates that football fandom offers a unique opportunity to scholars. Not only does is fandom an under-researched facet of identity worthy of further scrutiny, fandom is nested within a series of wide-ranging relationships and is underpinned by webs of power and privilege. Unpacking these relationships to 'things', between 'people' and to 'places', provides a window into the critical geographies of identities. It is through examining the influence fandom has on shaping identity that light is shed on a range of power relations across a range of spatial scales from the body to the nation and the globe. The strong thread in this thesis is that homes are messy, complex and varied, and using the lens of football fandom allows insight into how homes are constructed, lived out and felt. Integrating studies of fandom into geographies of home provides scope for encompassing alternative ways of 'being' at home.

Acknowledging the effect the rise of 'football media' and the impact the increasingly global football industry has had on support for football clubs, fandom is never solely tied to one, singularly privileged location. Unmooring football fandom from traditional geographic 'roots', away from territories considered to be 'home', offers potential for a redefinition of fandom (Edensor and Millington 2008). Throughout this research, I convey home as a key space for sports fans. Extending the critical geographies of home framework provided by Blunt and Dowling (2006), the powerful connection between sport and home is exposed. Drawing on the experiences of 32 long-distance football fans, the nuances of how

fans construct home through relationships with 'things', 'people' and 'places' have been uncovered. Television coverage, social media and material objects create feelings of home. Power and identity influence fans in terms of their identification as being at home or not at home. Fan homes are stretched across and between a range of spaces making feelings of home fluid and varied.

This research demonstrates how the notion of home is deeply intertwined with sport. Towns, cities and suburbs are represented by 'home stadia'. Teams and fans create mythologies around home stadia with fans carrying out pilgrimages to these significant sites. Being referred to as 'home fans', 'home crowd' or 'home team' signals belonging within the space of the 'home stadium'. Notions of home and sport have, however, remained static with 'home' acting as a seemingly simple signifier of place attachment and loyalty (Giulianotti 1994; Robson 2000). This connection between sport and home can, however, be stretched to embrace the fluid understandings of home explored within the work of geographers (see for example Blunt and Dowling 2006; Brickell 2010).

The aim of my research has been to gain insight on how supporting a specific, non-domestic football club acts as a symbolic connection to home. This allows me to pick apart the variety of relationships nested around fan identity. This thesis has been guided by three research questions:

1: How and in what ways do football fans' material and imagined objects construct home?

2: What is the relationship between home, football fandom and people's identities? and,

3: How are multiple places experienced in and through football fans' homes?

The notions of home espoused by Blunt and Dowling (2006) provide structure to this thesis as each element of their tripartite critical geography of home parallels each research objective. The examination of football fans in conjunction with the critical geographies of home posited by Blunt and Dowling (2006) allows me to interrogate a fans relationship with a club, and in particular: the **material** objects which create their feelings of home; the **people** who shape fan identity; and, the

places which shape their imaginaries of home. Fandom is entwined into the lived everyday experiences of home, family and friendships.

In order to address these questions each element of this critical geography of home is extended and strengthened by connecting Blunt and Dowling's (2006) work with that of relevant sports scholars and geographers. A framework has been created to examine the experiences of long-distance 'homes' for fans. Utilising emerging qualitative methods ensures the design of this research encourages a holistic view of football fandom. Identifying gaps within sports research, the use of mixed and emerging methods provides a view of fan identity is lived out and felt. Building on work within sports research suggesting geography offers a suitable 'grounding' for sports research (Higham and Hinch 2006), this project sheds light on the 'being' of football fandom (Barrick et al 2016; Schneider et al 2014). Methods such as photography and go-alongs placed emotions and the fans 'self' at the centre of fan experience. My own body as the researcher was also placed at the centre of method/ology through participant sensing. The use of semi-structured interviews also allowed for a fluid, individualised exploration of fan experience.

Home as material and imaginary: Media, merchandise and television as home-making practices

The stories shared by fans during interviews extend discussions of home. This allows for the re-orientation of critical geographies of home to encompass the practice of sports fandom. Through analysing the relationship between fans and 'things', light is shed on the co-production of fan identity and fan homes, demonstrating how the practice of fandom influences material and imaginary geographies of home. Extending the notion of home as material and imaginary, fan relationships with material cultures play a key role in creating feelings of home. As was demonstrated through fans' experiences, the use of media and 'virtual' spaces is one method through which home can be established and maintained. Just as television coverage and material objects act to create 'sense of home' for fans, the media fans consume and in which they participate also work to create 'home'. Material objects are active in creating 'senses of home' and narrating fan identities. Stretching existing geographic literature on the co-production of material objects and domestic space, 'media' can act as an 'object'

imbued with emotion and memory (Gregson 2007; Rose 2010). Media is key in establishing 'homes' and feelings of propinquity between a fan and club, remedying distance and standing in for attending matches in a home stadium (Rose 2003b). While for long-distance fans television acts to replace match attendance, media is also bound up in everyday social interactions and functions as a key practice in creating feelings of belonging.

Extending the notion of home as both material and imaginary (Blunt and Dowling 2006), examining the use of merchandise by long-distance fans exposes the complex emotional terrain of material objects. The interweaving of commercialism through emotional attachments to merchandise creates an unequal landscape of pride and shame, privilege and power. Beginning by discussing the wearing of the replica match-day shirt, fans are able to embody 'home ground' and 'home fan'. Temporary communities can be established through fans 'reading' the symbols of home displayed on shirts. Merchandise plays a key role in the commercial success of football clubs. Emotion and consumption become interwoven in the wearing of shirts (Rodriguez-Pomeda, Casani and Alonso-Almedia 2016). Through the positioning of shirts as both emotional objects and as representative of consumption, a binary between self and other is established. This relationship between emotion and commercialism can be troubled, however, when merchandise becomes a gift. Through being transmuted into a 'gift' merchandise becomes symbolic of emotional connection and memory, making material links between transnational family members. Merchandise becomes representative of family members, 'standing in' for absent or distanced connections.

The notion of home as material and imaginary can be extended into discussions of television and long-distance fandom. Bridging the gap between a fan and club, televised coverage acts to replace 'home ground' and allows space for the performance of 'home fan' identity. Match coverage is important for the maintenance of emotional fan 'homes'. The distribution of the rights to screen matches are, however, governed by commercial forces, marking the use of television coverage as complex. Match coverage is very important to the identities of long-distance fans, the ability to gain access to such content governs the level of interest and emotional connection to a club. Television coverage also has the

ability to reflect a wider sports-scape and aid in fans feeling at home or not at home. When coverage is guaranteed, time-zones present an example of how match viewing can be negotiated. The ability to watch games either live or delayed, and the resulting ability to avoid being told the scores of recorded games, provide additional examples of how television viewing can be acted out by fans.

Unpacking the relationship between fans and the 'things' which shape and produce fan homes allows the examination of material and imaginary homes. Co-produced with relationships to 'things', objects act to create an emotional 'sense of place' for fans. Material objects are positioned as capable of creating a connection to ideas of home as symbolised by a football club. Focusing on the 'making-real' of imaginary connections also allows for home to be stretched away from material structures (Guschwan 2016a). Examining the ways in which material objects constitute home, a gap which exists within literature on football fandom (see for example Brick 2001 and 2004; King 2011) has been addressed. Home is produced by feelings of belonging - through emotional relationships and material objects. Therefore the physicalities of dwelling spaces and relationships between people and material belongings illustrate how objects reinforce an emotional 'sense of place' within the home (Rose 2003). Within this are concerns around the cultures surrounding material objects (Blunt 2005). These are the material physicalities and cultures which become inscribed with meaning and aid in reinforcing feelings of 'being at home'.

Home as the locus of power and identity: Gender, family and the creation of home fans

Homes are not neutral spaces (Blunt and Dowling 2006). Football fan homes are positioned as the centre of identity creation and particular identities are at times more 'at home' than others. Through this fan homes are riven with geometries of power (Blunt and Dowling 2006). In discussions of identity and power, long-distance fans did not expressly discuss home. Instead, when exploring issues of power and identity, critical geographies of home can be extended through the use of home as a metaphorical concept. Home becomes a signifier of belonging, woven out of relationships with 'people'. Drawing on fan stories, issues of power and identity can be seen most clearly through discussions of gender and family, and how both affect the expression of fan identity.

Gender identity has key bearing on how fan identity is performed (Caudwell 2011a). The position of women as players and fans clearly shows the functioning of a microphysics of power in creating complex terrain. Drawing on the work of Caudwell (1999, 2003 and 2011b), footballing femininities are socially constructed and created through the repetition of banal performances of 'being' a female fan (Butler 1990). The experiences of the five women who took part in this project are, however, not homogenous. This signifies the gendered binaries evident in the sport of football do not always translate to simple dichotomies of oppressed and privileged (Butler 1990). It is when these women transgress the silent, yet powerful gendered expectations which govern their fan performances that gendered discourses become the most apparent (Caudwell 1999). Be it through these fans' consistent awareness of their bodily identity as women, the tricky position women as players occupy or the expression of desire for men who play for the clubs they support, gender plays a key role in shaping which expressions of fandom are metaphorically, at home or not at home.

Masculinities are dominant in both the playing of football and in the representation of fans. Due to the dominance of both men's elite football in the media and men's experiences in discussions of fans, the repetition of narrow, normative performances of masculinity render such embodied norms 'taken-for-granted' (Butler 1990). The details of these articulations of identity suggest, however, that there is evidence of fluid and heterogeneous masculinities on display in the stories of fans interviewed for this project. The following of football is also positioned as patrilineal (Dixon 2014; Dunn 2014). Traditional notions of fandom have the practice passed intergenerationally between fathers and sons. This was in evidence in the stories of long-distance fans but was troubled by the existence of football support as part of a wider family culture. Hegemonic masculine performances are also troubled through the discussion of 'love' for players or a club. The perceived heteronormative positionality of male fans becomes fluid. Adding further complexity to notions of men as fans is the marginal and 'feminised' position which football occupies within the sporting landscape of Aotearoa New Zealand (Keane 2001).

It is clear that family, and other such intimate ties, played a key role in fan practice. Stretching beyond notions of fandom as patrilineal, football support exists as part of wider family cultures. Fan identity is shared across a range of familial relationships. Building notions of intimacy into the construction of fan homes, the close connections between the self and others which shape fandom extends what constitutes as family (Oswin and Olund 2006). Feelings of attachment to football clubs bind family with fandom, and extend across homes, suburbs, cities and nations. 'Family' is posited as fluid with football support existing as a symbol of belonging within each scale. Due to this, fandom creates an open relationship in which suburbs and cities can be family-like. The feelings of belonging and creation of ties with friends also acts as a demonstration of the stretchiness of football homes and families. Belonging becomes rooted not only in family but in groups of friends supporting the same club.

Unpacking the relationships with people which aid in the co-production and (re)production of fan homes exposes that home is not a neutral space (Blunt and Dowling 2006). As home is produced through everyday lived and imaginary practice, people's senses of themselves are closely knitted with home spaces. Home is a space in which identities are performed and power relations are exercised. Due to home being an emotionally loaded space, how home is assembled and performed acts as the locus of identity and belonging: home is a political site of identity expression and production. Illustrating the geometries of power and performance of identity, privileged, normative identities are positioned as 'at home' and those that are marginalised and 'other' are positioned as 'not at home'. These webs of power can be re-positioned through examining emotion and intimacy, a method which facilitates the unfixing of identity and fields of power and which stretches belonging and connection (Oswin and Olund 2010). Collating intimacy with fan identity provides a micro-physics of power and links to how identity is performed and particular bodies made vulnerable. Intimacy upends binaries between public and private, bringing the personal into the political, spreading unpicked plural identities across fields of power both large and small (Oswin and Olund 2010).

Home as multi-scalar: (Trans)Nationalism, domesticity and return journeys troubling fixed homes

Relationship with place plays a key role in fan practice. Connections between belonging, (trans)national identity and football support expose the many places which can be significant for fans, shifting away from the dominance of singular homes which has dominated much literature on football fandom (Giulianotti 2002; Robson 2000). The influence of multiple places and homes can be identified within fan practice. When the threads of home as physical and imaginative, and as the locus of identity and power are brought together, home is framed as a multi-scalar, porous space. Constructed through emotion, imagination and memory, and also shaped by social processes and power, home is thereby open to extra-domestic forces and power. Acknowledging the influence of multiple places disrupts the privileging the singular fan homes which have dominated previous discussions of football fandom (Giulianotti 2002; Robson 2000).

Despite much of long-distance fan practice being focused 'elsewhere', the 'local' home in which fans reside is a key influence on fan identity. These relationships to 'local' places have been silenced in previous discussions of long-distance fandom (Giulianotti 2002; Kerr and Emery 2011). Place is shown to provide 'friction' to identities and has the ability to become 'fetishized' (Ahmed 1999), influencing fan practice. This can be demonstrated through fans' desire to discuss domestic football during interviews. A key point was that fandom was shown to be multi-scalar with emotional connections to an 'overseas' team and to local football evident (Blunt and Dowling 2006). Echoing discussions of private domestic houses, I argue fans' stories of domestic football position 'local' football in Aotearoa New Zealand as private, amateur and lacking in support. Fans positioned this in contrast to privileging clubs in the United Kingdom and Europe, which were understood to be 'global', 'public' and successful. Upending this binary and pushing domestic football to the forefront produces a complex and fluid picture, with this landscape moving away from the primacy of singular spaces of belonging for fans (Massey 2005). Discussions of media coverage in making a club 'public' and visible, exposing the desire fans have to access to information about domestic football, further troubles the binary positioning of 'local' football.

The notion of a 'national' home acts as a crucible, exposing the interweaving of fan bodies and global processes (Massey 2005). What is clear from interviews is the importance of national representative teams and international tournaments to fan identity. The processes which govern support of national sides are, however, variable, ranging from expressing genealogical connections to multiple places to emotional connections associated with discourses about a particular nation. Showing the multi-scalar nature of home, fans expressed multifarious relationships to representative teams through home nation being presented as imaginary and fluid (Ahmed 1999). Due to teams representing nations and 'people', performances of home nation can be based on 'blood and soil' (Nash 2005). Tropes of biological connectedness can act as exclusionary, based on negotiations between self and other. Loosening biological connections away from the imaginary of connections to a singular and privileged home nation demonstrates the fluidity of 'home'. Moving away from tropes of birth, particular nations exert powerful imaginaries, creating deep emotional connections away from notions of biological connectedness.

Discourses about national football teams include evaluating the importance of 'return movements'. Acknowledging the multiple places which influence fan identity, certain places are positioned as 'homes' of teams. These spaces are then held as 'sacred' by particular fans (Ramshaw and Gammon 2010). The movement between homes and the journeying to a significant home highlights the transference of emotion across space (Ahmed 2004). Returns to a specific football culture, as well as symbolic returns, allow emotion to leak through a range of spaces and to create connections with a variety of homes. The depth of such emotional connections acts as a draw for fans to visit such spaces and the emotional connection allows for the 'sliding together' of spaces (Ahmed 2004). Not every fan who was interviewed for this project had journeyed to a significant site or expressed a desire to do so. For those who had, however, it was clear the experience had been deeply emotional. These 'return' experiences vary between fans and encompass multiple spaces, stretching notions of football club homes. What I argue is key in marking all returns, however, is the making real of imaginary homes based on deep emotional connections (Ahmed 2004).

By giving shape to the multiple places which shape fan homes, the moving between homes, be they imaginary or otherwise, offers the opportunity for multiple homes to be realised. Tying together home as porous and multi-scalar makes it possible to identify the many homes working in fan practice. When the threads of home as physical and imaginative, and as the locus of identity and power, are brought together, home is framed as a multi-scalar and fluid. As a result home is stretched across a number of spaces and places. Therefore, place matters in discussions of fan homes and, through asserting this, the doors to football fan homes are opened. While the vision of a multi-scalar home provides ample scope for this, drawing out the 'imaginary' homes fans inhabit emphasises the fluidity of home, moving away from the privileging of singular homes. By rendering football homes as active, emotional and fluid, static fan homes are re-configured to embrace a multiplicity of fan history, experiences and memory.

Directions for future research

The phenomenon of long-distance fandom and the connection between sport and geographies of home provide rich territory for future research. By drawing together literature from both geographers and football scholars, there is a wide scope for cross and inter-disciplinary research between geography, sports studies and sociology. In particular, drawing on axis of difference, I suggest different ways of doing and being a fan at distance are worthy of attention. This encourages a re-articulation of the fan performance presented by previous research (for example Ben Porat 2013; Conner 2013; Giulianotti 2002). By stretching notions of fandom away from topophilic ideas of place-based loyalty and embracing the diffused nature of contemporary football, diverse fan experiences can be explored (Conner 2013).

This research has laid the foundation for future research into sports geography, football fandom and the phenomena of fandom. Tracing the relationships between football fans and homes has highlighted how sport can introduce alternative geographies of home. The notion of home has acted as the key lens for framing this discussion of long-distance fan identity. The deep inter-relation between sport and home provides a key focus for future research endeavours. As I have demonstrated in this project, sport plays a key role in creating feelings of home

for individuals and communities, pushing geographies of home beyond discussions of 'house and home' (see for example Morrison 2013; Pardy 2014; Supski 2006). This inter-relation can be embraced by geographers, extending current literature and embracing alternative means of constructing home. As demonstrated in the work of van Campenhout and van Hoven (2014), focusing on the geographic scale of the club-house provides rich territory for exploring articulations of home by rugby players. Likewise, utilising the notions of 'stretched homes' presented by Gorman-Murray (2008), Ahmet (2013) and Kozak (2012), lays a strong foundation for envisioning constructions of home beyond domestic spaces.

There is also space within sports and football studies for a qualitative approach to discussions of sport and home. Home is a powerful discourse within sport, yet the emotional implications of this have been under-explored. The stadium has been the subject of inquiry from scholars such as Bairner (2014), Bale (2000), Charleston (2009) and Ramshaw and Gammon (2010). Yet, with the exception of Bairner (2014), the role of emotion is not explicitly theorised. Through using ideas of emotion and memory, the intimate and personal experiences which bind fans together can be explored. This in turn opens territory for examining how individual and collective memories help shape home for sports fans and players (Bairner 2014). There is potential for this to be explored at the level of the stadium but also to be drawn out in discussions of sports fandom to consider the city (see for example Campbell 2013; Campbell and Williams 2015; Castillo 2007; and, Reid 2014) and the home nation (see for example Ben Porat 2001; and Riordan 2007).

Just as sports fandom can extend discussions of home, other forms of fandom can present alternative geographies of home. For example, highlighting how the connection between sport and home creates alternative discourses of geography and home, examining additional elements of individual identity, can also be discussed in conjunction with feelings of 'home'. While examining one form of fandom can shed light on relationships to home, fandom can also act intersectionally, creating complex patterns of home and identity. While fandom is commonly discussed within sports studies, there has been little discussion of the

phenomenon within geography. In one example of how fandom and geography have been drawn together, laying the foundations for future inquiries into geographies of home and fandom, Johnson (2004) outlines how interest in the literature of Irish author James Joyce shapes tourist experiences in the city of Dublin. Examples of fandom such as music, film or literature 'fandom' provides rich territory for geographers exploring the creation of symbolic or concrete emotional connections to place and home.

Addressing the areas of silence in this research also lays the foundation for future avenues of inquiry. In particular, the interplay between ethnic and fan identity, and the racism that is often inherent in fandom, is one area which warrants further exploration. The fans, who participated in this research, and whose experiences I discuss, were overwhelmingly and 'silently' white. Ethnicity is a key axis of difference and racism defines much fan practice (see for example Campbell and Williams 2015; Carrington 2004; Enck-Wanzer 2009; Lusted 2009). For the participants in this research, national identity was presented as a defining element of their fandom, as was memory.

There is a wealth of geographic literature dealing with the subjects of ethnicity and memory which can be applied to the practice of sport (see for example Leddy-Owen 2014; Mahtani 2014; Price 2015; Tolia-Kelly 2010; Yngevesson 2015). With the growth of ethnically based community teams and tournaments in Aotearoa New Zealand and globally[32], calling out the racism evident in the inter-twining of ethnicity and fandom is needed, and football as a project of remembering would add depth to discussions of long-distance fandom. Discourses around the meeting of ethnicity, national identity and sport could be teased out within the Aotearoa New Zealand context, similarly to the work of Burdsey (2006) and Müller (2014). The role distance plays in shaping discourses of national identity and ethnicity provides a uniquely geographical lens which could also be explored. Through this, notions of diaspora and national identity can be woven together to examine the multiple identifications developed by distanced groups of fans.

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[32] See for example the New Zealand Ethnic Football Festival, New Zealand Community Football Cup, EthKicks and Culture Kicks amongst others.

Using the lens of post-colonialism also has the potential to expand discussions of sport, nation and home. While there has been liberal use of post-colonial analysis across sports studies and geographies of sport (in particular the work of Bale and Cronin 2003), discussions of the *place* of sports fandom opens doors to exploring the interweavings of sports, home nation and performances of national identity. In particular this is an area of silence within examinations of Aotearoa New Zealand sport. Drawing on the work of geographers Law et al (1999), and sociologists Brady (2012) and Cosgrove and Bruce (2005), which suggests that heterosexual masculinity lies at the heart of performing 'Aotearoa New Zealandness', there is a foundation for examining the relationship between sport, masculinity and nationalism. This can be woven together with further work from the sociology of sport, in particular Anderson (2006) and Mangan (2012), exploring the connections between colonialism and sport, and the ability for post-colonial sport to undermine white, masculine colonial discourses. Matched with the strong tradition of post-colonial geographies (see Ahmed 2000: Tolia-Kelly 2003 and 2010), there are ample opportunities for geographers to untangle discourses of colonialism, sport, masculinity and national identity.

Sexuality was also an area of 'silence' in this project, with fans aligning with the normative assumption that fans are heterosexual (Caudwell 2011c). Presenting another axis of difference which allows for the articulation of fluid fan identities, embracing fans of diverse genders and sexualities is a key area which has ample potential for future inquiry. Within this project, sexuality was discussed by only one participant and it was in the context of explaining how he was not gay. This echoes the culture of assumed heterosexuality within football for both fans and players (Caudwell 1999). This is evident in heteronormative fan performance, with heterosexuality deeply tied to hegemonic fan masculinities (Adams 2013). Within the study of football, and sport more widely, there has been critical deconstructions of the relationship between sport and sexuality. In particular, the work of Caudwell (1999, 2002, 2011c) has highlighted the influence of sexuality within football, outlining the interplay between sexual identity and the performances of players and fans 'in the terraces'. Anderson (2002 and 2015) also provides the foundations for exploring the intersection of sport and sexuality through examining life stories of LGBTQ athletes and coaching staff, unpicking

the deep connection between sport and masculinity. Within geography there is a rich history of examining the interplay between sexuality and identity which can further discussions of sport and sexuality. In particular, Johnston (2016), Johnston and Longhurst (2010) and Waitt (2003, 2005 and 2006) provide a framework for further explorations of sport and sexuality which can be applied across disciplines.

Drawing on my own personal history as a fan and on the experiences of the women who participated in this research, there is space for future research on long-distance fandom to focus explicitly on women's articulations of fandom. Women's fandom has been the subject of research by scholars such as Antunovich and Hardin (2015), Caudwell (2002, 2003, 2011b and 2011c), Dunn (2014), Poulton (2012), and Richards (2014). Expanding these discussions, feminist geographers have much to offer the unpacking of sport and gender identity. Drawing on the work within geography on women and embodiment, there is potential to explore how gender identity can influence different ways of 'being' and 'doing' fandom (Longhurst 2001; Longhurst and Johnston 2014; McDowell 1999). This work in particular addresses the concerns raised by Barrick et al (2016) at the lack of examination within sports studies of the 'being' and 'doing' of sport. Furthermore, the study of long-distance women's fandom offers the opportunity to re-contextualise women's fandom away from 'traditional' discourses of how women should 'do' fandom on the terraces (Dunn 2014; Gosling 2007). In particular, the role distance plays in allowing different performances of fandom relating to gender, troubling assumed ways of being a fan, are worthy of further attention.

Conclusions

Through the discussions of fan stories that are at the core of this thesis, what becomes clear is the importance of viewing home as multi-faceted. This cannot only be achieved through viewing home as multi-scalar and stretched, but can be pushed further. Home is based on social relations between family members, friends and a larger imagined community. Home can become imbued into an object, a piece of clothing, a song or a television screen. And it is often when leaving home or being between homes that the importance of these loose collections of objects, people and places are thrown into high relief.

By absorbing discussions of sports fandom into geographies of home, it is highlighted as an ephemeral concept, based as much on people, objects and community as it is on place and connection to a geographic location. The example of football fandom demonstrates individual identity has a key role to play in how we envisage and perform home. The different facets of identity also impact the people and places connected with and the spaces in which we feel at home. The aim of this research has been to delve into alternative ways of doing and being home. In carrying this out, strands of geographic, sports, feminist and sociological literature have been spun together to produce an alternative critical geography of home. This stretched vision of home embraces a manifold notion of identity and acknowledges the wide and varied ways we feel at home and the many things that help make up our homes.

Glossary of Clubs Supported by Research Participants

Arsenal Football Club
- www.arsenal.com/history

Arsenal Football Club was established in 1886 by members of the Woolwich Arsenal Armaments Factory. This club has occupied two home stadia: Highbury from 1913 to 2006; and since 2006, the Emirates Stadium, named after the club's major sponsor. Arsenal FC currently competes in the top-flight English Premier League.

Associazione Sportiva Roma
- http://www.asroma.com/en/club/honours

Based in Rome, AS Roma was founded in 1927 and has played in the top tier Serie A competition since 1927 with the exception of 1951. The club's home is the Stadio Olimpico.

Aston Villa
- www.avfc.co.uk/club/history

Located in Birmingham, Aston Villa was formed in 1887. The club's home stadium is Villa Park where they have played since 1897. Aston Villa has occupied the top flight on numerous occasions and currently competes in the English Football League Championship.

Atlético Madrid
- http://en.atleticodemadrid.com/atm/a-centenary-club

Atlético Madrid was founded in 1903 by a group of Basque students. The club won its first title in 1921 and plays in the Vicente Calderon. Atletico currently plays in the first division La Liga and has won 10 first division titles.

Barrow Association Football Club
- http://barrowafc.com/club/

Formed in 1901 and located in the city of Barrow-in-Furness in north-west England, the club's home stadia is the Furness Building Society Stadium which they have occupied since 1909. The club currently competes in the English National League.

Celtic Football Club
- http://www.celticfc.net/pages/history

Celtic Football Club was formed in 1887 by Catholic parishes in east Glasgow to alleviate poverty. The club's first match at their home stadium Celtic Park was played in 1888. The club currently competes in the Scottish Premiership.

Chelsea Football Club

- www.chelseafc.com/the-club/history.html

Chelsea Football Club was founded in 1905 and their home stadium is Stamford Bridge. Rarely out of the top flight since the early 20th Century, the club currently competes in the English Premier League.

Dundee United

- https://www.dundeeunitedfc.co.uk/the-club/about-united/beginning

Dundee United was formed by Irish businessmen in 1909. The club's home has been Tannadice Park since their inception and the club currently competes in the second division Scottish Championship.

Everton Football Club

- http://www.evertonfc.com/timeline

Located in the city of Liverpool, Everton FC was founded in 1878. Everton FC's home has been at Goodison Park since 1892 and the club currently competes in the English Premier League.

FC Internazionale Milano (Inter Milan)

- http://www.inter.it/en/societa

Founded in 1908, Inter Milan has played continuously in the top tier Serie A competition since 1909. The club's home is the San Siro which they share with fellow Milan-based club AC Milan.

Leicester City Football Club

- https://www.lcfc.com/club/history

Founded in 1884, the club has occupied two home stadia: Filbert Street until 2002 and the King Power from 2002 onwards. The club currently competes in the English Premier League.

Liverpool Football Club

- http://www.liverpoolfc.com/history

Liverpool Football Club was founded in 1892 and the club's home stadium has been Anfield stadium, since their inception. The club currently competes in the English Premier League.

Manchester City Football Club

- https://www.mancity.com/fans-and-community/community

Founded in 1880, Manchester City FC is one of two top flight teams located in Manchester. Their home stadium is the Etihad, named after the club's major sponsor. The club currently competes in the English Premier League.

Manchester United Football Club

- http://www.manutd.com/en/History.aspx

Formed in 1878 under the name Newton Heath Lancashire and Yorkshire Railway, Manchester United FC's home is Old Trafford and the club currently competes in the English Premier League.

Millonarios

- http://www.millonarios.com.co/clubs/templade/7

Millonarios is based in the capital city of Colombia, Bogota and was formed in 1937. Millonarios' home is the Estadio el Campin and the club currently competes in the Colombian first division Categoría Primera A.

Norwich City Football Club

- https://www.canaries.co.uk/

Founded in 1902, the club moved to their current home at Carrow Road Stadium in 1935. The club currently competes in the English Football League Championship.

Nottingham Forest

- www.nottinghamforest.co.uk/club/history-landing-page/history-of-nffc/

Forest was founded in 1865 and played the first match in 1866. Nottingham Forest play at the City Ground and the club currently competes in the English Football League Championship.

Sheffield United

- https://www.sufc.co.uk/club/company-information/

Located in the city of Sheffield in northern England, the club was founded in 1889 and their home has been at Brammall Lane since the club's inception. The club currently competes in the English Football League Championship.

Tottenham Hotspur

- http://www.tottenhamhotspur.com/news

Founded 1882 by a group of school boys and originally dubbed Hotspur Football Club, Tottenham Hotspur is located in north London. The club's home has been White Hart Lane since 1909. Rarely out of the first division, the club currently competes in the English Premier League.

West Ham United

- https://www.whufc.com/club/history/club-history

West Ham United was formed in 1900 in east London by members of the Thames Ironworks. The club has occupied five home stadia since their inception, most notably the Boleyn Ground and the London Stadium which they currently occupy. West Ham United currently competes in the English Premier League.

York City Football Club

- https://www.yorkcityfootballclub.co.uk/club/history

York City Football Club was founded in 1922. Currently building a new Community Stadium, the club's home is Bootham Crescent. York City FC currently competes in the English National League North.

Appendix One: Research participant details

Name	Club	Age	Location	Occupation	Type
Aidan	Sheffield United	35	Cambridge	Teacher	Skype
Alex	Liverpool FC	18	Hamilton	Student	In Person
Antony	West Ham United	50	Wellington	Project manager	Zoom
Amy	Liverpool FC	40	Wellington	Council contractor	Email
Bob	NZ Key informant	50	Hamilton	Journalist	In person
Brody	Norwich City FC	39	Wellington	Self-employed	Skype
Charlie	Liverpool FC	50	Wellington	Tertiary sector	Phone
Daniel	Dundee United	41	Wellington	Customer service agent	Email
David	Manchester United FC	40	Hamilton	University Lecturer	In Person
Declan	Chelsea FC	17	Hamilton	Student	In Person
Emily	Nottingham Forest	23	Wellington	Graduate student	Skype
Gianni	AS Roma	40	Auckland	Blogger	Skype
Hugh	Manchester United FC	50	Auckland	Learning Advisor	Phone
James	Liverpool FC	38	Wellington	Student	Skype
Jeremy	York City FC	62	Cambridge	Publisher	In Person
Josh	Liverpool FC	51	Auckland	Self-employed	Skype
Lauren	Celtic FC	40	Auckland	Business Owner	Phone
Max	Liverpool FC	21	Wellington	Student	Skype
Mike	Everton FC	35	Wellington	Trust officer	Skype
Miles	Manchester City FC	51	Wellington	University Manager	Skype
Natalie	Chelsea FC	39	Wellington	Senior Analyst	Skype
Nora	Liverpool FC	52	Wellington	Union Representative	Phone
Oscar	Millonarios	30	Auckland	Engineer	Skype
Patrick	Arsenal FC	65	Hamilton	Retired	In Person
Rafaello	Inter Milan	51	Kaeo	Hostel Manager	Phone
Rodger	Barrow AFC	50	Palmerston North	Journalist	Email
Ryan	Liverpool FC	31	Wellington	IT Consultant	Phone
Sam	Aston Villa	45	Auckland	Accountant	Skype
Simon	Atletico Madrid	22	Auckland	Call-centre worker	Skype
Steve	Manchester United FC	50	Hamilton	Deputy Principal	In Person
Travis	Tottenham Hotspur	61	Hamilton	Secondary teacher	In Person
Zach	Leicester City FC	46	Hamilton	Sales Rep	In Person

Appendix Two: Participant sensing information sheet

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The Research – I am a doctoral candidate in geography at the University of Waikato. My research is concerned with why people who live in Aotearoa New Zealand become fans of a football team not based in this country. I am carrying out research at this event with the purpose of observing, and participating in a live match. My focus is on audience behaviour as well my own feelings and interactions in this space.

What are the anticipated benefits of this research? – This project aims to fill the gap in information surrounding not only football fans in Aotearoa New Zealand but also to highlight the experiences of people who support a non-domestic club.

Confidentiality – If faces or other identifying characteristics are shown in an image, they will be obscured by pixilation. Names or any other identifying characteristics will not be disclosed in the final report. Recordings, photographs and written transcripts will be stored securely in a locked cabinet. Any electronic information will be accessible only by password and this will be changed regularly to ensure security.

What will this information be used for? – The findings of this project will be presented as part of my PhD thesis. The research findings may also be used in conference presentations and journal publications.

If you have any questions – Email me at tab17@students.waikato.ac.nz if you wish to participate. You can also ask me any questions you might have concerning my research.

Tegan Baker

This research project has been approved by the Human Research Ethics Committee of the Faculty of Arts and Social Sciences. Any questions about the ethical conduct of this research may be sent to the Secretary of the Committee, email fass-ethics@waikato.ac.nz, postal address, Faculty of Arts and Social Sciences, Te Kura Kete Aronui, University of Waikato, Te Whare Wananga o Waikato, Private Bag 3105, Hamilton 3240.

Appendix Three: Interview consent form

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[A completed copy of this form should be retained by both the researcher and the participant]

Name of interviewee:_____

I confirm that I have received a copy of the Information Sheet describing the research project. Any questions that I have, relating to the research, have been answered to my satisfaction. I understand that I can ask further questions about the research at any time during my participation, and that I can withdraw my participation at any time up to three weeks after the interview.
During the interview, I understand that I do not have to answer questions unless I am happy to talk about the topic. I can stop the interview at any time, and I can ask to have the recording device turned off at any time.

When I sign this consent form, I will retain ownership of my interview, but I give consent for the researcher to use the interview for the purposes of the research outlined in the Information Sheet.

I understand that unless I signal otherwise, my identity will remain confidential in the presentation of the research findings.

Please complete the following checklist. Tick [✓] the appropriate box for each point.	YES	NO
I agree to take part in this interview		
I wish for my identity to be disclosed		
I consent for this interview to be audio-recorded		
I wish to take part in further activities related to this research		

Participant signature:_____

Date:_____

Tegan Baker signature:_____

Date:_____

Appendix Four: Letter of ethical approval

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Tegan Baker
Colin McLeay
Lynda Johnston

Politics Programme

20 May 2015

Dear Tegan,

Re: **FS2015-17 'Coming home through football': A geographic exploration of diasporic fandom**

You recently submitted an application to the FASS Human Research Ethics Committee. The Committee reviewed your application, and requested a small number of amendments. Thank-you for addressing the points that we raised. We are now happy to approve your research project.

Kind regards,

Julie Barbour
(Acting Chair)
on behalf of
Ruth Walker,
Chair
Faculty of Arts and Social Sciences Human Research Ethics Committee.

Appendix Five: Interview schedule

1) How long have you been interested in football?

   o What is your earliest/most important memory of football?

   o Who or what introduced you? (Prompt – was it a family member or a friend? Or did you first see it on TV?)

2) Which club do you support?

   o How long have you supported (their club)?

   o How did you begin to support (their club)?

   o What attracted you to (their club)? (Prompt - was it colours, team philosophy, a certain player?)

3) Do you support a national side?

   o Is international football, such as the World Cup, important to you?

   o Do you think supporting (national side) has anything to do with your support for (club name)? (Prompt – does your support for the two come into conflict or are they quite complementary?)

4) How do you maintain connections with (club name)?

   o Do you watch games?

   o Is social media important for you as a fan? Does is offer you more information on (club name) or does it make you feel closer to (club name)

   o Do you buy merchandise?

   o Do you keep up with news? If so, how often?

5) In what spaces do you show support?

   o Where do you typically watch matches? Can you describe it to me?

   o Is it something private that is just 'your thing' or do you share it with family, friends and work colleagues?

   o Do you ever show support outside of your home like going to a pub to watch games, going to a friends' place or watching a live match?

6) Do you 'show' your support through wearing shirts/displaying merchandise/playing the game?

   o Is it important for you to do this?

7) Why do you maintain connections to (club name)?

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- o Is it because of family or friends? Do they support (club name)?
- o Do you feel 'at home' with (club name)?

8) Do you see your support of (club name) as a key part of your idea of yourself as (insert country/ethnicity)?

9) Why do you support a club not based in Aotearoa New Zealand?
- o Is it the recognition of your family background?
- o Is it a key point of difference for you?
- o Or is it easier to support a non-domestic club because of media exposure?

10) Do you have any additional comments?

Appendix Six: Self-directed photography information sheet.

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THE UNIVERSITY OF
WAIKATO
Te Whare Wānanga o Waikato

The Research – Thank you for taking the time to consider being a part of this research. I am a doctoral candidate in geography. My research is concerned with why people who live in Aotearoa New Zealand become fans of a football team not based in this country. If you are a follower of a club based outside of Aotearoa New Zealand then I am keen to have you involved.

Your Involvement – I would like to invite you to participate in a self-directed photography activity. To do this, I would like you to take photos of places and objects that are important to you as a football fan. For example you might have a favourite spot on the couch for watching matches or your computer might be important for you in keeping connected to your club. Anything that is important to you as a football fan is interesting to me so be creative!

What does it mean to be a participant in this research? – If you choose to participate, you can contact me and ask any questions that you might have concerning this research. If you would like to be provided with a camera or choose to use your own please let me know on the consent form.

Photography guidelines – As I mentioned above I would like you to take pictures of anything that is significant for you as a football fan. This may be where in your home you watch matches, your favourite sports bar, your collection of team shirts, anything that is important to you. On top of this, given that you will be taking photos over a period of time feel free to use this as an opportunity to record your activities as a fan. Do you play for a team? If so, take pictures of your training ground. Do you use the internet a lot as a fan? Screen-shots of your favourite websites are also acceptable. If you would like to add captions to any pictures then just ask me and we will arrange for the most convenient way for you to share them with me.

Finally, if you have any doubts or any questions regarding what you can and can't take pictures of then do not hesitate to contact me.

What are the anticipated benefits of this research? – This project aims to fill the gap in information surrounding not only football fans in Aotearoa New

Zealand but also to highlight the experiences of people who support a non-domestic club.

What are my rights as a participant? – As a participant you have the right to:
- Ask any further questions about the research that occur to you during your participation in the research;
- Anonymity and confidentiality, and;
- Withdraw from the research at any time up until three weeks after this activity.

Confidentiality – I will treat all images taken by participants as confidential and will not share them with anyone outside this activity. Unless your permission is obtained, your name or any other identifying characteristics will not be disclosed in the final report. Recordings and written transcripts will be stored securely in a locked cabinet. Any electronic information will be accessible only by password and this will be changed regularly to ensure security.

What will my information be used for? – The findings of this project will be presented as part of my PhD thesis. The research findings may also be used in conference presentations and journal publications.

So if you want to participate – Email me at tab17@students.waikato.ac.nz if you wish to participate. You can also ask me any questions you might have concerning my research.

Tegan Baker

This research project has been approved by the Human Research Ethics Committee of the Faculty of Arts and Social Sciences. Any questions about the ethical conduct of this research may be sent to the Secretary of the Committee, email fass-ethics@waikato.ac.nz, postal address, Faculty of Arts and Social Sciences, Te Kura Kete Aronui, University of Waikato, Te Whare Wananga o Waikato, Private Bag 3105, Hamilton 3240.

Appendix Seven: Self-directed photography examples
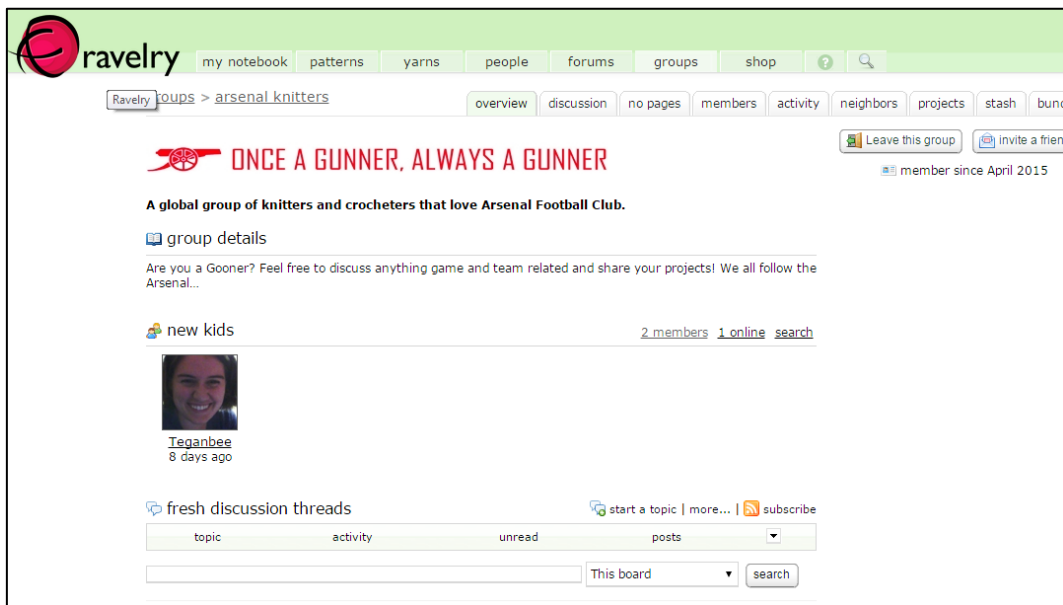
This is a Ravelry group that I belong to. I am still the only member.

My brother is also a Gooner. I gave him this scarf for Christmas and so I feel that it's important because it shows how I can share my fandom with my family.

This keyring has been on every bag that I own since I bought it about five years ago. It's starting to look a bit battered now!

This is my World Cup sweepstake chart. I still haven't filled in the result of the final.

Appendix Eight: Self-directed photography consent form

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THE UNIVERSITY OF
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[A completed copy of this form should be retained by both the researcher and the participant]

Name of participant:_____

I confirm that I have received a copy of the Information Sheet describing the self-directed photography process. Any questions that I have, relating to the research, have been answered to my satisfaction. I understand that I can ask further questions about the research at any time during my participation, and that I can withdraw my participation at any time up to three weeks after the photography activity.

When I sign this consent form, I will retain ownership of any photographs, but I give consent for the researcher to use the images for the purposes of the research outlined in the Information Sheet.

I understand that unless I signal otherwise, my identity will remain confidential in the presentation of the research findings.

Please complete the following checklist. Tick [✓] the appropriate box for each point.	YES	NO
I agree to take part in the self-directed photography		
I wish for my identity to be disclosed		
I wish to use my personal camera for this activity		
I wish to have a camera provided by the researcher		
I wish to take part in an interview following the conclusion of the photography		

Participant signature:_____

Date:_____

Tegan Baker signature:_____

Date:_____

Appendix Nine: Go-along information sheet

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The Research – Thank you for taking the time to consider being a part of this research. I am a doctoral candidate in geography. My research is concerned with why people who live in Aotearoa New Zealand become fans of a football team not based in this country. If you are a follower of a club based outside of Aotearoa New Zealand then I am keen to have you involved.

Your Involvement – In order to gain an in-depth understanding I would like to invite you to participate in an informal 'go-along'. This involves me coming along with you during an outing, such as to watch a match, and asking questions as we go. I will also be taking written notes and photographs as and when appropriate. My aim is for YOU to show me how this outing is important to you and what you typically do at such events.

What does it mean to be a participant in this research? – If you choose to participate, you can contact me and ask any questions that you might have concerning this research. If you are keen to take part in a go-along, we will discuss a suitable event.

What are the anticipated benefits of this research? – This project aims to fill the gap in information surrounding not only football fans in Aotearoa New Zealand but also to highlight the experiences of people who support a non-domestic club.

What are my rights as a participant? – As a participant you have the right to:
- Refuse to answer any questions;
- Ask any further questions about the research that occur to you during your participation in the research;
- Anonymity and confidentiality, and;
- Withdraw from the research at any time up until three weeks after the go-along.

Confidentiality – I will treat all discussions during the go-along as private and confidential, and will not share them with anyone outside of the go-along. Unless your permission is obtained, your name or any other identifying characteristics will not be disclosed in the final report. Recordings and written

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transcripts will be stored securely in a locked cabinet. Any electronic information will be accessible only by password and this will be changed regularly to ensure security.

What will my information be used for? – The findings of this project will be presented as part of my PhD thesis. The research findings may also be used in conference presentations and journal publications.

So if you want to participate – Email me at tab17@students.waikato.ac.nz if you wish to participate. You can also ask me any questions you might have concerning my research.

Tegan Baker

This research project has been approved by the Human Research Ethics Committee of the Faculty of Arts and Social Sciences. Any questions about the ethical conduct of this research may be sent to the Secretary of the Committee, email fass-ethics@waikato.ac.nz, postal address, Faculty of Arts and Social Sciences, Te Kura Kete Aronui, University of Waikato, Te Whare Wananga o Waikato, Private Bag 3105, Hamilton 3240.

Appendix Ten: Go-along consent form

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THE UNIVERSITY OF
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[A completed copy of this form should be retained by both the researcher and the participant]

Name of participant:_____

I confirm that I have received a copy of the Information Sheet describing the go-along process. Any questions that I have, relating to the research, have been answered to my satisfaction. I understand that I can ask further questions about the research at any time during my participation, and that I can withdraw my participation at any time up to three weeks after the interview.

During this go-along I understand that I do not have to answer questions unless I am happy to talk about the topic. I can stop the go-along at any time and I can ask to have any recording device turned off at any time. I acknowledge that any images taken during the go-along will do so in consultation with the researcher and that during the process I am aware that verbal consent will be sought from me.

When I sign this consent form, I give consent for the researcher to use the go-along for the purposes of the research outlined in the Information Sheet. I understand that unless I signal otherwise, my identity will remain confidential in the presentation of the research findings.

Please complete the following checklist. Tick [✓] the appropriate box for each point.	YES	NO
I agree to take part in this go-along		
I wish for my identity to be disclosed		
I consent for photographs to be taken during the go-along		
I wish to receive a copy of any notes or photographs pertaining to this go-along		
I wish to take part in further activities related to this research		

Participant signature:_____

Date:_____

Tegan Baker signature:_____

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