"Being a Yid": Jewish Identity of Tottenham Hotspur Fans—Analysis and Interpretation

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Abstract: Tottenham Hotspur football fans are victims of regular antisemitic abuse from opposition fans. They are commonly referred to as "Yids." Interestingly, Tottenham supporters appropriated the Jewish image and embraced it as part of their fandom identity. They have been using symbols and content associated with Jewish identity, even if their club has never been a Jewish organization, and the vast majority of them are not Jewish. The objective of this paper is to describe and explain the main characteristics of the phenomenon of what I call the "Jewish identity" of the fans. The research presented in this paper was based on sociological and anthropological qualitative methods; above all—in-depth interviews with the fans and participant observation in the stadiums during Tottenham games. The analysis and interpretation of the material collected for the study allowed me to explore the questions of "how," "why," and "what" happens in the stadiums (and outside the stadiums) from the perspective of the fans in the context of their "Jewish identity." I particularly focus on the mechanism Tottenham supporters use to manage and fight stigma and investigate how different groups of fans have created different narratives around Jewish identity to make it meaningful for them.

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"Tottenham is a Jewish club" is a well-known slogan among English football fans. A slogan that has led to Tottenham fans becoming regular targets of antisemitic abuse by opposition fans, particularly teams from London, like Chelsea, West Ham, and Millwall. This abuse extends to referring to Tottenham fans as "Yids," references to the Holocaust in songs and chants, together with hissing sounds simulating the noise of the Nazi gas chambers (Foer 2004; Clavane 2012). While racism among football fans is a widely rec-

ognized and researched phenomenon (for example, Back, Crabbe, and Solomos 2001; King 2004; Kassimeris 2008; Burdsey 2011; Cleland and Cashmore 2014; Lawrence and Davis 2019), antisemitism draws less attention from researchers and organizations fighting broadly understood xenophobia and racism in football stadiums. Nevertheless, the last ten years have seen an increase in interest in this subject, especially concerning English fans (Poulton 2016; 2019; Poulton and Durell 2016; Stratton 2016) and Polish fans, researched by the author (Wilczyńska 2013; Kucia and Wilczyńska 2014).

The origins of the Tottenham club's association with Jews stems from Tottenham having traditionally attracted Jewish fans due to its geographical location in the north of London. Hasidic Jewish communities settled in the northern part of the city in the 1930s as they fled persecution in Europe (Clavane 2012). Since then, the team has had more Jewish fans than other English clubs. In a recent survey of season ticket holders by Tottenham Hotspur Football Club (2014), about 10% of the 11,389 respondents self-declared that they were Jewish (Poulton and Durell 2016). In response to antisemitic hate speech from the opposition fans, Tottenham supporters have appropriated and embraced the term "Yid," which started to be demonstrated through chants, songs, or symbols on scarves and T-shirts. It became an important element of the Tottenham fans' identity and a mark of in-group solidarity and camaraderie (Cloake and Fisher 2016). The use of "Yid" is controversial, with many perceiving it as a "race-hate" word, especially when used in the context of intergroup hostility. The use of the term by the Spurs fans was the subject of a high-profile public debate in which even the former Prime Minister, David Cameron, took the floor (Gibson 2013). The highlight of which was the prosecution faced by three Tottenham supporters due to singing "Yid Army" (Cloake 2014).

The phenomenon of the "Jewish identity" of the Tottenham supporters was the subject of valuable papers analyzing the problem from the socio-historical perspective (Foer 2004; Clavane 2012; Cloake and Fisher 2016). However, there is much less research investigating the issue from the perspective of attitudes and motivations of today's fans. The critical analysis of the Tottenham fans' Internet forums done by Emma Poulton and Olivier Durell (2016) tends to be an exception in the qualitative research approach toward the "Jewish identity" of the supporters. Anthropological and sociological research methods, such as in-depth interviews with the fans and participant observation used in my research project, can be considered a continuation of Poulton's approach to the topic. My research contributes to a deeper understanding of how Tottenham fans construct their identity around the "Yid" concept. Why do Tottenham fans keep calling themselves "Yids?" What is the function of this identity in their support for Tottenham? What is their attitude towards the controversy it causes? How do they justify this controversial practice? What do "Yid" and the whole identity mean for them? Those are the main research questions to be addressed in this article.

Antisemitism in Football

It is important to note here that antisemitism in football is of structural character (Stratton 2016). It differs from racism in that it is usually not an individual player who is identified as Jewish and, for that reason, targeted. The target is rather the whole club and its fandom. Moreover, the "Jewish labels" of specific clubs within different leagues are constant. We can find clubs considered by their opponents Jewish in both eastern and western European leagues (for example, Ajax Amsterdam in the Netherlands, AS Roma in Italy, Bayern Munich in Ger-

many, Austria Vienna in Austria, MTK Budapest, or several Polish clubs like Cracovia Krakow or Widzew Łódź), as well as outside of Europe like Buenos Aires' Club Atlético Atlanta (Stratton 2016). A club remains "Jewish" regardless of whether it has Jewish footballers and officials.

The antisemitism of football fans seemingly has nothing to do with the "real Jews" as it is usually not targeted at specific people, but the club and, in particular, its fandom. When used in a football context, the word "Jew" or "Yid," with its different variations depending on the country, has broken away from its original meaning. Unlike in traditional, modern, or contemporary antisemitism, for a football fan, "Jew" turns out to be a supporter of the opposing team (for different reasons labeled as Jewish) rather than a follower of Judaism, a member of an ethnic group, or an Israeli citizen. Football fans use any available contents to offend their rivals; the figure of a "Jew" is a showy, historically proven way of expressing contempt and referring to the "Other." Apart from this general context, the history of particular teams, connected very often to the past of Jewish minorities, seems very important as it constitutes an excuse/reason for using antisemitic hate speech against those clubs. It is hard to explicitly state what kind of stereotypes and images about the Jews football antisemitism is based on. Based on the research undertaken within my Master's thesis, in the context of Polish football fans, I can hypothesize that it results from perceiving Jews as different, strange, weird, and not falling within "normal" society. As supporting a club is based on the "friend-foe" identification system, the term "Jew" is a very "attractive" and appropriate way of expressing the fans' hostility to rivals. It is a term that can illustrate both: their separateness and superiority over the enemy (Wilczyńska 2013; Kucia and Wilczyńska 2014).

"Yid"—Stigma Exploitation and Symbolic Ethnicity

To clarify, by the term "Jewish identity" of the fans, I understand a phenomenon of using Jewish symbols and appropriating the words "Jews," "Yids," and others as self-referent terms. I distinguish the phenomenon that takes place at the football stadium from the actual Jewish identity resulting from belonging to a nation or religious community. In brief, "Jewish identity," in this context, is a kind of abstract construction, a label secondary to a sense of belonging to a certain fans' community. By using the term "Jewish identity," I do not assume that all the fans of the analyzed teams find it important to connect their fandom to Judaism or Jews. I assume that it is just one of many facets of their identity as Tottenham fans. However, one that is interesting and socially significant.[1]

Many academics state that, in the postmodern world, humans are experiencing an identity crisis. Major bases of collective modern solidarities are dissolving, and individuals cannot rely anymore on the traditional anchors of identity like class, nation, or gender. Consequently, it appears that identity is a fluid, open process that is never completed. Nevertheless, even if identity is today unstable and undergoing a continuous process of construction and reconstruction, both individuals and societies cannot exist without it. According to Amir Ben Porat (2010:278), "identity is a practice—mechanism—that relates the subject to its whole self, and simultaneously relates that same subject to the relevant social and cultural environment, which is primarily responsible for the formation of the subject as a social

[1] Throughout the project, I will use the term "Jewish identity" as defined above. Despite its metaphorical meaning, in the latter part of the article, I will not use quotation marks.

entity." For him, the roots of identity are in culture, which provides what he calls "the realm of historical opportunities." Individuals, to a certain extent, have the freedom to choose from this broad set of possibilities—one of these possibilities is being a football fan. What is important to note here is that football seems to be a unique tool in the process of social identity construction and maintenance. For many people, supporting a football club is a lifelong experience. Loyalty, constancy, attachment to place and rituals are basic values in the football fandoms, which is exceptional in the time of *liquid modernity* (Bauman 2000). Footballers, coaches, and club officials change, but the fans remain faithful. "The football club is a deep water port; it offers the traditional fan anchorage in the past, present, and anticipated future" (Porat 2010:288). Hence, being a football fan of a particular club, for many people, constitutes one of the most important elements of their social identity. Moreover, in many cases, one's affiliation with a particular club represents the combination of many specific social, political, or religious attributes. Hence, we can say that "the realm of historical opportunities" provides here not only an option to be a football fan of a specific team but also the ways this identity is expressed and practiced, which are deeply connected to the fans' socio-cultural surroundings. Like in the case of Tottenham London fans who developed what I call a Jewish identity.

A football fan's identity is built as much on the basis of affiliation to one's favorite club and its fandom as on the basis of opposition to their rivals. This is an identity practiced in an atmosphere of constant competition: competition for victory, for which club is more popular, for which one is richer, for which one has a more remarkable history, et cetera. Hence, supporting a football club necessitates both sameness and otherness. In the case of confrontation, very often otherness is as much celebrated as sameness. The aforementioned racism and antisemitism are good examples. Thus, there is no way to analyze the Jewish identity of the fans without focusing on antisemitic practices from the opposing teams' fans. Similar conclusions have been reached by Poulton and Durell (2016), who analyzed the Jewish identity of Tottenham fans in the context of linguistic reclamation theory (Brontsema 2004). Based on a critical analysis of fan Internet forums, they found out that there are different intentions behind this linguistic reclamation of "Yid": *value reversal* (to transform the negative into a positive); *neutralization* (to expunge its injurious meaning and so render it ineffective); *stigma exploitation* (to highlight the stigma that is purposefully retained as a confrontational, revolutionary call). Thanks to field research, especially interviews, I try to describe the process of Jewish identity construction as it exists in the minds of fans. Testing Poulton and Durell's conclusions was of key importance. First of all, the main mechanism behind the formation of this identity. Whether the fans see it the same way as Poulton and Durell—as an appropriation of their opponents' insults—or if there are other more important mechanisms that, in their opinion, fuelled the phenomenon. Secondly, if reclamation is the main mechanism of the Jewish identity construction, what are the motives and emotions behind it? One of the goals of this article is to test the three intentions specified by Poulton and Durell and to form a deeper understanding of it. Most of all, I focus on *stigma exploitation*, hypothesizing that it constitutes the ground of Jewish identity construction and persistence.

Academics usually link stigma with the processes of labeling, stereotyping, and discrimination, which inevitably leads to reduced access to social, economic, and political power. Reducing the common un-

derstanding of it to marginalizing stigma (Müller 2020). In short, they focus on what the stigma deprives people of. In this article, I follow Müller's (2020) approach, who writes about a wider understanding of the concept, also focusing on the questions about how people manage or fight the stigma. In the case of Tottenham supporters, it is worth going even further and asking not only about how they manage it but also about what it gives them.

It is not the purpose of this article to compare Jewish and non-Jewish fans. Nevertheless, when researching the Tottenham fandom, I was aware that being Jewish might constitute a very important factor in how a fan perceives, interprets, or uses the Jewish identity of the club. This identity is celebrated by both—Jews and gentiles. The phenomenon, of course, eludes a straightforward theoretical framework, by the simple fact that most of the fans identify with Jewishness primarily as a result of rooting for Tottenham. Hence, the phenomenon is limited to this section of their social life. That is how they show their support for Tottenham. At the same time, the perspective of Jewish Spurs fans cannot be overlooked. For them, the phenomenon is more directly related to their ethnicity. I argue in this article that, for Jewish fans, supporting Tottenham may play a role in the construction of what is called *symbolic ethnicity* (Gans 1979). According to Herbert Gans, attachment to ethnic origins among immigrants does not disappear, but is subject to changes. Successive generations of immigrants are less willing to express their identity through participation in traditional institutions—both sacred and secular. Instead, they practice it in suitable ways that do not conflict with other social roles and are of key importance for the level of acculturation and assimilation they feel. In the case of England, supporting a football club does not contradict these processes, but even favors them. Moreover, Gans (1979:9) describes *symbolic ethnicity* as a phenomenon that takes on an expressive rather than instrumental function in people's lives, becoming more of leisure-time activity.

"Yid" and Social Memory

The topic of social memory is rarely raised in the context of sports. However, when searching for the sources of the Spurs fans' Jewish identity, historians, journalists, academics, and others often refer to the club's inter-war history. One of the most important aspects connecting different theories in the field of social memory is the key role of memory in the processes of shaping collective identities (Nowak 2011). It is not the past that decides what we remember and, accordingly, what we identify ourselves with, but the current needs of the group. According to Barbara Szacka (1997:120), collective memory:

> is a set of images of the group past, as well as all past figures and events commemorated in one way or another and all forms of that commemoration… These contents are continually being selected, interpreted and reinterpreted in socially determined ways…Memory content is collective to the extent that it is derived from social experience and is passed on through interpersonal communication.

My sociological and anthropological field research allowed me to gain insights into the memory content that fans share and use in the process of their Jewish identity construction. One of the key research questions I ask in the study concerns the role of memory about the pre-war history of the teams in today's Jewish identity construction. Is it memory about the history that determines the Jewish identity of the fans, or is it its role to sanction the identity which has different reasons and functions? Memory

content the fans narrate together with its emotional dimension also allows the testing of the concept of symbolic ethnicity in the context of the analyzed phenomenon. Gans (1979:9) characterizes symbolic ethnicity "by a nostalgic allegiance to the culture of the immigrant generation…a love for and a pride in a tradition that can be felt without having to be incorporated in everyday behaviour."

According to Frederic Barth (2004), the essence of an ethnic group's permanence is not its cultural character (which is constantly changing), but the existence of the boundaries between groups and an ongoing process of negotiations of those boundaries. Firstly, there is a boundary, and then the effort to establish and defend the boundary takes a cultural form. The football division into "Jews" and antisemites is a conflict with a distinct border. Both groups—"football Jews" and "football antisemites"—might produce different content and refer to different symbols, events, and historical facts that support and legitimize that division.

Methodology

The field research, the results of which are presented in this article, took place in the autumn of 2017 and 2018. The main focus was on in-depth interviews with fans of different backgrounds (both concerning ethnicity and types of fans). The interviews varied in length. They lasted between 30 minutes and an hour and a half, depending mainly on how much the fans had to say about the topic. The interviews were not only focused on the Jewish identity. As a kind of "warm-up," I raised the following matters in the conversations: first memories of being Tottenham fans, important reasons for choosing this particular club, people who influenced that choice, the role supporting plays in life, and the emotions it gives. This way of opening the interviews was genuinely interesting for me and, in my opinion, brought me closer to my interlocutors and increased openness and trust. I heard many personal stories, sometimes sharing some aspects of my story, especially if my interlocutors were curious. In general, I had a feeling that my person as a researcher aroused curiosity in my interlocutors. I would mention two main simple reasons: I am from a different country researching their club, and I am a woman. In my opinion, it influenced the ease of establishing contact with fans—the vast majority of the fans I talked to seemed happy to make an appointment for the interview. I also have the impression that my relation to the research field constituted an important factor during the study. I am passionate about football, both playing it and watching regularly, which allowed me to talk with the fans about the matches we watched together and, in general, makes it easier to connect with the supporters. On the other hand, I have never been involved in supporting Tottenham. The Jewish connotations of the Spurs got me interested in this particular club. What I was surprised about was the ease with which the fans spoke about Jewish topics. I felt that my interlocutors spoke about the topic more freely and directly than I did, which I put down to obvious differences in the cultural context of Poland and England in terms of the history of Jews in the two countries.

In this paper, I analyzed twenty interviews with fans aged 20-60, which gave me an insight into differences in expressing and understanding the phenomenon among younger and older fans and elucidated the possible directions of the phenomenon's evolution. All the fans were regular attendees of the stadium (season ticket holders), and being Tottenham supporters is an important aspect of their identity. Five of the supporters were of Jewish origins, which

gave me an opportunity to reflect on the role Jewish Tottenham identity plays in their lives as Jews. The main criterion for the number of interviews was the saturation of the research material. The fans were recruited mostly in the Tottenham stadium. However, I also used some contacts I had made before going to London, using the recommendations of people I had reached thanks to my friends living both in Cracow and London. Sometimes I used social media, especially Twitter, which is very popular in Great Britain. After making contact with some of the fans, I used the snowball method for recruiting other respondents. To find time and space to discuss the topic at length, I decided to make appointments with the fans and conduct interviews outside the match and stadium context. The interviews took place in various conditions—sometimes in a quiet cafe or a library, sometimes in a loud pub in the evening. I was adjusting to the preferences of my respondents.

I chose qualitative sociological and anthropological methods as these enable me to draw more profound conclusions about how the phenomenon occurs. The results of this study will be entirely qualitative and descriptive in their nature. The research concerns the environment associated with a particular subculture. Konecki (2010:18) states that these types of social realities should be explored using qualitative methods because this is the only way you can draw profound conclusions about how a given phenomenon proceeds. According to Konecki, each phenomenon has different phases, which have an internal causal logic. To reconstruct it, we need descriptions of definitions and meanings attributed to objects by the actors who act and interpret the world. Thanks to the flexible structure of the interviews, I covered the key topics, but I also had the freedom to explore additional points and areas important to my interviewees. As a result, I gained a rich insight into different dimensions of their experience with the Jewish identity, namely, how they feel it, how they see it, and, in particular, how they interpret it. Additionally, I made participant observations during the games. Both at the stadium (4 home games of Tottenham) and in the pubs in the neighborhood of Tottenham. Participant observation allowed me to experience "what happens" in a given context of intergroup rivalry. At the time of my research, White Hart Lane was being rebuilt. That is why I also decided to visit pubs around Tottenham Hotspur's home space, being aware that attachment to the local area is an important aspect of being a fan of the club.

Results

"It's Who We Are"

Let me start with two brief anecdotes from the field research. 1. A restaurant near Tottenham Hale station. The time of the Tottenham away game is approaching. I plan to watch it in one of the bars nearby. While eating fish and chips, a stranger joins me at the table. After explaining what I'm doing in London, the man takes his cap off and shows the skullcap hidden underneath. He is surprised by what I am telling him about the Jewish identity of the fans. He is not a fan of football, and he was sure that as a religious Jew, he should be rather afraid of the football fans from Tottenham. He wants to join me for the game. We find a place recommended by one of the locals—a classic little football bar with an old-school TV and flags of Tottenham on the walls. My new Jewish colleague asks as we approach the bar, "Is this a Yid place?" "Sure"—the barmaid answers in a tone as if my friend asked if they sell beer. He takes off his hat—this time more proudly—bring-

ing smiles to the gloomy faces of the pub's regulars. 2. A group of Tottenham fans reacted euphorically at the sight of a religious Jew approaching from the opposite direction, chanting "Yidoo" loudly at him and making gestures as if they wanted to hug him.

"Yids," "Yidoo," and "Yid Army" repeated rhythmically constitute an inherent choir at any Tottenham event. It is almost constantly shouted by the whole stadium, smaller or bigger groups of fans, or even individual supporters. After visiting a stadium filled with Tottenham fans, no one would have any doubts that those are widespread self-referents of the Tottenham supporters. Fans have a habit of shouting/singing "Yids," "Yidoo," and "Yid Army" in various circumstances surrounding the matches. For example, outside the stadium when they wait to enter the ground or after the match when they leave the stadium, very often on the subway or the train, in particular, when they meet a group of fans from opposition clubs. It is, obviously, also chanted during the games, especially when the fans celebrate a goal or a good performance.

These observations are corroborated during the interviews. All my interlocutors expressed a positive attitude towards the term and admitted that they use the word "Yid" and its variations to refer to themselves and other supporters. No one was against the use of it or even skeptical about this nickname. However, many supporters begin their statements about the term "Yid" with a disclaimer that they usually do not look for any deeper meaning of the word. Most of them agree that, for them, "Yid" means Spurs, and "Yid Army" is a term to describe them as a group of supporters. "That's the word that kind of describes us as a group...Yid Army is kind of everyone"—says 45-year-old Justin. Another fan—55-year-old Andy, explains in more detail: "It seems ridiculous, but the Jewish origins are almost irrelevant for me personally I think, it's more important that it bonded Spurs fans together and it's a shared identity, it's that feeling of togetherness of having a shared identity." Thus, the first conclusion from the interviews is that the term "Yid" has become an important aspect of Spurs fans' identity, an inherent part of it, something they take for granted, repeat, and pass on to the next generation of fans. What is very significant is that it is something shared by fans from different supporting contexts. A football hooligan—50-year-old Crombie—expresses himself in a similar vein: "it's sort of who we are…It's just identity, you know. It is what it is, we will never change it…It's fixed in people's identity, it's just fixed, it will never go."

What the fans emphasize very often is that football is the only context in which they use the word and hear it being used. Most of the fans who are not Jewish state that they do not think of Jews when they sing or say "Yids." Many of the fans, especially from the younger generation (including the Jewish fans), admitted that they got to know the original meaning of the word a long time after they started using it. For example, 33-year-old Neil acknowledged: "Before I knew the Yid man is a Jew, I thought it's a Tottenham fan, it's a Tottenham fan before it's a Jewish person to me. On the school books, it was like Yid Army, come on Yids." This does not change the fact that almost all my interlocutors at the time of the interview were aware of the Jewish connotations of the word and its derogatory antisemitic overtone. Just one person (a Tottenham fan from Australia) did not know that Yid is a derogatory term and could be seen as antisemitic hate speech.

From the perspective of Spurs fans (especially gentiles), this term broke away from its original mean-

ing, and, in the opinion of most of them, it means a fellow supporter and a term to feel proud of. The situation gets more complex when they try to answer the question of why this specific nickname and not another one. They realize that "real Jews" are involved in their statements relating to both the past and the present. The opening stories show that the connotations of the word are clear and, even if unwittingly, Spurs fans rather automatically connect Jewish people and Jewish symbols with their favorite club. Deeper afterthoughts about how they see this identity and, above all, how they interpret it show that it means more than just a nickname or label. The conclusions they reached in the course of deeper reflection on the topic were often a surprise, even to themselves.

Jewish Yids

What is the best place to celebrate a Bar Mitzvah? For a 13-year-old Jewish boy, a die-hard fan of Spurs, the answer was simple. It is White Hart Lane. "I think he was probably the biggest supporter, bigger than me and my other brother, so, yes, I don't know how it worked out but it did…I was pretty jealous, to be honest," narrates Jake, a 22-year-old fan whose family has been supporting Tottenham for generations.

> It's just a room that they rent out for events and things like that, but, yes, there is, like, an event room and he run across the pitch, it was cool. He got, like, a video message from a couple of the players…I don't know if we had supported, like, Chelsea or something would we have done it. I think probably yes. I think it definitely helps that it's a predominantly Jewish club, but I think we probably would have tried anyway, and I would be surprised if it was an issue in any of the other clubs. I think it would still, I don't know, maybe the fact that it is a Jewish club sort of put it in his head, but I don't know if it was the deciding factor.—Jake continues.

The most important difference between Jewish and non-Jewish supporters of Spurs is that for the Jewish supporters I talked to, "Yid" seems to have a double meaning. It is not only a term to describe them as fans of a specific club but it also refers to their origins and background. They directly point to the Jewish connotation of the term, spontaneously and willingly sharing stories that associate Tottenham with the Jews. Just like 33-year-old Nick whose first statement about "Yid" took a very personal dimension:

> It's something that is actually, it gives me a lot of pride because, in a way, it kind of represents me more than just choosing like a random club because, obviously, that's my heritage and my background, and I think, you know, it's not so much of a coincidence that my grandfather went to Tottenham and that my dad chose Tottenham as well because a lot of their friends were Jewish and supported Tottenham.

Jake also refers to the history of his ancestors who supported the club in the first half of the 20th century:

> I feel, you know, like, my family originates from local area, which has always been, like, a big mix of different nationalities, religions, and groups of people, and it has always been quite working class. My grandfather, for example, owned, like, a market store in the east end of London, you know, all his social circles would have supported a football team and this is like a big part of their culture and community, and I feel really strongly about it that now I'm kind of carrying on the same, like, hobby like something that he passed down to me.

Both point out that cheering for Tottenham was an important part of their ancestors' social life. They somehow continue the family tradition that has been passed down from generation to generation. The stories of their ancestors are a living part of their memories, an influential part of their identity as both supporters of the club and Jews. Jake continues his reflections further as follows:

> Ha, ha, maybe football has replaced religion. There is still religion, it's something that I'm very proud of. For the same reason I support Tottenham, because it's my identity, it's my roots, and it's where I come from. We have traditions in my family, it goes back for many generations, and I wouldn't ever want to hide them, pretend that I'm not Jewish. So, maybe once I don't believe in the religious aspect, it forms, like, a very big part of my identity, which is more important than actually believing in specific texts.

For him, the importance of supporting Tottenham is similar to that of religion. He notices that by supporting the club, he feels connected with his ancestors and the family tradition. Thus, it is a way he can feel and express his Jewishness. Significantly, in this context, he also mentions having a Tottenham skullcap. However, not all of my Jewish interlocutors share similar experiences. Some come from families not interested in football, where linking the world of sporting competition with national/religious identity is not favorably received. Like in the case of Joel (45 years old), who recalled the moment, in the 80s, he got to know about the meaning of "Yid" and right away took an Israeli flag to the game. He heard at home that it is unacceptable to associate Spurs with the Israel flag because the only reason the fans identify this way is due to the fact that they were labeled this way by the nationalist element from West Ham and Chelsea. This criticism made him never again use the Israeli flag at the stadium. In general, fans believe that, usually, whether someone has a positive or negative attitude towards Tottenham's Jewishness depends mainly on whether that person is a fan of the club. Accordingly, for all my interlocutors, this identity is a reason to feel proud. Moreover, in the border socio-historical context, they appreciate that their identity is celebrated, and not marginalized as it has been for centuries. All of my Jewish interlocutors are fully assimilated British people whose ancestors had moved to England at least two generations ago. At the same time, they proudly and openly identify as Jews. None of them are religious and they do not function in traditional Jewish institutions. Nevertheless, the awareness of their roots and the feeling of belonging to the Jewish nationality constitute important values in their lives. Supporting Tottenham seems like a suitable way of feeling and expressing this identity. A way that does not conflict with other ways of life and has other important features of symbolic ethnicity construction, of which the nostalgic allegiance to the ancestral culture and the use of symbols are particularly visible.

"Yid"—Badge of Honor

The common element of the fans' statements (both Jewish and not Jewish) is the belief that many factors lead to the development of the Jewish identity, of which the most important manifestation is the use of the Y-word. Namely, the fans point out the following reasons: other fans' antisemitism, the history of Tottenham associated with the settlement of Jewish immigrants in the interwar period, the multicultural character of the district, both in the past and now, and the Jewish fan base and/or management of the club (the three chairmen since 1982 have all been Jewish businessmen).

For the fans, "Yid" is a self-referent that is inextricably linked to the way others label them. As in the statement of Ryan, a 34-year-old fan who recognizes the importance of both perspectives: "I think it's just as much a self-identity as an identity of how other followers see us." The fans seem to agree that the main factor that leads to the creation and durability of the Jewish identity is the process of reclaiming the offensive and changing it into a badge of honor. There was no fan I interviewed who would overlook the point of opponents' practices in the reflection on the Jewish identity of Spurs. Some fans describe it in detail, like 58-year-old Josh:

> I think it was, it started in the 60s. Allegedly, it was Chelsea fans who started kind of referring to Tottenham fans as Yids. I mean, they do other nasty things like hissing, which is supposed to be similar sound of the gas chamber, which I think is really horrible. They started, you know, kind of reference to, you know, filthy Yids this, this, this, and that's when, the kind of the response, which I think was quite smart, was to sort of appropriate the term and yes, yes, yes, we are the Yid Army.

Most of the fans do not have knowledge about how and when it started exactly. If they give any time frame, they usually talk about the late 60s and, in particular, about the 70s. During the interviews, it became clear that fans wanted to emphasize that the adoption of the term Yid was a conscious collective decision: "I think it's just, it was a label that was given to us, it was used as an insult, and we have decided that actually, it's not an insult, it fits, and we are gonna make it something that we are proud of"—states Rachel, a 63-year-old fan. Some of the supporters compare this process to the reclamation of the word queer—Jake says: "We reclaim it in a sense of, if someone wants to use it against you, then you use it as a positive yourself, like gay and queer."

The interviews confirm the conclusions reached by Poulton and Durell in their aforementioned study. Fans seem very aware of the motivations that, in their opinion, are the basis of the term's reclamation. The intention of *neutralization* and *value reversal* can be easily found in most of the fans' statements about the embracing of the term "Yid." To give an example, Alan, a Tottenham Jewish fan in his 60s, analyzes the phenomenon as follows:

> I think what happened was that Spurs took on that later to nullify the abuse to extinguish the abuse that was coming from other fans—you calling us this way? Yes, that's us, we gonna do that. We are not going to be bothered by this, we gonna take it as part of our identity.

This statement shows an opinion that the Tottenham fans have decided that the way they are labeled by others does not affect them. As a result, the insult that was meant to serve the opponents has been taken over by the Spurs and became their advantage. A lot of fans, regardless of whether they are of Jewish origin or not, go further in their analysis and emphasize not only the smart reaction they have undertaken to neutralize the abuse but mostly the positive feelings they have about the term "Yids." Just like Nick:

> They kind of adopted it and said, "Well, if we call ourselves Yids and we are kind of proud of you calling us the Yids, then it is no longer an insult, now it's something which is like, uh, something to be proud of, like a badge of honor." And that kind of feeling grew, and so that's kind of where I think it comes from.

Thus, the fans explicitly talk about neutralization and value reversal. What about the third intention pointed out by Poulton and Durell—stigma exploitation? From my point of view, stigma exploitation, to some extent, can always be seen as an element or even basis for the process of reclamation. However, in some of the Spurs supporters' practices, stigma exploitation can be found in an intensified form. Like in a chant quoted by one of the supporters:

> I'm only a poor little Yiddo
> I stand at the back of the Shelf
> I go to the bar to buy a lager
> And only buy one for myself

In this chant, we can find negative stereotypes about the Jews, in this case—greed. The negative stereotype is exposed and used as a confrontation tool. I did not hear this chant at the stadium, but some of the supporters knew it and recalled it for the interview.

Many supporters start from the reclamation process to talk about other aspects of the "Jewish character" of the Spurs that kind of legitimize the use of "Yid." One of the aspects is a large Jewish following. Like in a statement from Andy: "I do know for a fact that there is a really big Jewish following there, so again, it's not a coincidence, and there must be a reason why other fans started singing that as well, and it is because we have, like, large Jewish following." Even if the fans can see that the key factor that leads to the Yid Army identity is the opposing fans' behaviors, they seem to be saying that they are "Jewish" not only because others see them this way. In brief, others have a reason to associate the Spurs with Jews. However, obviously, for Spurs fans this is not a source of shame, but pride as they either declare a positive attitude towards this minority or they are Jewish themselves.

It is also important to mention here the associations the fans have with "real Jews." For the vast majority of them, the first thing that comes to mind is the figure of a traditional religious Jew. The one who is distinguishable from the majority of society and who is a member of a community that is, as the fans state, disliked and marginalized by many. Interestingly, this is, in a way, consistent with what they say about their club. Fans have the impression that they are an exceptionally unpopular club, hated more than other teams. Many also complain that they are marginalized by the media that focus on more famous brands. Even in a situation where Tottenham is at the top of the Premier League or performs strongly in European competitions. We conclude that stigma exploitation might give them or strengthen their feeling of being special.

Context and Controversies

The phenomenon of embracing the "Yid" word as a self-referent has become the topic of lively debate after the Kick It Out[2] campaign film "The Y-Word." The 90-second film by David Baddiel, a Jewish comedian, and Chelsea London fan, promotes a zero-tolerance policy of the term "Yid" in football stadiums. Famous Premier League players make it clear that the word is as racist and offensive as the "n-word" and the "p-word." In a fairly unanimous opinion of Tottenham supporters, the campaign was misguided equating all uses of the term "Yid" as antisemitic. The ban on the use of the word in the stadium was met with opposition and indignation. As a result, instead of dropping the word, they composed the following chant:

[2] English football's equality and inclusion organization.

> We sang it in France
> We sang it in Spain
> We sing in the sun, and we sing in the rain
> They've tried to stop us, and look what it did
> 'Cos the thing I love most is being a Yid!
> Being a Yid, Being a Yid
> The thing I love most is being a Yid!

Many supporters emphasize that they do not want anyone to interfere in what they call themselves, especially when it is something so meaningful and with such a long history. Most of them state that they will never stop using it. Konool, a 33-year-old fan, says: "That chant came from the fact that they tried to ban it. You can't stop us from calling ourselves what we are. I would be happy to get in trouble chanting it." Others also talk in a similar revolutionary tone, like Chris, a 50-year-old supporter: "If they are trying to ban us for singing it, we will sing it more, and then they have to arrest 80000 fans." The fans agree that the ban made them angry and strengthened their identity as "Yids." The keyword related to those statements is context. All the fans I talked to declare that, in their mind, the word "Yid" has only positive connotations, which is why it cannot be treated as hate speech. What should be tackled is the use of the word by those who say it and chant it to offend them. The argument that "Yid" as a self-referent favors the rise of antisemitism in football is, in their opinion, a responsibility reversal. Alan explains simply: "It's not our responsibility to stop using the word, it's other fans' responsibility to stop abusing us."

It is important to emphasize here that unlike most of the important social actors criticizing the use of the Y-word, Spurs fans see mostly the positive social consequences of identifying themselves as a "Yid." Consequences that extend beyond the world of football. Nick, a Jewish fan, explains his point in detail:

> When there was a debate whether we should say it or not, I was very, very strongly on the side that said we should keep singing it and keep saying it because if we stop saying it and it becomes a word that is not associated with football and being a badge of honor for Tottenham fans, then it becomes just a word again. Then it's something that people can start to use again, and it would mean an insulting thing.

In fact, Nick makes a very important point. Thanks to the attitude of Tottenham supporters, the word "Yid" has changed in meaning. The word has taken on a football context and means a Tottenham fan, while previously it was just an insult. Non-Jewish fans also tend to emphasize the positive effect of embracing the term and ponder the negative consequences of possible discontinuation of the use of the Y-word, like Andy: "If you ban using 'Yid' in every context, then there will be people who gonna want to use the word badly, and that would mean more because it's now a banned word."

Nevertheless, even if their position on this subject is clear and constant, they happen to have ambivalent feelings in some situations. One of the Jewish fans, Jake, quoted above, gives an illustrative example:

> I remember going to an away game, and I remember seeing a fan dressed up as a Rabbi, which is quite funny, right? And I don't have a problem with it at all, but then I kind of think, imagine if that was a black guy and somebody who wasn't black dressed up as a black or painted their face black or whatever. That could cause a lot of offense, and it kind of made me think, maybe they don't really understand everything about what it means. Sometimes it's like mak-

> ing a caricature out of somebody, you don't treat them like a person, you are just looking at their identity.

The extent to which someone may go to express their identity is therefore questionable for many fans. The vast majority of them are not unequivocally against any kind of performance they described. However, they happen to have doubts if those fans are fully aware that what they do might be considered racist or at least patronizing. This is a concern shared by many of my interlocutors, both Jewish and non-Jewish. What is interesting is that the non-Jewish fans seem to have a stronger opinion on the topic. Chris, a 35-year-old fan, describing the situation in which a group of fans met a religious Jew and shouted "Yidoo," says: "Well, that's not proper because now you're actually using the term to say that this person is a Jewish person. In this context, it stops being an inclusive term." Two supporters compared certain fans' practices to the phenomenon of some American teams having mascots and names referring to Indigenous Americans.

A few supporters point out that the way the Jewish identity of the fans is expressed has changed. Today, it is mostly the word "Yid" in chants and everyday language. In the past, it was also the Star of David on Yid Army flags together with the Israeli flag. Some supporters are of the opinion that, at the moment, it is forbidden to bring the Israeli flag to the stadium, some also note the political context. Like Chris:

> It has got difficult because of the Israel-Palestine conflicts, so that's maybe a bit more difficult, but there used to be Star of David flags all over the stadium, it was really common to see that, and you can still find some Tottenham flags with those symbols on, particularly on the away games, and I would say because of that kind of political correctness you don't see it so much now, but before it was definitely a big deal. I never knew if some people were wearing caps because they were Jewish or to show they are Tottenham fans, it became a symbol associated with Tottenham as well.

"Yid"—Different Meanings

As shown above, the term "Yid" and all the culture surrounding it constitute an important aspect of Spurs' fandom identity. Something the fans cannot imagine giving up, even under strong pressure from different social and political actors. The supporters' practices have persisted for over 50 years. During these years, the Jewish identity obviously has been evolving together with the cultural context at football grounds. At the time when the phenomenon started, the football stadiums were going through significant changes. In the 60s and 70s, a new supporting culture was born in which the leading role was played by young working-class men expressing the ideas of masculinity and tribalism (Giulianotti 2002). Grouped together in separate sectors of the stadium, they created the so-called terrace culture with all the well-known behaviors such as singing, chanting, clapping, and different body movements. This culture is based on the "friend-foe" identification system. Unquestionable loyalty toward one's group and hatred for that of the opponents' are its key conspicuous attributes. It was obviously known especially for its violent behaviors, but also its abusive and humiliating language that expressed a sense of superiority over the opponent and drew clear symbolic borders between the groups. Antisemitic abuse towards Spurs fans from the opposing supporters, and Spurs fans' unusual reaction of embracing what was meant to be offensive began in this specific context. Die-hard Spurs fans started something that has spread to large crowds of supporters. To repeat, through stigma ex-

ploitation, they neutralized invectives and turned an insult into a badge of honor. The phenomenon has been maintained and processed by many different groups of fans, including both Jews and gentiles. For some, in the beginning, it was unacceptable. Like for Rachel who stopped visiting the stadium for some time and, upon returning, was shocked by the new habit of singing "Yids":

> There was this chant and I couldn't hear what they, what are they singing, is it? It can't be, is it really? Yids. And I just couldn't believe it. I was really shocked and I certainly was not going to join in and I was just absolutely horrified, and then very quickly, once I started going back, you just realized that it's great, it's not shocking and awful.

She was shocked because at the time she returned to regular visits at White Hart Line, she only knew the insulting connotation of the term "Yid" and she was not aware of its new meaning coined by the Spurs fandom. Now, it means a fellow supporter for her, like for any other fan I talked to.

I asked myself the question of why it is such an important attribute of their fandom, something that bonds the fans, from a hooligan to a 63-year-old distinguished public school director. Based on the interviews, I came to the conclusion that its importance is related to the number of positive meanings the fans have connected with the term. I already specified the basic sense of the term shared by the fans that can be summarized in the sentence: "Yid Army is who we are." However, we can ask further questions concerning the beliefs about one's group that are hidden under this statement. Namely, what they are like and why "Yid Army" is a badge of honor for them. As language and identity are in a constant process of evolution, over the years many meanings have been built by different groups of fans around the Jewish identity and, above all, the term "Yid." I have distinguished the following meanings of it.

Firstly, the most common explanation of the word is that it is a term of endearment that brings people closer:

> It's a term of endearment, and people know the history when I say that word, and I use it all the time to refer to myself, to refer to other people, I don't think of Jewish people, it's not a connection, for me, now it just means, it's a term of affection for Tottenham supporters – says Konool.

Some of the Spurs fans raise another aspect of the meaning of the Y-word. A fan who can be called a "Yid" and who can call others this way can be seen as a proper fan. There is no doubt this person knows the context of this specific identity. It is something the fans explain descriptively, like Justin:

> You know, you see people who would be like: ah, you know, it's a fellow Yid, which straight away makes him all right. You are in the pub and: I will introduce you, he is a Yid as well. The fact that they said he is a Yid makes me think that he is a proper Spurs fan.

To use the word "Yid" there has to be trust that the person will not take it the wrong way, that they know the meaning and share the same positive, or even proud, attitude towards it. The same fan continues: "Someone has the confidence to use that word with me without fear of me taking it the wrong way, so there is trust there, the trust that I know." Therefore, the "Yid" word is important in the context of relationships between the supporters and the emotional aspect of it. In this context, the fans use the term as "endearment," "togetherness," and "comradery." To

summarize this first set of meanings that I have highlighted, I relate it to some kind of **intimacy** that can be expressed by a shared understanding and use of controversial language.

Secondly, for the fans, it is also a manifestation of their **sense of humor and wittiness**, which also brings them closer together and makes them feel different and smarter than others. It can be seen as a very English Monty Python-esque kind of humor where traditional structures and values are being reversed—a synonym of outsider becomes insider, and an insult changes into a badge of honor (Stratton 2016). The young Jewish fan, Jake, explains it as follows:

> I think, well, we are quite well-humored, I think we've got a good sense of humor, and I wouldn't be surprised if that partly was because we have had, we are kind of used to the aggression. We are used sort of some of the most violent things that you can receive, and we are quite good at putting that into a positive, like, fun group energy.

Thirdly, I want to repeat that most of the supporters point out that embracing the Y-word makes them feel **different and special.** Andy says, for example:

> you can have a shared identity as an Arsenal fan or West Ham fan or, but actually only Spurs have embraced that, sounds a bit ridiculous, but it is what it is. I don't think most fans have got something like that, to be honest. I think we are different to most teams.

This feeling is shared by the vast majority of the fans. Another good example is this statement from Konool:

> I think it's a brilliant thing. And I like the fact that we got this unique nickname, it has a history, and it turned around something which was a term of abuse into a term of endearment. I like that, and I think it's a nice thing, I don't think any other club has something like that.

Fourthly, in my opinion, for many fans, the term "Yid" is also a symbol of **opposition to what can be called modern football.** Globalization, commercialization, and gentrification are processes that have had a huge impact on the world of football for the last few decades, in particular, football at the highest professional level. Undoubtedly, profit-oriented clubs and authorities tend to control and eliminate fans' behaviors that could be spontaneous, violent, or politically incorrect. The use of "Yid" is definitely one of those problematic practices. I have partially touched on this issue in the section *Context and Controversies*. Supporters do not want to give it up because, from their perspective, it is a part of the tradition and history of the club and, what is essential, it is also a part of Tottenham as a place. As an act of opposition to the censorship of their practices, fans emphasize that they have the right to sing what they want. Alan says, for example: "I think Spurs fans saw this as an attack on them, and they have the right to say what they want." Another example from the interview with Josh: "I think it's about the pride, and the pride is too strong. It's something that might go with time, you know, as people become more disassociated with the club. But, it's impossible to ban, people will just chant, and you cannot arrest everybody."

Finally, something that is of central interest in relation to this research is the feeling of being special and different for the fans, and that it is related to their opinion that, as a fandom, they are **more inclusive and tolerant** than any other group of fans. The majority of them understand embracing the term "Yid" as an act of opposition to antisemitism, like Jewish fan Joel: "Historically, it was used by the hooligans

to make sure that they stood up to the antisemites." Fans emphasize that you need some kind of openness and tolerance to be able to embrace a term related to a minority, a minority that for centuries has been marginalized. It is important to mention here the biggest rivals identified by the fans. Traditionally, it has been Arsenal, also located in the north of London. The rivalry between these clubs has been fierce for decades. Every year fans look forward to the North London derby. For many, these are the most important games of the season. However, the vast majority of the fans I talked to mentioned other clubs like the ones they dislike the most or even hate. Chelsea and West Ham were the most common answers, and the reasons were the racism and antisemitism of their supporters. Tottenham fans often compare themselves to these two London teams, pointing out that the problem of racism and other kinds of intolerance has always been much bigger there than at White Hart Lane. In support of this opinion, many of the fans refer to some aspects of the history of Tottenham that they find important. One aspect they recall very often is the match between England and the Third Reich in 1935. The game took place at Tottenham Stadium and sparked numerous protests. During the half-time break, one of the Tottenham supporters climbed to the roof of the stadium and removed the Nazi flag that was hanging there. This behavior became a symbol of fidelity to the key principles and an important element of memory shared by the fans. Another historical fact that the fans sometimes mention is the first black player for Spurs. Walter Tull played for Tottenham as early as 1909. In comparison, most other major English teams did not hire their first black player until decades later. Although most fans do not know the details of his career, or even his name, the fact that, at the time, he was an exception remains important. This line of reasoning fits into a frequently repeated opinion that Tottenham was, and is, home to people of various origins. In the first half of the 20th century, this community was mainly composed of Jewish immigrants from Eastern Europe, today, next to Jewish communities are people from all over the world. Many emphasize that multiculturalism has been their everyday life since childhood. Some of my interlocutors are immigrants. They willingly talk about football and supporting Tottenham as something that helped them fit in with the English society. Like a fan from Australia or the son of some immigrants from India. In brief, football binds them, gives them a topic to talk about, and allows them to feel more at home. This perspective can be seen as something that connects the beginnings of the presence of Jews in the history of Tottenham with today's multicultural reality of the district. Before the First World War and especially shortly after, White Hart Lane became the place where Jews of the area would mingle with gentiles. The stadium functioned as a melting pot and helped the Jewish population become a part of the English people. On the terraces of White Hart Lane, they sought belonging and identity (Clavane 2012; Cloake and Fisher 2016). "Proud of their heritage and faith people adopted football as another element of this new anglicized Jewish culture alongside the old customs" (Cloake and Fisher 2016:221). This type of narrative is also present in the statements of fans, especially Jews. To give an example, Nick says:

> Lots of Jewish people when they were new immigrants to London and to the UK were keen to, like, assimilate and to become more British and not be so identified as being Jewish. And one of the ways they did this was to go to football and to go to Tottenham. That is a way, you know, when you go to work and you meet no Jewish friends you have something to talk about and you have something in common. Just because Tottenham was one of the closest clubs to the area where most of the Jewish immigrants lived at the time, this became like a big part of that.

In this context, the nickname "Yid" seems very symbolic. As the fans underline, it can be used by anyone, it does not matter where the person comes from, anyone can feel equal and welcomed in the "Yids' world." For example, Joel says:

> From my experience, because I grew up in quite a multicultural environment, on Saturday, I met a guy who I went to school with, he is Greek, he calls himself a "Yid," I know black people who call themselves Yids, so everybody has taken that term and, yes, we are inclusive, I would say within the people that I socialize with, we are all inclusive, nobody cares, but I can't speak for everyone…We are not using it to say "we are better than you," it was used to say "we are different from you."

Another fan, Justin, explains it in a similar way: "It's the word that means we are inclusive whether you know, I have got lots of Jewish friends who go to Spurs, I have a lot of friends who aren't Jewish who go to Spurs, but that's the value that we will use, you know, to bring us together."

To sum up, "Yid" is a multi-dimensional term that encompasses a variety of important meanings for Tottenham supporters. It is an expression of the feeling of closeness between the fans, a manifestation of their sense of humor and wittiness, a source of feeling different and special, and proof that they can stand up for their tradition despite the outside pressure. Nevertheless, inclusivity as a value seems to be the most important dimension of the word.

Conclusions

Let me express the most important conclusion from the research. The term "Yid" is a very important aspect of a Tottenham fan's identity. It bonds supporters from different backgrounds together. It helps fans to feel part of the community and, at the same time, to distinguish themselves from the fans of opposing teams. The word represents a clear symbolic boundary, especially when competing with the fans who use antisemitic hate speech. Furthermore, it was in the process of interacting with them that the Jewish identity of the fans was formed and continues in an ongoing process of evolution.

On the one hand, "Yid" is simply a Tottenham fan, and when using the term, fans declare that they do not think of its original meaning. On the other hand, Jews are clearly present in their statements, both those associated with the club today and those who marked their presence decades ago. Additionally, we can distinguish a number of meanings, emotions, and functions that fans associate this word with. It is also important to repeat that some Jewish fans attach great importance to the Jewishness of the club. Supporting Tottenham binds them with the history of their ancestors and helps to strengthen and express their identity as Jews. In my opinion, this meets some important criteria of what Herbert Gans defines as *symbolic ethnicity*. However, I am aware that my study only scratches the surface of this topic, and more research would be required to demonstrate football's role in the construction of symbolic ethnicity in an exhaustive way.

According to the interviews, Jewish identity was developed by the hooligans as a reaction to the antisemitic behaviors of fans from the opposing teams and then adopted by the crowds of Tottenham supporters at large. Different groups of fans have created different narratives around the Jewish identity to make it meaningful for them. The key narrative is that of embracing the term Yid as evidence of exceptional tolerance and inclusiveness, which applies to both Tottenham as a club and a neighborhood. If we approach the identity construction process from the memory studies perspective, we can conclude that the history of the club might not

play a determining role but rather a legitimizing one. In brief, the fans remember what they need to remember to strengthen their identity as "Yids" and differentiate themselves from their opponents. In the case of Tottenham supporters, being different and unique also means not being liked and marginalized.

We can conclude that stigma exploitation is an important factor in the foundation of the identity of Tottenham fans. The methods Tottenham supporters use to manage and fight stigma is to accept it and build around it a positive narrative that refers to the values shared by the group. What raises doubts, including for the fans themselves, is how they sometimes express this identity. Specifically, how it can be seen as patronizing or stereotyping. Nevertheless, it is of key importance to emphasize that, in principle, Tottenham supporters are victims of antisemitism and that their attitude is a demonstration of opposition to racist and antisemitic abuse in football.

The interviews helped to shed more light on the complexities surrounding the term "Yid." I would conclude that the Y-word's deep roots in Tottenham's football culture do separate it from the traditionally antisemitic term. The interviews also demonstrate that the term's use by Tottenham fans is, in its own way, a push-back against what they perceived as antisemitic views expressed by the club's rivals. However, there remain questions surrounding the outside perception of the term, particularly within the Jewish community. It would be interesting if future studies focus more on the interaction between Jewish Tottenham fans and their football disinterested counterparts in the Jewish community. To see if the word changes its meaning for them as well, and what they feel about it.

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