

Football and Immigrant Communities:

Transnational Diaspora Politics, Identities, and Integration in Turkish-Speaking Ethnic Football in London



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CONTENTS

Abstract vii

Acknowledgements viii

Abbreviations ix

List of Tables x

List of Illustrations xi

PART I: INTRODUCTION, BACKGROUND, METHODS 1

INTRODUCTION 2

Turkish-Speaking Community in London 3

Football as a Field 4

Main Research Themes 7

The Fieldwork 9

Organisation/Synopsis of the Chapters 10

CHAPTER 1
Transnational Diaspora Politics, Identities, and Integration:
The Theoretical Context 18

1.1 Introduction 18

1.2 Turkish-Speaking Community in London: Definition, History, Description 19

1.3 Theoretical Approach in This Dissertation: Functionalism, Conflict and Bourdieu 30

1.3.1 Functionalism in Studies of Sport 31

1.3.2 A Conflict Perspective in Studies of Sport 34

1.3.3 Bourdieu: Different Forms of Capital and Sport as a Field 36

1.4 The Literature on Sport, Diasporas, Integration, and Identities 42

1.4.1 Diaspora Politics and Transnationalism through Sport 44

1.4.2 Identities through Sport 47

1.4.3 Integration through Sport 51

1.5 Conclusion: The Theoretical Context of the Research and Dissertation 55

CHAPTER 2
An Ethnography of Immigrant Football: Fieldwork, Methods, and Material 58

2.1 Introduction 58

2.2 The Fieldwork and Methods 60
2.2.1 Participant Observation 62
2.2.2 Interviews 70
2.2.3 Engaged Institutional Actors 72
2.2.4 Analysis of Secondary Sources 72
2.2.5 Research Trips 76
2.3 Position within the Field 76
2.4 The Ontology and Epistemology of the Ethnographic Data Collected through Different Methods 79
2.5 Ethnography in Migration and Sport Research and the Place of this Study in the Literature 81

PART II: DIASPORA POLITICS AND TRANSNATIONALISM 84

CHAPTER 3
Creation of a Politicised Transnational Space in Diaspora: Football as a Bridge between London and Cyprus 86
3.1 Introduction 86
3.2 International Context: the Cyprus Conflict 88
3.3 Significance of London for the Cypriot Diasporas 92
3.4 A History of Community Mobilisation and Representation of Ethnic Identities through Football: 'The Example in Cyprus' 95
3.5 Establishment of TCFF in 1976: A Transnational and Political Field by Design 101
3.6 Diaspora Politics through Football: Turkish-Cypriot Diaspora in London and Turkish Cyprus 112
3.6.1 The Continuing Bridge between London and Cyprus 112
3.6.2 The London Cup 129
3.7 Conclusion: Football, Cyprus Conflict, and Turkish-Cypriots in London 133
3.8 Epilogue: 'Football Unity in Divided Cyprus'- the FIFA Deal 135

CHAPTER 4
Diaspora Politics in the Transnational Social Field of Turkish-Speaking Football in London 138
4.1 Introduction 138

4.2 Transnational Social Spaces and Turkish-speaking Football as a Transnational Field 139
4.3 Diaspora Politics 141
4.4 Diaspora Politics in the Transnational Field of Ethnic Football 145
4.4.1 Diaspora Politics of Ethnic Football Federations 146
4.4.2 Other Agents engaged in Diaspora Politics: Individuals and Institutional Agents 156
4.5 Diaspora Politics in the Transnational Field of Turkish-Speaking Football: Towards a Typology of Diaspora Politics 179

PART III: FOOTBALL, IDENTITIES AND CONSTRUCTION OF MASCULINITY 184

CHAPTER 5
Imagining a Community: Football, Collective Identities, and Identity Politics 187
5.1 Introduction 187
5.2 Production and Representation of Collective Identities 189
5.2.1 Transmitting Identities: Teaching the Youth Who they are 190
5.2.2 Construction and Reproduction of Identities Around Clubs 194
5.2.3 Negotiating and Contesting Identities 207
5.2.4 Representation and Manifestation of Identities 216
5.2.5 Shifting Across Different Identities 219
5.3 The Field of Ethnic Football: Hybrid, Diasporic Identities in a Publicly Owned Private Space 223

CHAPTER 6
Gendered Discourses and Construction of Masculine Ethnic Identities in the Field of Turkish-Speaking Football 228
6.1 Introduction 228
6.2 Football and Masculinity: A Brief Historical Overview 230
6.3 Gendered Discourses and Construction of Identities in the Field of Turkish-Speaking Football 232
6.3.1 'Football is both a Men's Game and a Manly Game': Construction of Masculinity 233
6.3.2 'Masculine Ethnicity' or 'Ethnicised Masculinity' 237

6.3.3 ‘Play like a Man, not a Sissy’: Homophobia in the Field of Turkish-Speaking Ethnic Football 240
6.3.4 ‘Fuck you!’: Gendered and sexualised Insults and swearing 245
6.3.5 A Real Turkish Man: Macho and ‘Fast with Women‘ 247
6.4 ‘Exclusion’ of Women from the Field of Football? 250
6.4.1 Role and Presence of Women 252
6.4.2 Football-loving Women?: Masculinity through Women 257
6.5 ‘Crises of Masculinity’ in Diaspora and Football: An Evaluation 261
6.6 Conclusion 265

PART IV: ETHNIC FOOTBALL AND INTEGRATION (OR SEGREGATION?) 268

CHAPTER 7
Football and Integration for the Turkish-Speaking Community in London 270
7.1 Introduction 270
7.2 Turkish-speaking football in London and Integration 271
7.2.1 Football as a Familiar, Inclusive and Open Field for Newcomers 272
7.2.2 Field of Football as a Source of Belonging to a Recognised Ethnic Identity 276
7.2.3 Personal and Psychological Development and Wellbeing of Turkish-speaking Individuals 282
7.2.4 Encountering the ‘Others’ in the Field of Football- Social Mixing using a common language and around a common passion 297
7.3 Conclusion: Ethnic Community Football Leagues for Integration 303

CHAPTER 8
Ethnic Community Football, Segregation, and Integration Policy 305
8.1 Introduction 305
8.2 Potential Challenges for Integration and Risks of Segregation 306
8.2.1 Ethnic Segregation 307
8.2.2 Gender Segregation 309
8.2.3 Construction of a closed and marginalized ethnic identity 312
8.2.4 Implications of Fierce Rivalry 313
8.3 Football for Integration: Implications for Integration Policies 315

8.3.1 The Popularity of Football: Football as a Common Passion 316
8.3.2 Football as a 'teaching tool' 318
8.3.3 Integration through Football: A Selective Review of Football Tournaments, Festivals, and Programmes 320
8.4 A Convenient Space for Controlled Communal Mobilisation & Representation, Empowerment, and Intercultural Contact: A Discussion 330

PART V: CONCLUSION **334**

Conclusion: Diaspora Politics in a 'Publicly Owned Private Space' **335**
Turkish-Speaking Ethnic Community Football as a Transnational Social Field 'both Private and Public' 339
Turkish-speaking Ethnic Community Football in London: A Brief Summary of the Research and Dissertation 345
Limitations of the Research and Thesis 348

APPENDICES **351**

Appendix 1: Sample Interview Questionnaire 352
Appendix 2: Table with Examples of Diaspora Politics by Actors and Levels as Discussed by the Preliminary Model in Chapter 4 357
Appendix 3: Teams competing in TCFF and TKFF Leagues in the 2010-2011 Season 358
Appendix 4: The Official Rule Book of Turkish Community Football Federation 360
Appendix 5: Teams Competing in the London Communities Leagues since 2004 384

REFERENCES CITED **386**

ABSTRACT

This thesis is on the Turkish-speaking community, comprising Turkish-Cypriots, Turks from Turkey, and Kurds from Turkey, and ethnic community football in London, which has been conceptualised as a transnational social field. It is intended as a contribution in the debates on the growing importance of issues of diasporic communities, their identity politics, and cultural integration in a context of 'super-diversity'.

There are three major analytical themes. The first is transnational diaspora politics, which is redefined to comprise any relationship of power or interest by mobilising diasporic connections. I argue that the Turkish-speaking community uses ethnic football as a means for communal mobilisation around and representation of their ethnic identity in the public space of London, a city of unique political-economic and symbolic significance for the Cyprus Conflict which helped create the Turkish and Greek Cypriot football leagues in London. I show that the Turkish-speaking community has ever since used football to create and maintain a bridge between London and all the different locations of the community including Cyprus, Turkey, Germany, and beyond.

The second major theme is collective identities and how they are (re)produced, represented, and manifested in the diaspora. I argue that the nature of the field of ethnic football as a familiar, open, and welcoming space conveniently positioned between the Turkish-speaking private sphere and the British/Londoner public space has been a major factor accounting for the effectiveness of various identity projects to be pursued within this field. Lastly, after presenting the historical link between modern competitive sports and masculinity, I claim that the one defining aspect of all the ethnic identities reproduced within the field is their masculine character.

The last analytical theme is the cultural integration of immigrant communities. Without adopting a normative definition of cultural integration, I have considered the implications of involvement in ethnic community football in terms of belonging, social inclusion, marginalisation, and the psychological development and well-being of the individuals involved. The presented and analysed discussion rejects any automatic causal link between involvement in sports and integration or that involvement in mono-ethnic sporting organisations and segregation. Having reviewed a few exemplary organisations, which used football for integration purposes, and the nature of the ethnic community leagues, I have also argued in this thesis that the field of ethnic community football, again due to its specific nature, structure, and position between the private and public spaces, offers a great potential to be engaged by local and national governments in the service of integration policies.

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Abbreviations

CFA	Cypriot Football Association
CTFA	Cyprus Turkish Football Federation (Kıbrıs Türk Futbol Federasyonu)
CFTS	Cyprus Federated Turkish State
ETSF	England Turkish Sport Federation (*İngiltere Türk Spor Federasyonu*)
FIFA	Federation of International Football Associations
KTFF	Kurdish and Turkish Football Federation
LFA	London Football Association
TCFF	Turkish Community Football Federation (*Türk Toplumu Futbol Federasyonu*)
TKFF	Turkish and Kurdish Football Federation (*Türk Kürt Futbol Federasyonu*)
TMT	Turkish Resistance Organisation (*Türk Mukavemet Teşkilatı*)
TRNC	Turkish Republic of Northern Cyprus (*Kuzey Kıbrıs Türk Cumhuriyeti*)
UEFA	Union of European Football Associations

List of Tables

Table 1.1 Turkish Migrant Stock Abroad in 1995, 2005, and 2010

Table 1.2 Different Figures of Turkish-Speaking Community in London

Table 1.3 Data on Turkish-speaking community from the 2011 UK Population Census

Table 2.1 Institutions, Events, and Meetings for Participant Observation

Table 2.2 Clubs of Focus

Table 2.3 Distribution of Interviewed Individuals

Table 2.4 Engaged Institutions

Table 2.5 The Sources of Secondary Data

Table 3.1 A Timeline of Cyprus Conflict, 1878-1983

List of Illustrations

Figure 1.1 Agents/Positions/Subfields in the Transnational Field of Turkish-Speaking Ethnic Community Football in London

Figures 2.1-2 The Google Earth pictures of the Pymmes Park and the Finsbury Park

Figure 2.3 An official meeting with the Prime Minister of Turkish Republic of Northern Cyprus, İrsen Küçük, at his office in Nicosia, Cyprus

Figure 2.4 At the Annual Ball of a TCFF club, Bogazici FC, with TCFF President Turgut Esendağlı

Figure 2.5 Before a training match I played with the London Turkish Masters FC, with TCFF Committee member *Van Basten*

Figure 2.6 The photo of the historical *Taksim* Stadium in Nicosia, Cyprus

Figure 2.7 *Akıncılar* FC, the TCFF First Division Champions of 2010-2011 Season, are being presented their Cup and celebrating, with the Club Chairman playing the traditional Turkish *davul*

Figures 2.8-9 Two player licenses dated 1981

Figure 2.10 An invitation to an extraordinary General Meeting dated 1990

Figure 2.11 Part of 1986 TCFF Rules Book

Figure 2.12 A Hurriyet newspaper clipping from 1978

Figure 2.13 A newspaper clipping from the local Turkish newspaper Olay on my first visit to the field and first meeting with the Federation President

Figure 3.1 The historical Taksim Stadium which used to be the home of *Çetinkaya Türk SK* thus still bearing its Yellow-Red colours

Figure 3.2 The Pakkos Shield exhibited on the walls of the Çetinkaya Türk SK club building in Nicosia

Figures 3.3-4 At the Çetinkaya Türk SK club building, a part of the wall which was kept in its original condition from the Cyprus Conflict with many bullet holes

Figure 3.5 The official logo of KOPA

Figure 3.6 The flag of Republic of Cyprus

Figue 3.7 The Prime Minister of CFTS, Nejat Konuk, presenting the Championship Shield to Turkgucu FC, 15 August 1976

Figure 3.8 The Hurriyet London issue from August 1976 declaring "The Turkish Cypriot Football Federation is being Formed", with a photo of the planning committee

Figure 3.9 The Founding Bylaw of the England Turkish Sport Federation, one of the last surviving copies

Figures 3.10-13 Four different official logos used by TCFF since its establishment

Figure 3.14 National Flag of Turkey

Figure 3.15 National Flag of TRNC

Figure 3.16 The President of Turkish Federated State, Rauf Denktaş, receives the London ETSF delegation during their first Cyprus visit in 1978

Figure 3.17 ETSF Committee Members pay respects during the same visit to the martyrs of Cyprus conflict

Figure 3.18 The Prime Minister of TRNC, İrsen Küçük, presents the President of TCFF, Turgut Esendağlı, with a plaquette

Figure 3.19 The Speaker of the Republican Parliament, Hasan Bozer, receives the London delegation at the Parliament

Figure 3.20 The Minister of Education and Sport, Nazim Cavusoglu, accepts the London delegation

Figure 3.21 Constant media attention at every meeting

Figure 3.22 The red ribbon is being cut in the opening of TCFF Building by the TRNC Minister of Education and Sport, Nazim Cavusoglu, the Turkish Consul General in London, Ahmet Demirok, and the main sponsor of TCFF leagues, *Backhenbauer*

Figure 3.23 TRNC National team and TCFF Mixed Team before the kick off

Figure 3.24 The Cup presented by President Irsen Kucuk to the TCFF Mixed Team Captain with teammates celebrating in joy

Figure 3.25 TCFF Mixed Team with TCFF Committee Members and TRNC Prime Minister Irsen Kucuk, celebrating championship on the pitch

Figure 3.26 *Van Basten*, a member of TCFF Committee, giving an interview to Cyprus Genç TV, a satellite TV broadcasting in Cyprus and London

Figure 3.27 TCFF delegation, carrying a banner with the logos of all clubs in the TCFF leagues, at the Funeral Cortege of late founding President of the Turkish Republic of Northern Cyprus, Rauf Denktaş, on 15.03.2012

Figure 3.28 Just before the state funeral of Rauf Denktaş, top level politicians and military officials are gathering at Fazil Kucuk's mausoleum

Figure 3.29 President of TCFF London, Turgut Esendağlı, after placing a wreath on behalf of TCFF before the funeral ceremony, on 15.03.2012

Figure 3.30 London Akincilar FC together with TRNC Akincilar FC before the friendly match

Figure 3.31 A TRNC national newspaper reads Boğaziçis have met: London Yeni Boğaziçi and [Cyprus] Yeni Boğaziçi football teams have played a friendly match

Figure 3.32 The London *Akıncılar* FC players visiting the Akincilar village in North Cyprus posing with the sign of the village

Figure 3.33 One *Akıncılar* one player is on an agricultural tractor

Figure 4.1 The Simplified Conception of Diaspora Politics

Figure 4.2 The Complex and Dynamic Field of Diaspora Politics

Figure 4.3 A newspaper clip from Hurriyet, 1978

Figure 4.4 An invitation to the Federation Cup Final of the newly found London Turkish Community Football League

Figure 4.5 The message from the President of this league in the same document

Figure 4.6 Archival document, dated 1995, giving information on the former Federation managements, sponsors, and so on

Figure 4.7 A newspaper clip from Hurriyet, 1982

Photo 4.8 The London Turkish Masters FC squad during their official visit to TRNC Prime Minister İrsen Küçük, February 2011

Figure 4.9 TCFF Executive Committee Member and a player of Turkish Masters FC, *Van Basten*, and myself before a preparation match against a TCFF 2nd division team, on 27.03.2011

Figure 4.10 London Turkish Masters FC in Antalya. The complete squad posing at the entrance of the hotel under the flags of the countries represented in the tournament

Figure 4.11 The London Turkish Masters FC players on the pitch for their opening match against Kütahya Masters

Figure 4.12 The advert that was posted by the Facebook group page of AD Veteranos Ribado FC on the Facbook group page of London Turkish Masters FC on the veteran football tournament in Spain

Figure 4.13 The U16 Candidate National Team at the Selection Camp in Bielefeld, Germany

Figure 4.14 The scenes from the visit of Turkish Parliamentary Commission in London as presented in the TCFF annual booklet

Figures 4.15-17 Three consecutive pages from Olay newspaper, a Turkish daily published in London

Figure 4.18 Transfer of prisoners in Cyprus when the British took over, 1878

Figure 4.19 A figure which reads ‘we waited and they came!’

Figure 4.20 A post by Yalova FC on its Facebook group page and comments by individual users

Figure 4.21 Two messages posted by individual users on the TCFF Facebook Group page

Figure 4.22 Actors and Levels in a preliminary Model of Diaspora Politics

Figure 5.1 Two players of *Akıncılar* FC of the London TCFF League pose on an agricultural tractor

Figure 5.2 An *Akıncılar* FC player poses next to the village sign his club represents

Figure 5.3 The banquet hall is decorated with Turkish and Turkish-Cypriot national flags as well as balloons in the club colours at an Annual *Yeni Boğaziçi* FC Ball

Figure 5.4 The display of all the trophies and medals won throughout the season at an Annual *Yeni Boğaziçi* FC Ball

Figure 5.5 The official logo of TCFF

Figure 5.6 The official logo of TKFF

Figure 5.7 The official logo of the Kurdish Community organisation Day-Mer

Figure 5.8 A highly unusual precaution, before the highly anticipated DTB-Iskele match, the playing field is surrounded by a tape preventing people from interfering with the game

Figure 6.1 *Anchovy*, the mascot of the TCFF league is presenting the TCFF pennon to another team mascot at the Antalya International veteran football tournament

Figure 6.2 *Anchovy*, one of the most popular mascots of TCFF football, wearing a tshirt that says 'I would rather become Fatih Ürek than support Fenerbahçe'

Figure 6.3 Fatih Ürek on the cover of one of his older albums

Figure 6.4 The London Turkish Masters FC players and their accompanying family members in front of the hotel

Figure 6.5 The London Turkish Masters FC players by the swimming pool of the luxurious hotel

Figure 6.6 A newspaper clip on the welcome increasing presence of women in TCFF Annual balls in late 1970s

Figure 6.7 A newspaper clip from 1982-83 (?) on a female referee that was assigned to a local league game which is played in the same park as TCFF games

Figure 6.8 Girlfriends and female relatives are present in Championship celebrations, but not during most of the season leading up to it

Figure 6.9 *Akıncılar-Yalova* Championship game 1 May 2011, presence of women does bring a festival-like atmosphere, especially at final games such as this one

Figure 6.10 Families of the Champions Bogazici FC U16 team taking a celebration photo

Figure 6.11 Two female sport journalists capturing images from a game

Figure 7.1 Ergazi FC 1979 team. All of the players are Turkish immigrants themselves from Cyprus, and mostly from their namesake village Ergazi

Figure 7.2 *Ronaldo* and Turgut Esendagli together before Lapta v. Akincilar FC game in Cyprus

Figure 7.3 Footballers celebrating their success. Players of Akincilar dancing with the cups they have won in the season at their annual ball

Figure 7.4 Players and coach of Yalova FC presenting the spoils of a wonderful season

Figures 7.5-6 Scenes from the London Riots of 2011

Figure 7.7 A poster advertising a Football Spring Festival with Turkish food, music, and people

Figure 7.8 TCFF London Mixed team visiting the TRNC Republican Parliamen

Figure 7.9 Two *Akıncılar* FC players are on an agricultural tractor for the first time

Figure 7.10 On the team bus of BJK, the coach Onder is making players come up for a performance

Figure 7.11 BJK U16 team on the training camp

Figure 7.12 Colin Kazım Richards at an international game with the Turkish shirt

Figure 7.13 Yalova FC Under-8s with West Ham United Under-8s

Figure 7.14 Players of *Anadolu* FC at a shisha cafe having shisha and playing backgammon with their coach

Figure 7.15 One of the most diverse teams, *Doğan Türk Birliği* FC, with their Federation Cup

Figure 7.16 The Albanian team FC Elbasani in the Turkish Kurdish League

Figure 8.1 The five key factors suggested to be contributing to integration by the CLG report

PART I

INTRODUCTION, BACKGROUND, METHODS

INTRODUCTION

This doctoral dissertation is on the field ethnic community football and the Turkish-speaking community[1] in London, which comprises three significant ethnic communities; Turkish-Cypriots[2], Turks[3] from Turkey, and Kurds[4] from Turkey. It is also on the questions of reproduction of cultural identity, dynamics of cultural integration, terms for a sense of belonging, diaspora politics, and everyday transnationalism. It aims to look at this community and investigate these major questions in the transnational field of organised ethnic community football.

When we look at the general picture of the Turkish-speaking community in London in 2013, we see that football has become one of the biggest, most effective, most dynamic and most inclusive arenas for organising the very diverse Turkish-speaking community some 37 years after it was established in 1976. This arena hosts two football federations (the Turkish Community Football Federation [1976] and the Turkish Kurdish Football Federation [1992]); over 50 football clubs; many community associations, including mosques, owning and managing clubs which represent their respective identities in the regular competitions; significant local and transnational media attention; and many companies from the Turkish-speaking community offering financial sponsorships.

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[1] The choice to use the term 'Turkish-speaking community' instead of 'Turkish-speaking communities', both being not only plausible but also in common usage, is a deliberate one and has not been made lightly. See below for a short disclaimer and the next chapter for a full discussion and justification.

[2] The Turkish-Cypriots are not an easy group to name. They call themselves, and are called by others, either *Kıbrıslı* (Cypriot) or *Kıbrıs Türkü* (Cypriot Turk) depending on the context and on which aspect of their identity they wish to emphasize. Many later generation Turkish-Cypriots also call themselves British on occasion.

[3] The Turks from Turkey usually call themselves so, i.e. *Türk*. Occasionally, they are also called *Türkiyeli* (one from Turkey).

[4] The Kurds from Turkey call themselves *Kürt* (Kurd), *Türkiye Kürdü* (Turkey Kurd), or *Türk/Türkiyeli* (Turkish/ one from Turkey) referring to their country of origin.

Over the past few years, a growing academic literature has reflected the increasing political salience and centrality of the questions of how to manage diversity. While also reflecting the complex, highly politicised, and context-specific nature of these very questions, this literature is an extremely diverse one with respect to the social science disciplines investigating it, the theoretical perspectives they adopt, methodological approaches they employ, and the research agendas they have. This doctoral dissertation has adopted an anthropological approach, centered on ethnographic fieldwork to try to infiltrate the daily lives of the subjects of analysis and to deal with such subjective and sensitive questions involving identities, perceptions, feelings, and attitudes.

Turkish-speaking community in London

Baumann (1996: 10) complains that in community studies there is a general essentialising tendency:

> [P]age one isolates some community of culture that the author had pre-defined, and the final page concluded that it, or they, were 'encapsulated'. The author's conclusion, in other words, seemed predetermined by the fieldworker's starting-point.

He finds in his study in the diverse London neighbourhood of Southall that there are, in fact, 'communities within communities, as well as cultures across communities' (Baumann 1996: 10). Talking about 'a Turkish-speaking community' instead of, say, Turkish communities, I make a deliberate analytical choice, which will be justified in the next chapter. However, I need to note here from the outset that I do not use this term to suggest that there is a homogeneous Turkish-speaking community that has a single, reified, and essentialised cultural identity. Just like Baumann's ethnographic subjects of analysis, there are, in fact, communities within the Turkish-speaking community as well as cultures across these communities and other communities.

The Turkish-speaking community is not the most significant or the biggest minority community in London. Neither has London been the most popular destination for Turkish-speaking migrants in Europe. However, there are several reasons that make studying the Turkish-speaking community in London and football a worthwhile effort. First, the Turkish-speaking community in London is unique when compared to other Turkish communities in Europe since it is more diverse than any other, mostly due to the predominant place of the Turkish-Cypriots. Second, the Turkish-speaking community in London has become increasingly visible and significant over the past few years, particularly in the Northern boroughs of the metropolis. The increasing physical visibility of the Turkish-speaking community in London is matched with an increased influence on the city's urban culture with respect to food, entertainment and shopping venues, barbershops, and so on. Such growing significance and visibility, however, has yet to create an equivalent level of academic attention. Neither has there been any significant and reliable official data on this community, leading some commentators to call it an 'invisible minority' (Enneli et al. 2005). Third, the historical role of football in the organisation and mobilization of the Turkish-speaking community in London and its centrality as a civil society organisation today is so great that studying this field promises to be illuminating in terms of the politics and sociology of multicultural societies. This holds true for the relationships at the local, national, and transnational levels.

Football as a Field

As will be discussed in detail in the next two chapters, the analytical priority of this research was not to test any hypotheses or answer a set of, no matter how important, predetermined research questions. This research aims to avoid such an approach, which inevitably runs the risk of posing biased, loaded, and thus leading, questions, which in turn

could amount to little more than ‘what should happen to achieve X?’, ‘what would happen if we assume Y happened’, or ‘what has to happen so that Z can happen?’. All of these, surely, might be valid academic questions in certain contexts. Instead, the main intention of this research has been to focus on the selected social field with its political, economic, and cultural relationships to examine the complexity of diasporic communities as a whole. In other words, the major goal of this study has been to see ‘what happens’, without posing any potentially biased questions such as those cited above. Of course, while looking at this field and trying to understand and appreciate ‘what happens’ within it, there are major themes in focus which are derived from major academic as well as public and political discussions (see below); however, the priority has been to observe, analyze, and represent the various significant relationships that are forged, sustained, and contested within the selected field by the selected diasporic communities.

Pierre Bourdieu, an influential French sociologist and thinker, has suggested that social research should focus on hierarchically organized yet homologously structured ‘**fields**’ in which ‘agents’ -and not passive subjects- interact with one another in their attempt of maximizing specific forms of ‘capital’ - not necessarily reducible to economic or political capital, instead of focusing on a predetermined set of subjects. This, he suggested, was because one can “observe and understand everything that human practices reveal only when they are seen in their mutual relationships ... as a totality” (Bourdieu 1984: xiv). Therefore, any meaningful social aspect of human life should be studied in relation to other cultural practices and social influences in the view of a more ‘integrated analytical approach, overlapping the **historical**, the **anthropological** and the **sociological** in the cultural analysis’ (Tomlinson 2004: 163, emphasis added).

So why the field of football? For one thing, its size, structure, and dynamism makes it one of the most significant social fields which would be used for the purposes of this study.

Secondly, the nature of the field itself makes it a perfect public platform to locate and investigate various agents pursuing varied agendas using different amounts of assorted capital. Sport (as distinct from play), after all, is not something that has evolved as a natural part of human life (McKay 1991); rather, it is a social institution which reflects dominant social values and power relations (Messner 1992). Modern sport has been shown to have originated from deliberate attempts by ruling-class hegemonies in late-19th-century and early-20th-century Britain and America to control the character development of school-aged males (Burgess et al. 2003; McKay 1991; Messner 1992). One catalyst for these attempts was a 'crisis of masculinity' (Messner 1992), which was experienced amongst White, ruling-class males as changes to work conditions and social structures brought fears that society was becoming 'feminised' (Burgess et al. 2003: 199). A more extensive discussion of what has made and still makes football an attractive social field for many people will be provided in the following chapters.

The above discussed aim for an 'integrated' perspective has been an inspiration for this research and therefore I have sought to include all the agents within the field of organised amateur football in the Turkish-speaking community in London. Keep in mind that, according to Bourdieu, a field is a structured space of 'positions and position-takings' where:

> each position ... (i) is subjectively defined by the system of distinctive properties by which it can be situated relative to other positions; (ii) that every position, even the dominant one, depends for its very existence, and for the determinations it imposes on its occupants, on the other positions constituting the field; (iii) and that the structure of the field, i.e. of the space of positions, is nothing other than the structure of the distribution of the **capital of specific properties** which governs success in the field and the winning of the external or specific profits which are at stake in the field (Bourdieu 1993:30, emphasis added).

This conceptualization allows us to conveniently situate the actual and potential agents (or subjects of analysis) within a single transnational social context, in that it doesn't require

the different agents to occupy the same physical locality. Moreover, it allows us to situate each agent, individual or institution, in relation to all other agents and to the overall field by using specific positions that impose specific determinations on their occupants. Of course, there is a constant complex interplay between the changing state of the field which is reflected on the structure of positions, agents' certain specific characteristics, the level of specific capital available to each agent and/or position in the field, and agents' strategies to improve their positions in relation to the relevant stakes in a given field. Therefore, a definitive and static field cannot be possibly identified. In fact:

> The boundary of the field is a stake of struggles, and the social scientist's task is not to draw a dividing line between the agents involved in it by imposing a so-called operational definition, which is most likely to be imposed on him by his own prejudices or presuppositions, but to describe a state (long-lasting or temporary) of these struggles and therefore of the frontier delimiting the territory held by competing agents. (Bourdieu 1993: 42)

The field of Turkish-speaking ethnic community football in London, then, is at the centre of this research, methodologically and analytically. While it wouldn't be wrong to conceptualize the field of ethnic community football as a theoretical and methodological snippet or cross-section of the larger ethnic community, as analytically defined in the next chapter, in accordance to the Turkish-speaking community in London, doing so would be a reductionist way of looking at the methodological approach here. The Turkish-speaking community can moreover also be conceptualized as a sample ethnic group used to analyze the internal dynamics of this significant transnational social field, which would be even more reductionist but yet equally feasible.

Main Research Themes

There are, indeed, some significant research themes that have been investigated within and through this field. These research themes, as briefly introduced below and further

contextualized in the following chapters, are born out of the contemporary debates and discussions both in social sciences and in public, surrounding the issues of 'super-diversity' which is marked by a

> dynamic interplay of variables, including: country of origin (comprising a variety of possible subset traits such as ethnicity, language, religious tradition, regional and local identity, cultural values and practices), migration channel, and legal status (including myriad categories determining a hierarchy of entitlements and restrictions). (Vertovec 2007: 3)

There are also, partly as a result of this super-diversity, increasing xenophobia and anti-immigration sentiments, anxieties over identities and the growing importance of 'identity politics', a process labelled by some commentators as a 'backlash against diversity' (see, for example, Grillo 2005; Vasta 2009).

There are three major themes which are formulated in the face of this context and out of these discussions, which have been in the focus of the methodological and theoretical investigation presented in the following chapters:

The diaspora politics theme in the transnational field of football is concerned with how football has emerged as a significant 'transnational social space' in which important political, social, and cultural relationships that span several national borders have been established and sustained by Turkish-speaking individuals and their institutions. I will also inquire how football has been used by the Turkish-speaking community in London as well as in various institutions in Turkey and Cyprus to engage with one another or with third parties to achieve meticulously calculated aims. I refer to these relations with the notion of diaspora politics, which will be elaborated on in detail in Chapter 4.

The identity theme concerns the formation, reproduction, and negotiation of identities in the Turkish-speaking community. In today's highly politicised discussions on ethnic, religious, and cultural diversity; the terms such as Muslims, Turkish (or Kurdish),

immigrants, refugees, and so on, are used in their most reified and essentialised form. This holds true for the politicians, media, larger publics, and even the immigrant or minority communities themselves. In reality, however, identities are socially constructed, dynamic, and relational. People are known to bear multiple identities and switch across them, sometimes strategically. As there are still, and will continue to be, crucial variables in such debates as well as social policies and social research; it is necessary to have a better understanding of how such identities are formed, negotiated, and maintained.

The cultural integration theme investigates, in turn, the implications of involvement in the field of organised amateur football on the 'cultural integration' of Turkish-speaking immigrants. More generally, is there a direct casual link between active engagement in ethnic sports and immigrants' integration? The general assumption in the literature as well as in the political discourses seem to be affirmative, while recent research has suggested a more complicated picture, positing that involvement in ethnically-organised sport might be counterproductive in terms of integration by causing further segregation. In addition to presenting this complex picture of football in terms of cultural integration, this dissertation also aims to discuss the ways in which local and/or national governments can consider using football as an effective tool for integration.

The Fieldwork

To answer its main questions, the research project employed a number of qualitative and quantitative research tools mostly in the framework of 1.5 years of fieldwork in London. The fieldwork was conducted between July 2010 and January 2012 with Haringey as its center. The timing of the fieldwork was arranged so as to cover the full 2010-2011 season of the TCFF and TKFF leagues in London. The participant observation of the social life of the Turkish-speaking community has been complemented with 72 tape-recorded in-depth

interviews, a daily review of the local and transnational Turkish media, and a detailed review of the personal and institutional archives on the history of the Turkish-speaking ethnic community football in London. In addition to the London fieldwork, three international research trips were conducted accompanying the TCFF and other institutional actors (two such trips were to Northern Cyprus and the third was to Turkey). As part of my efforts to engage more closely with the activities of the TCFF and to establish good rapport with certain significant actors, a number of responsibilities were assumed, particularly including the writing of a book on the history of TCFF and Turkish football in London in celebration of its 35th anniversary. As a result of rigorous ethnographic fieldwork, a rich data set has been created which involves a wealth of field notes, visual and voice recordings, and archival documents. The details of the fieldwork process, the employed methods, and the nature of the different forms of ethnographic data that have been collected will be extensively discussed in Chapter 2.

Organisation/Synopsis of the Chapters

This doctoral dissertation is organised in five parts. Throughout, I try to argue and illustrate that organised ethnic amateur football is a significant diasporic social field, transnational both in its design and essence, in which significant political, social, cultural, and economic relations are formed, sustained, and contested everyday. It will be argued and supported with ethnographic evidence that the nature of these relations are inevitably dependent on the nature and structure of the specific field in which they come to exist. Therefore, any discussion on the political-economy, identities, or cultural integration of any specific diasporic community, needs to direct a holistic gaze upon the field in and through which these matters are to be explored, since only through such a perspective would it be possible to make sense of the context-dependent complexity and totality of these relations.

As such, organised ethnic community football is selected out of academic and logistical considerations, which are justified in the following two chapters, and, in fact, many other similar social fields could have been selected for a similar investigation.

Before the three main analytical parts in which I present the ethnographic evidence and analysis on the main research themes, the following two chapters in '**Part I: Introduction, Background, Methods**', I aim to deepen this introduction chapter, firstly, by placing the research into a larger analytical and theoretical context; and, secondly, by describing and justifying the mixed-methodology used in the data collection for this dissertation.

In **Chapter 1**, '***Transnational Diaspora Politics, Identities, and Integration: The Theoretical Context***', I begin by providing an account of the Turkish-speaking community in London with respect to its migration history, composition, and some demographic characteristics. The deliberate choice of labeling this diverse group as 'the Turkish-speaking community' is discussed and justified. Next, I present the theoretical perspective adopted in this study which has relied significantly on Bourdieuian terminology, after having reviewed and discussed the two major theoretical perspectives which are dominant in the social science literatures on sport, i.e. functionalism and conflict theory. Then, I discuss the relevance and appropriation of the concept of 'field', and describe the field of Turkish-speaking football in London as conceptualized in this research. I finish this chapter by contextualizing the three research themes through a selective yet comprehensive review of relevant social science literatures.

In **Chapter 2, '*Fieldwork, Methods, and Material: An Ethnography of Immigrant Football***', I turn to questions of methodology. I describe my London fieldwork and the main methods used in it. The main methods of data collection, which include participant observation, in-depth interviews, engaging institutional actors, analyzing various secondary sources of information, and international research trips, which are briefly

introduced in this Introduction Chapter, are described and justified to a fuller extent. Next, I describe and reflect on my subjective position in the field, which is a crucial exercise in any ethnography. Since such diverse methods of data collection have been employed, the nature of collected material is not uniform. Thus, I provide a discussion on the ontological and epistemological bases of the material collected through different methods. I close the chapter with a discussion of the place and position of the present ethnography in the wider literature of sporting ethnographies.

After providing an analytical, theoretical, and methodological background; I present the findings and analysis of the research in three analytical parts. In **Part II, 'Diaspora Politics and Transnationalism'**, I present the field of Turkish-speaking ethnic community football in London as part of a larger transnational social field. In addition, in this part of the dissertation I argue that 'diaspora politics' have become much more complex than its simplified conception as the macro-level attempts of immigrant sending-country governments to mobilise and benefit from the economic and political resources of their diasporas.

In **Chapter 3**, '***Creation of a Politicised Transnational Space in Diaspora: Football as a Bridge between London and Cyprus'***, I present a set of historical as well as contemporary ethnographic data, which together help historically and politically contextualize the field of Turkish-speaking football as it stands today into a larger transnational political framework. Particularly, I review the international conjuncture created by the Cyprus conflict, which had peaked in 1974, and its implications for the Cypriot diasporic communities, both Turkish and Greek, in London. Then, the process is reviewed in which the Turkish-Cypriot community has mobilized around an ethnic football league, which was established together with the newly appointed envoy of the de-facto Turkish-Cypriot state and a Turkish nationalist newspaper published in London. Lastly, I

present the case that Turkish-speaking ethnic football has functioned as a bridge between the Turkish-Cypriots, a minority in London as well as in Cyprus, and their homeland. The findings of the two trips to Cyprus on the continuing significance of football as a bridge are also presented in this chapter.

In **Chapter 4**, **'*Diaspora Politics in the Transnational Social Field of Turkish-Speaking Football in London*'**, I suggest that there is compelling evidence requiring a call to redefine the term of 'diaspora politics' in an enlarged and much more transnational, instead of international, way. To make and substantiate this argument, I first present a brief review of the concepts of transnational social spaces and diaspora politics. Then, I present the rich ethnographic material on the various levels of diaspora politics in this transnational social field. The large number of examples is presented to illustrate the fact that both the number of actors and the diversity of their nature have immensely grown. Before discussing the implications of this growth, I present one last section on one of the major enabling factors of the transnationalism in this growing field: Information Technologies (IT). The impact of the developments in IT, and particularly of the Internet, has been so remarkable in the patterns of socialisation and mobilisation of typically scattered diasporic communities, that the concept of digital diasporas has been coined in the literature. I present some evidence from the field of Turkish-speaking football of the applicability of this concept. The chapter closes with a significant call for a redefinition and expansion of the term 'diaspora politics', particularly in the context of the digital age and transnational social fields.

The next part of the dissertation is entitled **'Part III: Football, Identities, and Construction of Masculinity',** where I discuss the relationships between ethnic football and the formation, negotiation, and representation of collective identities. Considering the structure of the specific field in question and the nature of the sport at its center, the two

chapters presented in this part illustrate the interfusion of ethnic identity and masculinity in what is termed a 'masculine Turkish ethnicity' or 'ethnicised (Turkified) masculinity' in the field of Turkish-speaking football.

In **Chapter 5**, '***Imagining a Community: Football, Collective Identities, and Identity Politics*'**, I start by presenting evidence on the production and reproduction of collective diasporic identities in the field. I discuss the centrality of a common fear of losing the youth to assimilation and corruption/degradation, as a major motivation for involvement of mostly older generations in the field. I then present examples of how different types of clubs, such as clubs of hometown/village identities or ones which are established by more politically engaged ethnic community organisations, construct and reproduce different collective identities. Following this, I discuss the negotiation and contestation of identity production processes, which are argued not to be simple processes free from power-relations and struggles. Another central aspect and one of the *raison d'être*s of Turkish-speaking football which is discussed is the representation of various collective identities in and through the field. Next, I present the ethnographic case for the existence of a multiplicity of collective identities, across which individual members of the diasporas shift, sometimes strategically and sometimes unconsciously, depending on the contexts. The chapter closes with a discussion of the necessarily hybrid and multiple collective identities, many of which being the subject matters of competing ethnopolitical (Rothschild 1981) identity projects in the field of Turkish-speaking football, which is suggested to be a peculiar space in between the Turkish-speaking private and the British public, thereby creating significant implications for these various identities and identity projects.

In **Chapter 6**, **'*Gendered Discourses and Construction of Masculine Ethnic Identities in the Field of Turkish-Speaking Football'*,** the suggested interfusion of ethnic/cultural identity and the hegemonic masculinities is elaborated on. The chapter starts with a brief

overview of the relationship between masculinity and its instillation in young males from a historical perspective, with the suggestion that modern competitive sports, including football, have been designed and employed in such a way to celebrate hegemonic masculinity and to teach that hegemony to young children. Then, the bulk of the chapter is devoted to a presentation of the ethnographic evidence on the gendered discourses and construction of masculine identities taking place. While the young boys are demanded to be 'proper Turkish men', this chapter argues that masculinity and diasporic ethnicity establish both a claim to a Turkish ethnic identity and manhood. The chapter next discusses the reasons as well as the implications of exclusion of women from this most dynamic and significant civil society organisation of the Turkish-speaking community in London. The chapter finishes its discussion in an evaluation which suggests that a crisis of masculinity, in fact several crises of masculinity, can be detected in the heavily patriarchal Turkish-speaking community in London, which can be seen in the exclusion and marginalization of women and homosexuals in the field.

In '**Part IV**: **Ethnic Football and Integration (or Segregation?)'**, I consider some significant questions concerning integration, cohesion, and segregation. In particular, I ask whether involvement in ethnic football leads automatically and necessarily to social and cultural integration or segregation for immigrant and minority communities. In addition to considering these important questions using ethnographic evidence on both the potentially positive implications and challenges for integration, I also discuss the possibility of utilising ethnic football in social/political projects and more general integration policies in this part.

In **Chapter 7**, ***'Football and Integration for the Turkish-Speaking Community in London'***, I consider the simple-looking, and simplifying, question of whether a direct causal link exists between involvement in ethnic football and integration of immigrant and minority communities. I start the discussion by presenting the ethnographic evidence from

the fieldwork on the potentially positive implications of involvement in football such as the benefits of easy access to a familiar and inclusive social field for the newly arriving immigrants, and the function of ethnic community football leagues to provide a source of belonging to a recognized ethnic identity, thereby protecting from social marginalisation. Then, I have presented a significant amount of ethnographic evidence on the implications of involvement in ethnic football for the personal and psychological development of the individual such as providing a sense of esteem and confidence, imposing a degree of personal discipline, an understanding of norms, and an appreciation of role models as well as future aspirations. Lastly, I consider the implications of meeting the 'other' on one's own turf in my ethnographic case. After all, although these are ethnic community leagues with restrictions on the number of people from outside of the ethnic community, as defined by each respective league, there is a significant and growing degree of diversity within these leagues.

In **Chapter 8**, ***'Ethnic Community Football, Segregation, and Integration Policy'***, I first present the case for the potential risks of segregation inherent in ethnic organisation, such as the one evident in the ethnic community football leagues. The risks involved and discussed in this chapter include ethnic segregation, gender segregation, as will have already been discussed in part in Chapter 6, however in Chapter 8 I will further discuss the construction of a closed ethnic identity, the implications of rivalry, and presence of competition. After having shown the potentially positive and negative implications of engagement in football, I present a discussion on the suitability of football to devise projects and programmes at local, regional, or national levels aiming to catalyse integration. For this purpose, I critically examine some of the tournaments and projects that have been organised for this stated objective to draw conclusions and implications. The chapter closes by way of prelude to the last conclusion chapter with a discussion of the field of ethnic community football as a space for controlled communal mobilisation and

representation of ethnic identities, which would be beneficial for integration policies in general.

The dissertation finishes with a **Conclusion Chapter** in which I try to weave the main underlying theme which exists throughout my analysis into a compact argument that I present in relation to Bourdieu's two central concepts which were central in the dissertation: i.e. the field and different forms of field-specific capital. Then, I present a brief summary of the research and dissertation with an emphasis on the interlocking and inter-feeding themes and arguments made in each chapter. Of course, though the present study is limited with respect to several issues, the dissertation will be concluded with a brief discussion of these shortcomings.

CHAPTER 1 Transnational Diaspora Politics, Identities, and Integration: The Theoretical Context

1.1 Introduction

I aim to do three things in this first background chapter. First, I will further introduce the Turkish-speaking community in London with respect to how it is defined and conceptualised in this dissertation, along with its history in London and its demographic composition. It is essential for an anthropological work to clearly identify its 'subjects of analysis', in this case a set of diverse diasporic ethnic communities grouped together under a common rubric. In fact, it is easily objectionable to group Kurds from Turkey together with Turkish immigrants from Turkey and Cyprus into a single 'Turkish-speaking community' by referring to the decades-long conflict in the eastern regions of Turkey stemming from Kurds' rejection of assimilation into 'Turkishness' and their demand for the recognition of a separate Kurdish ethnic identity. However, this not uncommon practice of referring to these three groups together is justifiable on some significant analytical and practical grounds, which are presented below.

Second, I will present and justify the theoretical perspective adopted in this study. This theoretical perspective essentially includes an appropriation of some central 'Bourdieuian' analytical and theoretical concepts such as 'field' and 'cultural capital'. The theoretical approach here, moreover, is also informed by the functionalist and conflict perspectives which are dominant in many social science disciplines. I will also discuss the construction of my field, the 'field of Turkish-speaking ethnic community football' (also referred to as the

field of Turkish-speaking football for short), and its operationalisation for the actual fieldwork.

Third, I will review the various social science literatures which have previously investigated the main research questions of this dissertation using sports, thereby contextualising the research themes as identified in the introduction chapter. In other words, the theoretical perspectives, methodological approaches, and empirical and theoretical results of these studies will be critically examined *vis-à-vis* the approaches and perspectives in this study to place this dissertation into a larger scientific context. In the last section, then, I will try to spell out more concretely the place of this study in the larger social science literatures and what its original contribution is for the wider analytical, theoretical, and methodological discussions.

1.2 Turkish-Speaking Community in London: Definition, History, Description

Turkey is traditionally known as an emigration country, although mass emigration from modern Turkey only began in the early 1960s. There have been significant Turkish and Turkish-Kurdish immigrant communities established throughout Europe, North America, Australia, and the Middle East (see Table 1.1). According to the numbers compiled by Icduygu *et al.* (2013: 1) from the official figures released by the Ministry of Labour and Social Security, the estimated number of Turkish citizens living abroad in 2010 was over 3.7 million with more than 80% of this migrant stock living in Europe. When we add the number of naturalised immigrants who have forfeited their Turkish citizenship due to reasons such as the lack of opportunities for dual citizenship in their respective host countries, it is estimated that the number of Turkish immigrants and people with Turkish immigrant origins would be well over 5 million (Abadan-Unat 2011: 3). When we consider the figures in the Table 1.1, a significant part of the decrease in the number of Turkish

immigrants in Germany from 1995 to 2010 could be attributed to the increasing naturalisation rates and the arrival of new generations who are not included in the figures. Even with the main Turkish migrant community in Europe shrinking in official numbers, the increasing Turkish migration to elsewhere in Europe ensures that the size of Turkish migrant population in Europe continues to grow.

Table 1.1 Turkish Migrant Stock Abroad in 1995, 2005, and 2010

	1995		2005		2010	
	# (x 1000)	**%**	**# (x 1000)**	**%**	**# (x 1000)**	**%**
Germany	2049.9	62.0	1912.0	57.9	1629.4	43.2
Total Europe	2841.3	85.9	2714.3	82.1	3052.1	81.0
The Middle East Countries	127.0	3.8	105.0	3.2	162.6	4.3
Australia	45.0	1.4	60.0	1.8	71.0	1.8
CIS Countries*	50.0	1.4	75.0	2.3	104.9	2.7
Other Countries	245.0	7.4	350.0	10.6	375.0	9.9
Total	**3308.3**	**100**	**3304.3**	**100**	**3765.1**	**100**

*** CIS Countries: Commonwealth of Independent States is composed of former Soviet Republics including Armenia, Azerbaijan, Belarus, Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, Moldova, Russia, Tajikistan, Uzbekistan**

Source: Icduygu et al. (2013: 1)

'Turkish-speaking Community': A Definition and Justification

Calling a group of people a 'community' in an academic analysis should not be an easy matter, particularly when what is termed as a 'community' is composed of an extremely diverse group of people, as is the case for this study. Hillery's famous review of the use of 'community' by sociologists and social scientists found that a total of 94 different meanings were attributed to this term (Hillery 1955). Therefore, it is necessary both to define in what sense the term is employed here and to justify its use in reference to the groups of people it is used to describe.

The initial tendency is to consider the term ‘community’ a polite, even solidary, concept which describes a group with ‘a particular set of values and norms in everyday life: mutuality, co-operation, identification and symbiosis’ (Gilroy 1987: 234). In the dominant discourse, as identified by Gerd Baumann (1996), ‘community becomes the conceptual bridge between “culture” and “ethnos” in a circular argument’:

> Those defined as ethnic minorities must form a community based on their reified culture; and their culture must appear in reified form, because they are, after all, identified as a community.
>
> An astonishingly simple equation: ‘Culture = community = ethnic identity = nature = culture’ (Baumann 1996: 17).

However, this way of using the term, albeit being quite popular in political discussions, is an obviously essentialising and simplifying, as well as dangerous, way of conceptualising the world. Particularly when this equation is used as a basis for ‘multiculturalist’ policies or organisation, it definitely runs the risk of essentialising the idea of culture as the property of an ethnic group as well as the risk of ‘overemphasizing the internal homogeneity of culture in terms that potentially legitimize repressive demands for communal conformity’ (Turner 1993: 412). In real life such a circulatory equation is demonstrably false; there are ‘communities within communities, as well as cultures across communities’ (Baumann 1996: 10).

Therefore, I admit from the outset that I do not consider the Turkish-speaking community to be a coherent and homogeneous collectivity with a reified culture and a single cultural identity. I agree with Anthony Cohen (1985), who suggests that the term community should not be seen to carry any substantive meaning in itself, and that it is a contextually contingent ‘symbolic construction’. Similarly, I consider ethnicity to be a context-dependent and relational term. Which criteria (i.e. shared language, common homeland, nationality, religion, etc.) is stressed in determining and describing an ethnic community is inevitably

context-based, and the process in which only some people will be considered to be within the 'boundaries' of an ethnicity is necessarily a relational one (Barth 1969). Yet, no matter how 'irredeemably relational and thus analytically impotent' the term may be, it is not possible to ignore it in an ethnographic description (Baumann 1996: 19).

I have chosen to term the three ethnic groups, the Turkish-Cypriots, and the Turks and the Kurds from Turkey (these last two sometimes merged under the category of *Türkiyeli*- meaning someone from Turkey) as a Turkish-speaking community mostly for analytical and descriptive purposes. Significantly, apart from the obvious cultural, religious, and linguistic commonalities that tie each ethnic group to the others; the level of social interaction amongst them is very high in their daily lives. They reside, work, eat, provide and get services, and spend leisure times mostly in the same parts of London. They significantly depend on each other economically for their business, so much so that I have very often heard that 'they have to put up with each other' for business even though they were adversaries or even 'arch enemies'.[5] It is also the case that, even when they refer to their own 'identity' as a distinct community, they tacitly or explicitly acknowledge the existence of other two communities in a way that suggest they consider their own community to be a part of this bigger community, no matter how problematic they may consider the two other communities to be. The historical trajectories of these three communities also appear to follow one another. When the Turks arrived in the 1970s and onwards, they settled around and worked mostly with the Turkish-Cypriots in North London. Although the increasingly more prosperous Cypriots have gradually started leaving North London and dispersing around London, they have kept very strong

[5] Such testimonies mostly came from more recent immigrants from Turkey, either Turkish or Kurdish, referring to each other. This is mostly because, as explained below in the section on history of their migration, most Kurdish immigrants from Turkey are asylum-seekers who have claimed that they escaped persecution in Turkey, while a majority of the economic immigrants from Turkey are from rather conservative and nationalist backgrounds (Atay 2006, 2010). It is little wonder, then, there has been a tension between the Turks and Kurds from Turkey, while the Cypriots tend to stay away from this tension, professing a distaste of both newcomer groups.

economic relations with the newcomer Turks in the North as new customers, renters, and employees. The same kind of relationship seems to have been experienced when the Kurds started arriving in North London in the 1980s and onwards (Atay 2006, 2010; Aydin 2001).

I have chosen to stress the common language in naming my constructed community, although it must be noted that for the Kurds from Turkey, a vast majority of whom have a good command of Turkish, the mother tongue is *usually*[6] Kurdish, because the language in the diasporic context has established a common space for these three communities to communicate, do business, and engage in cultural activities. Also, it must be noted that the linguistic commonality seems to be the widest, most encompassing, and least contested common denominator amongst these groups (Atay 2006, 2010).

Obviously in many contexts the three major ethnic groups are referred to and treated as distinct communities in public or academic discourse (Atay 2006; Enneli et al. 2005; GLA 2009; Hackney 1999; Issa 2006). Very closely replicating the results of Baumann's (1996) influential study on Southall, the people themselves do the very same thing: they refer to themselves as distinct communities carrying different cultures in some contexts, while in others referring to themselves as a single 'Turkish' community in London. Obviously, had I chosen to use the 'Turkish, Kurdish, and Turkish-Cypriot communities' instead of the 'Turkish-speaking community', I would have had to perform the same definition and justification exercise, which would have been equally arbitrary and equally directed by my analytical and practical concerns.

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[6] Due to a long history of assimilationist policies in Turkey, some ethnic Kurds have been forced to adopt Turkish as their first language, particularly if they migrated into urban regions where competency in Turkish is a must and a Kurdish accent is usually regarded as symbolising one's rural roots. Similar to the concern of many international immigrant parents who demand their children have an accent-free, 'flawless' English, many Kurdish parents have raised their children in a Turkish-speaking house (see Smits and Gunduz-Hosgor (2003)).

Many academic studies (Aksoy 2006; Atay 2010; Jørgensen 2003; Lytra and Baraç 2009; Strüder 2003; Wright and Kurtoglu-Hooton 2006) and policy-oriented research reports (Hoggart et al. 2000) have used the same categorical concept, a Turkish-speaking community, to refer to these diverse communities with ease. Obviously, referring to a Turkish-speaking community encompassing all the diverse Turkish-Cypriot, Turkish, and Turkey-Kurd (or Kurdish or Turkish-Kurdish) communities makes significant pragmatic and practical sense insofar as one does not assign or insinuate any cultural homogeneity. Since my aim in this research is not to describe, analyse, and interpret the terms of or meaning systems inherent within a culture in the Turkish-speaking community I use this term to analytically refer to this diverse group of individuals.

History of Turkish Migration in the UK and London

Although when 'Turkish immigrants in Europe' are concerned, countries like Germany, France and the Netherlands come to mind, the first Turkish Association in Europe, the *Kıbrıs Türk Cemiyeti* (Turkish Cypriot Association-TCA) was established in London in 1951, more than a decade before the mass immigration to Germany even started in 1963 (Abadan-Unat 2011). The current chairman, who has been in his post since 1974, says that it could possibly be the first Turkish association in the world but he has heard that there was one established in the USA before 1951. TCA was established by the Turkish-Cypriot students who came to London for their studies, students which included a former Prime Minister of TRNC, Osman Örek, and a famous Cypriot lawyer, Nevzat Karagil. The main purposes of the TCA were to provide a platform for the Turkish-Cypriots to come together and socialise as well as help and support each other.

London had been the destination for many members of the Ottoman ruling class and its opposition in the disintegration period of the Empire. In fact, the current Mayor of London,

Boris Johnson, is the great grandson of one such exiled individual, the dissident journalist Ali Kemal Bey. However, Turkish migration to London did not start in more significant numbers until the 1940s, mainly in the form of the migration of Turkish Cypriots (Atay 2006). Cyprus entered British rule in 1915 after 300 years of Ottoman rule. In 1925, Cyprus was declared a Crown Colony, giving all Cypriots the de facto right to move freely within the Empire (Dodd 2010). The number of Turkish Cypriots moving to London consistently rose during WWII and in years following (Aydin 2001; Bhatti 1981; Ladbury 1977). While reliable figures are next to impossible to find, it can be safely suggested that a vast majority of the Turkish immigrants in London were from Cyprus until the 1970s.

Starting from the mid-70s, the number of immigrants from Turkey started to rise, partly because the 'OPEC oil crisis' led many Western European governments to put an end to the bilateral labour agreements that were in place since the early 1960s. Their immigration to London continued and diversified in the late 1970s and 1980s when the initial economic migrants who were mainly employed in the textile and food industries were followed by an increasing number of student migrants who first came to learn English or have a post-graduate degree in the UK and then stayed on (Atay 2006; Aydin 2001; GLA 2009).

The most recent group to arrive in London was the Kurds from Turkey who only started arriving in the mid-1980s in larger numbers. This had mostly to do with Turkey's deteriorating Kurdish problem (Barkey and Fuller 1998) and most Kurdish immigrants arrived as asylum-seekers and were admitted as refugees (GLA 2009; Hackney 1999). Two major waves of Kurdish immigrants could be identified; one in the mid-1980s following the 1980 military coup in Turkey together with other political refugees and the second one in the mid-1990s following violent clashes between the Kurdish separatist organization, the PKK (Kurdistan Workers' Party), and the Turkish military, which reached a historical climax in the early 1990s (Atay 2006; Aydin 2001).

Table 1.2 Different Figures of Turkish-Speaking Community in London	
Source	**Numbers**
Greater London Authority (GLA 2009)	150,000 Turkish immigrants (referring to all Turkish-speaking immigrants)
Ünal Çeviköz, Turkish Ambassador to London	400,000 UK residents of Turkish origin*
Atay (2006)	250,000 Turkish-speaking migrants in the UK (120,000 Turkish Cypriots + 80,000 Turkey Turks + 50-60,000 Turkey Kurds)
Yasemin Brett, Former Mayor of Enfield- quoted in Atay (2006)	250,000 Turkish-speaking migrants in London only
Yilmaz (2001)	250,000 Turkish-speaking immigrants in the UK
Vertovec (2007)	51,000 Turkish citizens in the UK 73,900 Turkish-speakers in London
SOPEMI UK 2012 (Salt 2012)	77,000 country of birth Turkey; 40,000 Turkish citizens 54,000 country of birth Cyprus; 13,000 Non-EU Cyprus citizens
* This figure is taken from the Ambassador's Message page on the website of Turkish Embassy in London (http://london.emb.mfa.gov.tr/AmbassadorsMessage.aspx -last accessed on 13 January 2014) . In the English page the terminology was as quoted above. However, in the Turkish version of this same page, the ambassador says that 'there is a Turkish-speaking community of 400,000 people'. This also shows both the commonness of this way of reference and the fluidity with which this community is labelled.	

The Turkish-speaking Community in London

Arguably in no other country is the Turkish-speaking community as diverse with respect to its ethnic composition, country of origins, religious affiliations, and political views as it is in the UK. Today, Turkish-speaking immigrants have become a significant community especially in North London. There are varying estimates on the number of Turkish-speaking immigrants in London and in the UK (See Table 1.2).

The statistics from the most recent population census, which took place in 2011, only started to become available as these lines were written. Although a detailed analysis will not be presented here, its preliminary releases on Turkish-speaking community are

summarised in the Table 1.3 below. Accordingly, the number of residents in England and Wales who reported their country of birth as Turkey is 91,115, while almost 60,000 of these individuals live in London. The top five London boroughs with the greatest number of residents born in Turkey are Enfield, Haringey, Hackney, Islington, and Waltham Forest (see Table 1.3).

Table 1.3 Data on Turkish-speaking community from UK Population Census, 2011	
Residents in England and Wales Country of Birth: Turkey	**91,115**
Residents in England Country of Birth: Turkey	**89,484**
Residents in London Country of Birth: Turkey	**59,596**
Residents in Inner London Country of Birth: Turkey	31,717
Harringey	10,096
Hackney	8,982
Islington	3,777
Residents in Outer London Country of Birth: Turkey	27,879
Enfield	13,968
Waltham Forest	3,279
Barnet	1,952
Number of UK Passport Holders Country of Birth: Turkey (ONS 2013: 9)	**91,000**
Number of Residents in the UK Nationality: Turkey	**40,000**
Number of Residents in the UK Nationality: Cyprus (Non-EU)	**13,000**
Source: Various tables, reports, and data releases from Office for National Statistics; http://www.ons.gov.uk	

London is home to a majority of the Turkish-speaking community living in England and Wales. 60 per cent of all Turkish-Cypriots and 74 per cent of all Turks living in England and Wales are estimated to be residents of London (GLA 2009: 5). The Kurdish figure is not included considering the particular difficulties of estimating the size of Turkish-speaking Kurds as Kurds in the country come from a number of countries including Turkey and most identify themselves as Kurds during official censuses (GLA 2009: 5).

It appears that the age structures of the three communities correspond to their migration histories. Cypriots have been in the UK the longest and their age structure is closest to that of their host society's. More recent migrants, Turks, are younger and the most recent arrivals of Kurds are reflected in the fact that they have the youngest age structure (GLA 2009: 6). The same can be said about accommodation practices. Kurds and Turks are usually renters living in Council houses while the Cypriots are more likely to be owner-occupiers, another fact to be accounted for with the longer migration history of the latter community. Also, the unemployment rates are significantly higher for Turks and Kurds as compared to the London average; in fact for both communities it is more than twice as high (GLA 2009: 6).

Invisibility and Ambivalence

Of additional importance for the purposes of this dissertation, there is limited literature on the Turkish-speaking community in London that reflects the increasing significance of this growing group of people. This can be attributed partly to the relative numerical insignificance and relatively short history of this community compared to large and established groups such as Indians and Bangladeshis. The limited coverage can also be attributed to the remarkable degree of 'invisibility' of this community in the official statistics and figures. As the Turkish-speaking community is composed of individuals, the majority of

whom consider themselves to belong to the white category and therefore are undetectable as a minority group, the official invisibility has been largely attributed to the tradition of a 'race relations' framework and its legacy in the UK (Aydin 2001; Robins and Aksoy 2001). This 'invisibility' has also been attributed to the relative lack of racial differences in the looks of Turkish-speaking communities (Aksoy 2006).

One factor that further qualifies the cultural diversity within the Turkish-speaking community is the prominent place of 'ambivalence' in the cultural identity. Robins and Aksoy (2001) describe in some detail how Turkish-Cypriot residents of London struggle to situate themselves in relation to Cypriot, mainland Turkish and British discourses of identity. Aksoy (2006), in her study on loyalties of Turkish-speaking communities in the post 9/11 context, also suggests that since Turkish-speaking immigrants could not easily position themselves either with US foreign policies or anti-American Muslims, they couldn't become one of either 'us' or 'them'. Kucukcan (1999) describes how Turkish cultural identity has always been subject to struggle, as individuals are forced to situate themselves with regards to religion and secularism as well as ethnicity. In another study, he also suggests that even the religious practices of Turks which have been diversified, and indeed hybridised, by a strong secular nation-state discourse in Turkey, are now further hybridised by the transnational experience of being in Britain (Kucukcan 2004). In relation to Kurds, it is stated repeatedly that they are the community that is most engaged in ethnopolitics (Rothschild 1981), and that they have the hardest time to define and adopt a secure ethnic identity in the diaspora as their identity has long been suppressed by the nationalist Turkish state to the point where for a long time speaking Kurdish was forbidden in Turkey (Pattison and Tavsanoglu 2002). Now, they face the difficulty of 'constructing' a Kurdish identity out of the remains of their experience in Turkey, which was based in small rural settings, and out of what they have been experiencing with migration in a giant city like London.

Ambivalence, in other words, has been both a dynamic that affects the cultural identity of Turkish-speaking communities in London and that consistently characterises it.

1.3 Theoretical Approach in This Dissertation: Functionalism, Conflict, and Bourdieu

Sport and leisure have long been considered to be peripheral subjects for serious social scientific analysis and theorisation, if not completely irrelevant (Giulianotti 2004; Jarvie and Maguire 1994). This was the case, despite the fact that major theorists such as Marx, Weber, Durkheim, and Simmel have viewed these subjects anything but peripheral (Jarvie and Maguire 1994: 2). In fact, as early as the 18th century, Adam Ferguson suggested that sport was a form of collective ceremony which demonstrates community solidarity (cited in Jarvie and Maguire 1994: 1). Still, treating sport itself as a separate subject for social inquiry is a relatively recent phenomenon, which is marked by the emergence of a plethora of specialised institutions, journals, and other publications in the last decades.

The sociology of sport is usually framed around the differences between two grand theories of societies, functionalism and conflict theory. I believe that the complexity of reality requires one to take account of both the various social functions of and roles played by sport and the social conflict and struggles that take place on and around the sport fields. Therefore, I would like to review the literature for examples of these two main perspectives and then introduce the adopted theoretical framework which aimed to go beyond this duality by encompassing the both, and which is informed by Bourdieu's essential concepts of 'field' and 'different forms of capital'.

1.3.1 Functionalism in Studies of Sport

The classical functionalist view of society, without going into much detail, is a 'system of organically interrelated parts with a tendency towards equilibrium, adapting to the needs of a changing environment and founded on a value consensus' (Giulianotti 2004: 99; cf. Giddens 2001). Sport, then, has long been seen as one such significant social institution with many remarkable 'social functions'. Jarvie and Maguire (1994: 9-10) list some functions of sport that have been highlighted in the social science literature as the following:

> sport is a social institution that transmit values to participants; the rules of sports are, for example, widely agreed and this is perceived to both reinforce and reflect the notion of consensus in society; it reflects existing cultural values (e.g. fair play and achievement striving).

In other words, sport encourages spectators and players, both young and old, to accept dominant cultural values and teaches young people valuable lessons about life in their societies.

This function, and capacity, of sports for transmitting values has been argued to be deliberately designed or reinforced historically to be able to use sports as a teaching tool, particularly in relation to transmitting dominant values of masculinity (Burgess et al. 2003: 200). It has already been central to my perspective in this dissertation as sport has been particularly appealing to community leaders as a teaching and mobilisation tool because of its dual capacity of reaching out to youth and transmitting dominant definitions of hegemonic values.

Sport has been shown to aid in pattern maintenance and tension management (Jarvie and Maguire 1994: 10). Jay Coakley (1990: 23), for instance, suggests sport does this by 'discharging aggression' in a relatively harmless way. This function of football, also, has been very central to this research as it was repeatedly and almost unanimously reported to

have been a reason for people to set up ethnic community football leagues or financially support ethnic community clubs so that 'their kids have a decent and healthy platform to discharge their excess energy and tensions'. The reported logic goes, if the youth didn't have this platform, they would have had to resort to bad habits such as joining gangs on the streets, doing drugs or having sex (an extensive discussion is provided in Chapters 3, 5, and 7 on this issue).

As something that teaches people the basic values and norms of the society in which they live and that performs a useful socioemotional function by creating and spreading feelings of camaraderie and community, sport contributes significantly to social cohesion. In a related manner, one of the most significant 'social functions' or 'roles' of sport is argued to be integrating individuals into society through 'collective representations' (Jarvie and Maguire 1994: 4). In her study on Brazilian football, Lever (1983) suggests that sports help complex modern societies 'cohere' and that 'spectator sport' is one mechanism that builds people's consciousness of togetherness. Politicians have also noted in numerous occasions the importance of sports in terms of social cohesion. Spiro Agnew, for instance, who was then the vice-president of the US, said at the height of the Vietnam War that athletics was 'one of the few bits of glue that holds society together' (Lasch 1979: 202-203). I have discussed the issues of whether active involvement in organised sport automatically helps integration, or whether it leads to ethnic and cultural segregation, and what implications can be inferred to in effectively maximising the integrating[7] function of football in Chapters 7 and 8.

[7]For instance, in terms of its sociological function of societal integration in the way Durkheim would be interested in sport, Curtis et al. (1986) have asked whether major sporting events could be considered as significant 'public ceremonial occasions' which increase social integration and lessen the incidence of suicides. Their analysis included empirical data concerning the World Baseball Series and the Super Bowl in the US, and found that the incidence of suicide DOES 'dip' before and during such major sporting events (Curtis et al. 1986).

Despite its massive popularity in social science literature, the functionalist perspective on sport has also been criticised with serious charges. Jarvie and Maguire (1994: 23) offer a useful summary of such major criticisms toward functionalism:

(i) Functionalism, not only concerning the sociology of sport, has been criticised to be inherently ahistorical, concentrating only on contemporary or abstract societies.

(ii) It has also been argued that functionalism is ineffective in its dealing with social change, as its focus tends to be on "static structures contributing in some reified way to the functional needs of society".

(iii) The nature of the social actor in the functionalist perspective has also been criticised to be 'oversocialised'; i.e. social actors are rather seen as passive and constrained by cultural and social forces than as dynamic and creative.

(iv) Not any less importantly, the functionalist perspective on sport has been criticised for being unable to deal effectively with conflict. In most functionalist analyses, the argument goes, conflict is overlooked or downplayed.

Obviously, as I have made it clear above, when describing and analysing the Turkish-speaking ethnic community football, functionalism as a theoretical perspective has a lot to offer. From the beginning of Turkish community leagues in London, football has been considered to be a tool to use for its various functions. However, when we consider the above cited and well-justified criticisms against a purely functional perspective, we need to consider the literature around the conflict theory, particularly in relation to the historicity of and power relations within the field in question.

1.3.2 A Conflict Perspective in Studies of Sport

The main alternative social theory to functionalism emphasizes the centrality of conflict and suggests that society is shaped by the unequal distribution of power in society (Giddens 2001). From a conflict perspective, the social institution of sport would be viewed as "the product of contending forces, each seeking to exercise control and maximize advantage over the various elements of physical play (like gaining access to commercial or public funding, or excluding 'undesirable' groups from sports clubs)" (Rowe 2004: 100). In other words, far from a functional part of a harmonious system, sport is viewed as the reflection and result of, and a public platform for conflict.

In his criticism of the functionalist view of sport, Richard Gruneau (1975) suggests that the 'primary social function' of sport is the maintenance of inequality through fostering and making social stratification explicit. Moreover, the meaning and practice of sport are viewed as necessarily 'contested' by social classes and other social groupings not necessarily resulting with the inevitable defeat of the proletariat and other subaltern groups (Rowe 2004: 102). Instead of such a crude Marxist perspective, sport and other forms of popular culture are to be seen as 'battlegrounds where social values and relations are shaped, represented and contested' from a Gramscian 'hegemony' perspective (Rowe 2004: 104). John Hargreaves, for example, has argued that 'sport was significantly implicated in the process whereby the growing economic and political power of the bourgeoisie in nineteenth-century Britain was eventually transformed into that class's hegemony in the later part of the century' (Hargreaves 1986: 6-7). I have elaborated on this notion of construction of hegemonic identities particularly in Chapter 6 when discussing how the hegemonic masculinity has been constructed and contested in the field of football.

George Simmel (1955: 50), who considers conflict to be central to understanding the web of group affiliations, suggests that "the more profound, double sense of 'social game' is that not only is the game played in a society (as its external medium) but that, with its help, people actually 'play' 'society'". In other words, Simmel argues that 'the game is not only located in society but, as a social form, the game is society and society is the game' (Jarvie and Maguire 1994: 32). He further argues that it is the 'conflict itself which resolves the tension between contrasts, (Simmel 1955: 14) through the mutual acceptance of the rules that govern the contest. As rivals, opponents are bound to each other:

> One unites in order to fight, and one fights under the mutually recognised control of norms and rules...these unifications...are the technique without which such a conflict that excludes all heterogeneous or objective justifications could not materialise. What is more, the norms of the antagonistic game often are rigorous and impersonal and are observed on both sides with the severity of a code of honour— to an extent hardly shown by groups which are formed for co- operative purposes (Simmel 1955: 35).

Many social scientists and theorists have highlighted the importance of trying to understand the full complexity of the web of relations in the field of sport and their various implications. Simmel, for example, advises sociologists to 'immerse themselves substantively in day-to-day sociation' (cited in Jarvie and Maguire 1994: 33). Therefore, if one wants to analyse either the meaning, content, or implications of such interactions, one needs to get oneself familiarized with the 'stage' as well as the 'back stage' (Birrell and Donnelly 2004: 51).

The conflict perspective with its emphasis on power relations and negotiation of meanings and values in social life has been central to the analysis presented in this dissertation. Also, the suggestion that the social scientist should immerse himself/herself in the day-to-day action is an important methodological and theoretical justification for using ethnographic fieldwork to understand and analyse a complex set of social relationships, such as those under scrutiny here.

Therefore it seems necessary to combine the functionalist insights that focus on the social role and function of ethnic community football with the continuous interplay of power relations, negotiation of meanings, construction of hegemonic notions and values, and their contestation. In the text that follows, I introduce how I have tried to do just this using a Bourdieuian perspective in which both the functionalism and conflicts underlying the everyday social relations concerning football can be conveniently situated in one social space, which can also be used in constructing an analytically sound and practically feasible 'field' for the ethnographic fieldwork.

1.3.3 Bourdieu: Different forms of Capital and Sport as a Field

For an ethnography with stated objectives and research questions, there are a number of theoretical challenges. One such challenge is to take a balanced account of 'structure' and 'agency', particularly considering the fact that we are looking at subjective matters including identity, cultural integration and a sense of belonging. Another important challenge in capturing the significant complexity of these issues and relations surrounding them is to adopt a perspective that considers the 'functions' of ethnic football as well as the 'conflict' that arises from and is reproduced in these relations. Yet another challenge is to define a 'field' that is comprehensive and wide enough to include all subjects of analysis yet analytically and logistically feasible for the research.

To meet these challenges, devising a theoretical framework which is informed by some of the key concepts developed by the French social scientist Pierre Bourdieu looks promising. His key theoretical concept of 'habitus' attempts to take account of the structure and agency of an individual and their dynamic interplay. Moreover, Bourdieu's conceptualisation of 'field' allows one to define an effective field for the ethnographic fieldwork that is not necessarily restricted by the geography or specific social groups. More

importantly, such a conceptualisation enables the researcher to consider the various social functions, of football in this case, whether these are conscious and strategically pursued projects of various 'agents' or more complex functions on higher societal levels, while also taking an account of the conflict underlying the relations amongst various agents inhabiting various 'positions' within this field. Also, by looking at the field as a whole, the researcher is saved from taking only a partial account of these relations by only concentrating on some of the actors such as the spectators or players. Below, I shall elaborate on these concepts in more detail in the framework of the present research.

Bourdieu's Field and Turkish-speaking Football as a Field

According to Bourdieu, agents do not act in a vacuum, but rather in concrete social situations governed by a set of objective social relations; any social formation is structured by way of fields which are hierarchically organized (Johnson 1993: 6). This way of conceptualization, i.e. as a structured space of 'positions and position-takings' (see p.5), allows one to conveniently situate all of the actual and potential agents (or subjects of analysis) within a single social context. Moreover, it also allows one to situate each agent, individual, or institution in relation to all other agents and the overall field by using specific positions that impose specific determinations on their occupants. Of course, as we shall see when elaborating on the concept of capital within specific fields, this imposition is not at all mechanistic or totally objective. Instead, there is a constant complex interplay between the changing state of the field which is reflected on the structure of positions, agents' habitus, the level of specific capital available to each agent and/or position in the field, and agents' strategies to improve their position in relation to the relevant stakes in a given field (Barnard 1990; Bourdieu 1977, 1990, 1993)

Bourdieu's analyses, therefore, have always been directed at specific fields such as the 'field of marriage strategies', the 'field of honour' and the 'field of cultural production' and never been directed at groups *per se* (Barnard 1990: 78). Others have applied this concept in their studies as well. In their studies on 'the place and meaning of physical education in Turkish young people's lives', Koca *et al.* (2009: 55) focus on a 'social field of physical education (PE) in Turkey' which is defined, drawing on an earlier study, as "a structured system of social relations between the educational authority, PE teacher educators, PE curriculum writers, health and sport professionals who have influence over curriculum and practices, individual school administrators, PE teachers and PE students". In another study, a 'field of snowboarding' is examined in relation to the gendered nature of its structure (Thorpe 2010).

Although Bourdieu has defined and described the state of each of the fields he analyzed as completely and in as great details as possible by using quite complex graphics and diagrams (see, for example, Bourdieu 1993: 49); he has not offered concrete hints on how to draw boundaries of a given field or how to operationalise this system of positions and position-takings. The field is the potential space where change is mooted or implemented: "As a space of potential and active forces, the field is also a field of struggles aimed at preserving or transforming the configuration of these forces" (Bourdieu and Wacquant 1992: 101; Tomlinson 2004a: 169).

The Field of Turkish-Speaking Football

The field of 'Turkish-Speaking amateur football' similarly includes a structured system of social relations between various agents. It should be noted that, each of these agents and/or positions may include other sub-fields within themselves, and most of them do. Each of these sub-fields, then, could have their own structure and dynamics.

The most significant institution in the field of Turkish-speaking football in London is the Turkish Community Football Federation (TCFF- *Türk Toplumu Futbol Federasyonu*). Sanctioned and supervised by the London Football Association (LFA), TCFF was established in 1976 and today runs four regular leagues (two adult and two youth). There are 32 clubs registered to the TCFF which compete in its leagues and cup competitions. Most of these clubs have been established by certain local neighbourhood origin associations and hence are named after them. Particularly the vast majority of the clubs established by the Turkish-Cypriot immigrants have the names of villages in Cyprus such as *Yeni Boğaziçi*, *Akıncılar*, and *Yalova*. Although it is no longer a strict condition, if it ever was at all for the players to be from the namesake villages, some clubs still proudly announce that 90 per cent of the players in the team are the 'boys of the village' despite the fact that most of those boys have never set foot in those villages. In any case, it has been a general pattern for the Turkish-Cypriots to organise around neighbourhoods of origin identities from the start and for the clubs to have a significant role in reproducing these identities among the youth in London (see Chapters 3 and 5). Although this is also the case for some Turkish clubs, for example *Trabzonspor* and *Adanaspor*, there is a greater diversity with respect to the collective identities they suggest their clubs represent. These include religious (sectarian) and ethnic (Turkish vs. Kurdish) as well as fan identities of major Turkish clubs (see Chapter 5).

Another football federation was established under the name Turkish and Kurdish Football Federation (TKFF- *Türk Kürt Futbol Federasyonu*) in 1992. Although some of the founders of this federation suggest that TKFF was born out of the need of the growing Kurdish community, there are also claims that it was rather because Kurdish individuals and clubs faced significant degrees of discrimination in the TCFF leagues in the preceeding years. Whatever the case is, the establishment of the TKFF as another major sub-field with 16 clubs regularly competing in its two adult leagues is very noteworthy. So is the

identification. Very significantly, the federation was not called a Kurdish Football Federation, but a Turkish-Kurdish one (see Chapter 5).

Also very significantly, the field of Turkish-speaking football in London includes some national institutions. The Turkish Embassy and the Turkish-Cypriot Representation[8] in London have long been in constant contact with the TCFF and many individual football clubs. For a range of political, diplomatic and sporting reasons, the Turkish Football Federation (TFF) and the Turkish Cypriot government through its various institutions as a whole, has very close relations with the London TCFF. The English FA and the LFA are the major British institutions that are in continuous contact with the Turkish-speaking football in London. Apart from them, some London Boroughs and the Home Office also become active agents within this field on occasion through various projects and programmes.

We should also add the various media institutions that closely follow Turkish-speaking football in London. Some of them are London-based such as the four local newspapers that are published in Turkish and some local radio stations; while some of them are Turkey- or Cyprus-based. Very interestingly, Genc TV, a Cyprus-based satellite TV channel, has been regularly broadcasting some of the big matches live. Other institutional actors include the sponsors and community organisations that are represented in the field of Turkish-speaking football.

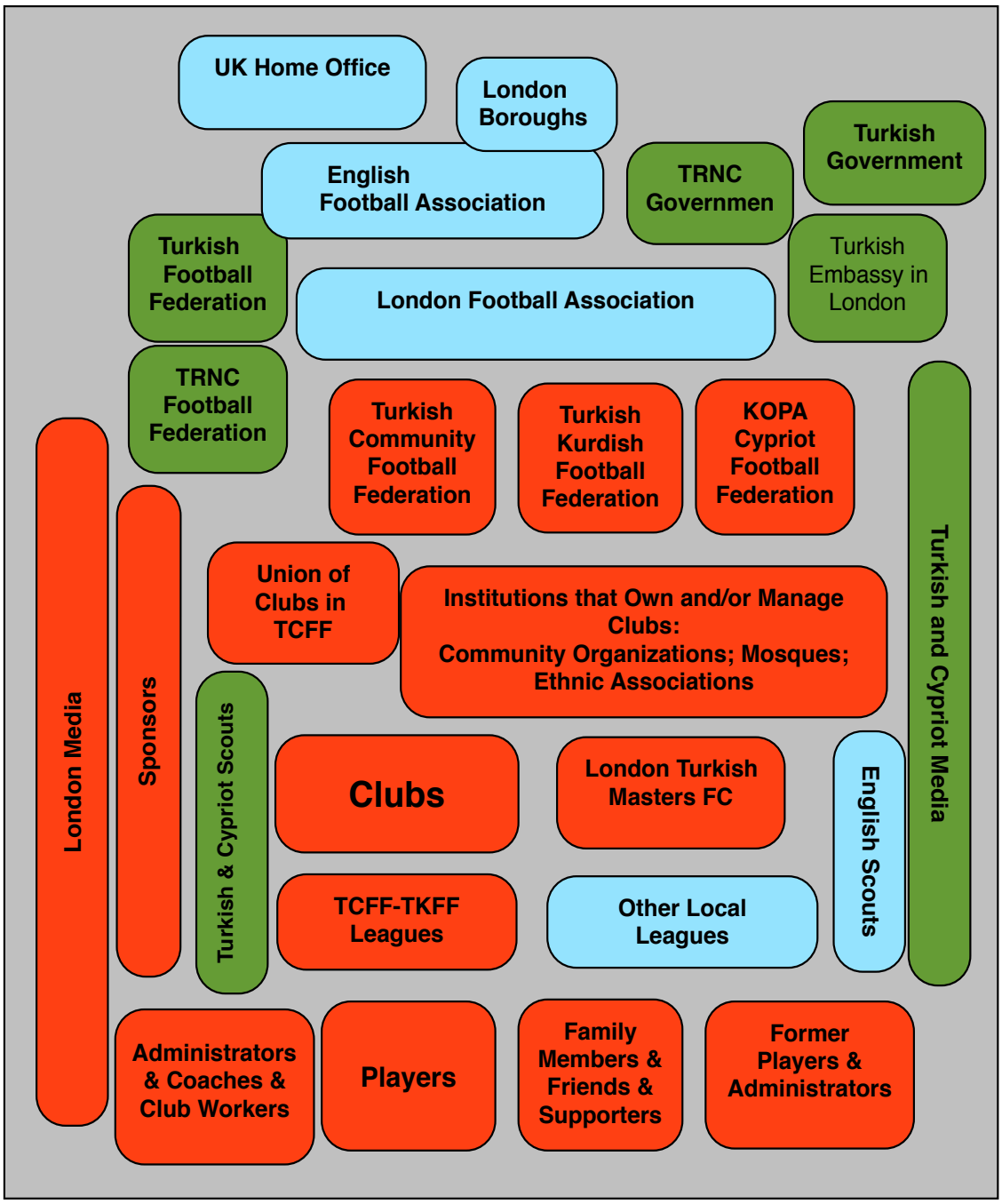
[8] What is referred here as the Turkish-Cyprus or the Turkish Republic of North Cyprus (TRNC) is a *de facto* state that was proclaimed in 1985, but has not been officially recognised by any country except for Turkey. Therefore, the TRNC does not have an embassy or official diplomatic office in London but only a special representative.

Different Forms of Capital

The concept of capital completes the essential conceptual trilogy at the centre of much of Bourdieu's work. As mentioned, Bourdieu places struggle and competition at the heart of his analysis. Although he never systematically defined the concept, for Bourdieu capital is apparently a form of power (or "a species of power" (Bourdieu and Wacquant 1992: 97)), a capacity that defines the extent of control agents will have over themselves and others (Tomlinson 2004a: 168). Bourdieu has discussed economic, educational, cultural and symbolic capital, among others. Obviously, some of these concepts are easier to define such as the economic capital, which in most cases will refer to wealth and money; while the definition of others will completely depend on the specific field, such as symbolic capital.

This conceptualisation is essential for a fuller understanding of the field of Turkish-speaking football in London. As I will show in the next analytical chapters, various forms of symbolic capital such as individual achievement by becoming a champion, 'helping kids stay away from streets' by providing financial support, etc. are a major driving force in this field. Also, appropriating these different forms of capital has been essential in understanding the complex relations amongst agents. For instance, without considering talent in the football pitch as a specific form of human capital in this field, one cannot understand how some players have been able to acquire other significant forms of capital such as social capital and economic capital.

Figure 1.1 Agents/Positions/Subfields in the Transnational Field of Turkish-Speaking Ethnic Community Football in London



1.4 The Literature on Sport, Diasporas, Integration, and Identities

Having defined and described the Turkish-speaking community as understood in this study and introduced my theoretical perspective and the constructed field above, I will now turn to my research questions. Specifically, I will review social science literature in relation to

diasporic communities and studies which investigate political, social, and cultural issued in relation to them. I will pay particular attention to the three main research questions which I introduced in the introduction chapter and will try to locate these questions as posed by this dissertation within the existing literatures: (i) the question of diaspora politics and transnationalism; (ii) the question of (social and cultural) integration; and (iii) the question of identities.

As described above, the literature on sport in various social science disciplines has been growing exponentially. The subjects of analysis include such diverse issues and concepts as nationalism and formation of national identities[9]; gender, masculinity, and femininity[10]; racism, hooliganism, and violence[11]; industrialization and globalization in sports[12]; communities and community theory[13]; transnationalism[14]; international and inter-ethnic conflict[15]; and so on. Instead of a overly general or extremely extensive review, I will engage in a more focused review which restricts my attention to the present three research themes.

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[9] See, for examples: Archetti 1994; Armstrong 2002; Bocketti 2008; Gibbons 2011; Giulianotti 1999; Hesselmann and Ide 2006; Horak 2006; A. King 2000; Moniz 2007; Roy 2001; and Ward 2009b

[10] See, for examples: Carniel 2009; Carrington 1998; Clayton and Harris 2004; Free and Hughson 2003; Parker 2001; Robinson 2004; Spaaij 2008; and Wheaton 2004

[11] See, for examples: Back et al. 1999; Back et al. 2001; Bradbury and Williams 2006; Brewster et al. 2004; Burdsey 2004a; Free and Hughson 2003; Hylton 2005; C. King 2004; Long and Hylton 2002; Singer 2005; Spaaij 2008; and Spracklen 2003

[12] See, for examples: Ben-Porat 2012; Giulianotti and Robertson 2009; Hognestad 2009; Kwauk 2007; and Tiesler and Coelho 2007

[13] See, for examples, Blackshaw 2008; Brown et al. 2008; Burdsey 2008; Jaquiss 2000; and Martin 2007

[14] See, for examples: A. King 2000 and Moniz 2007

[15] See, for examples: Kartakoullis et al. 2009; Menary 2010; and Sugden 2008

1.4.1 Diaspora Politics and Transnationalism through Sport

Sport has relatively recently been discovered to be a prolific field of research for the scholars of diasporic groups and transnational social fields. The main reason for that is the significant number of studies that look at the 'community-making' features of sports that predate this turn within the migration and diaspora studies. Sports in general and football in particular have been shown to be a valuable method of building a collective identity. There are many studies that document and analyse the role of sport in creating a 'national identity' (Archetti 1994; Armstrong 2002; Bandyopadhyay 2003; Bocketti 2008; Cronin and Mayall 1998; Gibbons 2011). As Hoberman (1984) suggests, sport has no intrinsic value structure, but is a ready and flexible vehicle through which ideological associations can be reinforced. While some studies emphasize the more implicit symbolic aspects of this construction (see the next section), others have shown how sports could be a direct subject of political projects in reaching out to and creating 'communities'.

For instance, Ben-Porat (2012: 443) convincingly argues that during the establishment of the State of Israel, "football was a political-community project", although it was later commodified as Israel increasingly became a 'capitalist society' and 'the dominant force in society shifted from politics to economy'. According to this account, the instrumentalisation of sports in Israel aimed more to 'infiltrate into local communities' than to create a national community or identity. In Israel in the 1950s, when the State was recently established, there were three state-wide sports federations which were affiliated with different political camps. These federations, in turn, had affiliated clubs all over the country and they made great efforts

> to establish their sport clubs in almost every community in Israel, including in Arab towns. The 'hidden' motive was political: relative representation in the management of the country's sport institutions was based on the number of each federation's sport clubs. Moreover, sports clubs were instrumental for the purposes of political propaganda and support. But the point that is most relevant to the subject of this article is that sports club was enmeshed in the local community (Ben-Porat 2012: 446).

There are also studies that concentrate on the function of sports in creating a sense of community and cultural identity from a more bottom-up perspective. For example, Williams (1994: 162) suggests that "Highfield Rangers was an effective cultural institution in and through which gender, ethnic, and neighbourhood identities were (re)produced, reaffirmed and negotiated". In a very different context, Bandyopadhyay (2008, 2009a) shows how the Muslim minority in colonial India has been able to represent its identity in the public realm through football. It is quite easy to find similar accounts, for instance, on the Irish community in Scotland (Bradley 2006) or the Catalan in Spain (Roy 2001).

Naturally, sports' effective 'social function' of building communities around collective identities has attracted a remarkable amount of attention from the scholars of migration and diaspora studies. Studies followed one another looking at as diverse contexts as the Latino community in California (Messeri 2008), the Assyrian community in Sweden (Andersson 2009), Italian immigrants in Brazil (Bocketti 2008), British Asians in the UK (Burdsey 2004b, 2004a, 2006, 2007), and the Muslim refugee women in Australia (Palmer 2009). Although there is a uniform acknowledgement of the significance of sport as a 'community' for the participating immigrant and diaspora groups, it should be noted that the specific role or 'function' of sport in each case is quite diverse depending on the context. One such study on migrant minorities and football in Australia concludes that there are many possible patterns:

> Some individuals and groups embraced the game as an important element of cultural identification and distinction; others used it as one of a number of means of finding a way into some areas of Australian society; and yet others have shunned the game as being un-Australian. Some migrants played the game, but had no further involvement, while others used the game as a means of entry into 'mainstream' Australian society. A few used the code for political purposes (Hay and Guoth 2009: 823).

To reiterate by way of summing up, the existing literatures on sport and diasporic communities suggest that sports, and particularly football as a very popular sport, do constitute a very significant social field for analysis. Such analysis can have a top-down perspective of how sports are utilised by those in government positions to either establish or reach out to communities. Alternatively, a bottom-up perspective could be adopted to look at how communities utilise the game as an element of 'cultural identification and distinction' as well as a mechanism through which to reproduce such identification and distinction. The diasporic communities have been documented to use sports in an effort to 'make their way into mainstream society'. There are also studies that have looked at how sports as a mobilising tool have been used in inter-community relations, particularly in inter-communal conflicts.

Therefore, this study would be a contribution in these literatures as it defines football not simply an activity or a tool for political projects, but as a transnational field in which to monitor and analyse all these different forms of political relationships, whether top-down or bottom-up, with whatever political agendas. In other words, the present study converges with the dominant analytical tendency within the social science literatures to highlight the political potential and effectiveness of football for mobilisation, representation, and so on. In Chapter 3 and Chapter 4, the presented ethnographic account leaves no room for doubting the strategic use of football as a political project by a diasporic community, supported by the homeland political establishment. The discussion in Chapter 8 also constructs the discussion on similar lines considering whether and under what circumstances football would constitute a platform to be used by the host country government for integration purposes.

However, this study diverges from the most other studies as it does not try to capture the effects or nature of a single set of political relations, but tries to uncover the complexity

within the field in a holistic approach. In other words, it does not start at a predetermined point of analyzing how football can be used by governments or communities, but instead, how football opens up this space for all these different forms of political relationships to exist. The ethnographic account presented in Chapter 4, together with the discussion of the need for a re-definition of the concept of diaspora politics is certainly an example for this divergence. The present study would also contribute in the above reviewed literatures with their theoretical perspectives which attempt to combine the functionalist view of football and football leagues with the conflict view that places power relations and struggles over hegemony shaped by the specific characteristics of the field at the centre of the theoretical gaze. As such, it seeks to provide an account of the 'role' of football in the lives of individuals and communities, while presenting these functions in an historical and power-aware way. The analyses presented in Chapter 5 and Chapter 6 on identities indicate this subtle argument. Both chapters could be interpreted as either to be manifesting the function of ethnic community football in constructing an identity and learning masculine gender roles or to be describing a social field with intense competition for defining the hegemonic ethnic and masculine identities and the constant contestation of these hegemonic identities. The real picture, as I attempt to reconstruct in those chapters, includes both.

1.4.2 Identities through Sport

Back *et al.* (2001: 270) show through their fieldwork on English football that football "provides one of the few spheres in which ideas about identity, ethnicity and race can be **expressed**, **embodied** and **performed**" (emphasis added). Their ethnographic work on the English national team has searched for these forms of expressions, embodiments, and performances in and through the body languages of players during national anthems, the

songs chanted by the fans, and the institutional and personal manifestations of, overt and covert, racism inside the game (Back et al. 2001).

Similar examples have already been reviewed above in relation to national identity and football. Obviously, similar analyses exist on the relationship between national identity and other sports[16]. For example, Ward's (2009a) is one such study on cricket as a key symbol of Australian national identity. As should already be obvious, there is a widely acknowledged and quite complex link between various identities and sports. In most cases, it is not beneficial, if possible, to analyse only one type of collective identity as they are usually fused with one another in very context-specific and complex ways. Archetti's above-mentioned chapter on the Argentinian national identity, for example, claims that the constructed national identity is deliberately masculine as "Argentinian football 'functioned' as an efficient 'rite of institution': the creation of a separate arena in which the main difference is the one established between the accepted participants and those who will never participate, i.e. the women" (Archetti 1994: 236).

National identity is just one of the identities that is considered in connection with sport:

> Behind the façade of its obvious entertainment aspect, it [football] has proved to be a perpetuating reflector of nationalism, race, ethnicity, religion, community and communal identity, gender and cultural specificity (Bandyopadhyay 2009b: 697).

We don't need to repeat the point made above that sports have been used by various social groups, and particularly minorities, to produce, articulate and sustain a distinct ethnic and cultural identity. Rather, here I would like to review the position of the individual immigrant in social science research. An increasing number of studies is interested in this aspect of identities and identity politics which attempt to go beyond the generalising and reifying tendencies within the sociology of collective identities. A starting point is to treat

[16] For a more comprehensive review, see Tony Ward (2009a), 518 - 31.

cultural identity formation as an ongoing process, and culture as a process of production, instead of as a product (da Cunha 1995). Therefore, as I will elaborate in the chapters on identities that cultural identity formation is inherently a political process subject to much negotiation and conflict. One good example of this is Hall's (1995) study on the British-Sikh youth in Leeds, in which she shows how these young people 'act English' in some contexts and 'Indian' in others.

Burdsey (2004a, 2006, 2007) has written extensively on this subject through sport. He has shown how British Asians strategically shift across their 'dual ethnicities' and 'act white' when necessary to prove (to themselves as much as to others) that they are 'one of the lads' in and out of the football field (Burdsey 2004a, 2007). This process, it should be noted, is not always an easy and straightforward one where the immigrant individual has the great advantage of having two ethnic and cultural identities to choose from. Instead, they are usually confronted with exclusion and racism. In one of his studies, Burdsey (2006) shows that the processes of negotiation not only involves ethnic and cultural identities, but often also includes national and diasporic identities when one child asks his father "If I ever play football, Dad, can I play for England or India?".

Evidently, sports appear to be public platforms where the immigrants and minorities both construct and express their cultural identities. Palmer (2009) looks at the 'politics of identity for young Muslim refugee women' in Australia through football. She analyses playing football in a team as "a way of establishing and embellishing a particular cultural identity that both affirms and challenges many of the traditions of Islam" (Palmer 2009: 27). In other words, Palmers considers football as a 'resource of western popular culture' that is being used as a 'unique site' by this marginal group to articulate their social identities (Palmer 2009: 27).

Another significant theme in the literature concerning individual identities is gender and masculinity. There is a significant tradition in social sciences to treat sports as social spaces where masculinity and gender discourses are produced and reinforced. In part, this has been done by referring to the nature of the sport and the class backgrounds of those participating in them (Bourdieu 1978; Gruneau 1975; Hargreaves 1986). More recently however, the generative potential of the fields of sport seems to have been highlighted. While the majority of earlier studies looked at the spectators and fans of sports, football in particular, more recently the attention is shifting towards the 'practice' of sports and those who actively participate in sports, whether professionally or not. Back *et al.*'s (2001) study on the changing fan culture in English football and Spaaj's (2008) study on how violence and masculinity are combined in the football fans' discourse about 'being proper men' are very good examples[17]. Discursive analysis through football has also been applied for discourse of femininity. One good example is Drury's (2011) article, with a quite self-summarizing title: "It seems really inclusive in some ways, but … inclusive just for people who identify as lesbian': discourses of gender and sexuality in a lesbian-identified football club".

To sum up, the role or social function of sports in building and reproducing identities is well documented in many social science disciplines. In terms of individual identities, sports provide an arena in which to form and present multiple ethnic identities. Many of the studies reviewed above argue that sports serve as a public space where identities are very conspicuously paraded and people shift across multiple ethnicities, sometimes strategically. Sport is also shown to be a social space where terms of identities are constantly negotiated and concepts such as 'Englishness' and 'Indianness' are defined and redefined, subject to power relations. One of the most frequently analysed issues in

[17] For a good review, also see: Marcus Free and John Hughson (2003)

relation to identities is the gendered nature of most sports as public spaces and their impact on the construction of masculine and feminine identities.

As the theme of (re)production of identities is one of the central research concerns, this study contributes to this literature in several ways. First of all, it confirms the almost automatic connection established between sport and representation of collective identities in the public space. The historical account presented in Chapter 3 on the foundation of the Turkish-speaking football leagues in London is a vivid illustration of this point. Chapter 4 provides a modern account on how in the digital age this connection is still very much alive. The more substantive contribution, it is hoped, comes in Part III, where the ethnographic evidence is presented on how ethnopolitics operate within the field. Here, as also discussed in the previous section, a merely top-down view considering 'transmission of identities from older to younger generations' would be a reductionist and misleading reading. The two chapters in this part, on ethnic and masculine identities, respectively, try to make a contribution by providing a complex account of what happens. The present study also fits comfortably within the literature of studies that analyze the gendered discourses in football and the challenges to the masculine construction of the nature of the sport as a 'man's and manly' game.

1.4.3 Integration through Sport

As shown above, sports have been widely seen as an ideological site where the construction of national and other collective identities takes place and thereby it is seen as a significant mechanism for social integration. Armstrong suggests that sport could even be considered to be "the broadest cultural denomination in many nations, capable of creating and sustaining a sense of identity and belonging crucial to national integration" (Armstrong 2002: 471). Archetti (1994: 225) shows how football has been

strategically used in Argentina by the governments to build a masculine national identity during the process of its modernization in 1900-1930. Accordingly, this has been done by using football to create a “collective memory with shared symbols that emphasized particular (public) events and ceremonies as the initial moments of tradition” (Archetti 1994: 235-236).

In terms of the integration of immigrants, however, the number of studies is much smaller. It is suggested that football, and other sports, could lead to inclusion and exclusion both as cultural practices and social institutions depending on the patterns of manifestation and articulation of social categories such as religion, gender, class or community (Bandyopadhyay 2009b: 697). One of the pioneering studies looks at Celtic FC as the most important medium of Irish and Catholic cultural expression in Scotland which has, accordingly, a very anti-Catholic mainstream culture (Bradley 1996). In that context, the author argues, supporting Celtic FC has become a significant way of resisting assimilation. A similar account is provided in Sweden about various ‘immigrant clubs’. Here, too, the immigrant communities, and particularly the Assyrians, resist assimilation and uphold their sense of a distinct and proud ethnic and cultural identity through their professional football clubs, the most successful of which being Assyriska FF (Andersson 2009). In both studies, the dynamics of inclusion and exclusion, on the basis of class, race, and ethnicity, simultaneously exist. Therefore an easy formula between sports and inclusion or exclusion of ethnic minorities seems rather unfeasible.

Using football as a means to sustain a distinctive ethnic and cultural identity is one of the patterns that emerge in the literature. Another significant pattern is how immigrant and diasporic communities are using sports as a way into mainstream society. One such study, for instance, looks at how young ethnic minority individuals consider football as a way of realising the dream of upward social mobility in Danish society (Agergaard and Sorensen

2009). Burdsey (2004a) similarly looks at how British Asians play football in such a way to be 'one of the lads'. The former analysis looks at how economic and social capital influences the chances of such young players 'making it into' the professional leagues, while the latter study examines the 'de-ethnicization' of the British Asian football players by 'downplaying' their, say, Bangladeshi identity and prioritizing a British one (Agergaard and Sorensen 2009; Burdsey 2004a: 16-17). Ismond, similarly, investigates whether sports provide Black and Asian athletes in different branches in Britain a chance for social upward mobility, and seems to provide a cautious yet affirming answer (Ismond 2003).

The obvious potential of managing diversity through popular sports has not remained unnoticed by immigration country governments. The famous Parekh Report, for instance, identifies sport as one of the key areas which could potentially contribute to the attempt of building social and community cohesion into everyday life (Spracklen 2003: 41), which is defined in the following way:

> cohesion ... derives from widespread commitment to certain core values, both between communities and within them; equality and fairness; dialogue and consultation; toleration, compromise, and accommodation; recognition of and respect for diversity; and -by no means least- determination to confront and eliminate racism and xenophobia. (ParekhReport 2000: 56)

So, the potential of sports is acknowledged while the danger of sports leading just to the opposite of inclusion is also highlighted (Spracklen 2003). An increasing number of studies on policies and projects adopted by national and local administrations aim to utilise this potential. One such organization is the Amsterdam World Cup which is an 'amateur football tournament and multicultural festival' that gathers together this metropolitan city's diverse migrant, refugee and diasporic communities (Burdsey 2008: 259). As part of the Dutch integration policy, this tournament is designed to give a decent public platform for the mobilisation of diverse communities to articulate and express their identities and engage in a constructive social interaction with other communities as well as with the

mainstream Dutch society, thereby celebrating multiculturalism and encouraging integration (Burdsey 2008).

Such projects and organisations aiming integration are increasing throughout the Western world, and a whole chapter of this dissertation is devoted to analysing some of the significant ones in the British context. Such outreach and empowerment projects that utilise the popularity and potential of sports have also notably been increasingly used to address other issues and social groups. For example the London Playing Fields Foundation is running a number of projects targeting such diverse social groups as the 'long-term mentally ill' (Coping through Football), 14-16 year-old girls (Active Angels), and adult females (Female Coach Development) as well as diasporic communities (All Nations Football Festival)[18]. For the analysis of another example from an Australian context, see Sherry and Strybosch's (2012) work on the 'Australian Community Street Soccer Program' targeting homeless and disadvantaged adults.

To sum up, the current literature on 'integration and sport', or 'integration through sport' is far from reaching maturity. In the insufficient number of studies that do exist, sports have been considered a potential public venue to conveniently ease into mainstream society. This can be seen both on a symbolic level of sharing the same passion or speaking the same 'universal language' of the globalized sports, and on a more concrete level of acquiring social and political membership as well as social and economic capital through professional sports. On a related theme, many studies stressed the potential of sports for offering immigrants a feasible hope for upward social mobility. Even when the 'dream' of becoming the top professional player and making millions on the way is not eventually realized, it can be suggested that the sense of aspiration and possibility of achieving such steep upward mobility would potentially contribute positively for integration. Lastly, an

[18] For the details of these projects, see http://lpff.org.uk/whatwedo_projects.aspx.

increasing number of studies consider the feasibility of devising integration policies through football such as the Amsterdam World Cup or the London Communities League.

This literature is one of the fastest growing ones and, I believe, the present study would be a valuable addition to existing literature in several respects. First of all, in contrast to a majority of the existing social science studies, this study does not adopt a specific narrow definition of integration, against which to consider and assess the implications of amateur ethnic sports. Neither does it start with an assumption of an automatic and inherent 'integrative' (or 'segregative') effect of involvement in ethnic sports. As it discusses the implications of ethnic community football and the field for individuals using only loosely defined general factors for and against integration, it practically has to define some of those same implications. In the two analytical chapters on the theme of cultural integration, Chapter 7 and Chapter 8, the implications of football for the lives of individuals are considered in connection to these loosely defined understandings of integration and segregation. Although a mechanical proposal for a football-related integration programme would be in contradiction with the theoretical approach of this dissertation, I believe there is a significant deal to learn from an analysis of the existing measures and programmes. Therefore, without amounting to a checklist or recipe for a successful integration policy, I have already considered some of the implications of various approaches through football in the light of the findings of this study.

1.5 Conclusion: The Theoretical Context of this Research and Dissertation

I have presented three major theoretical discussions in this chapter. Firstly, I presented the theoretical conceptualization of the 'Turkish-speaking community' in the framework of this study. As with the labeling of any social group, this conceptualization is the outcome of a process of 'imagination' (Anderson 1983) and is as such 'unnatural'. I have thus reflected

on this deliberate act of defining a diverse group in a specific way, critically examined what this conceptualization implies and does not imply, and justified the critical choices made in the process with respect to their analytical bases. The Turkish-speaking community includes, in principle, anybody who is from Turkey or Cyprus with Turkish ethnicity as well as anyone who speaks Turkish from around the globe, such as German citizens with Turkish immigrant roots or the members of the naturalized Turkish ethnic minority in Greece. In practice, this 'community' is taken to include the three sizable immigrant communities from Cyprus (the Turkish-Cypriots) and Turkey (Turkish and Kurdish immigrants). It is defined on the basis of the common language, as it does appear to be the most significant common denominator that brings these diverse groups together and enables them to engage in communication and in economic relations.

Secondly, I presented a discussion on the theoretical challenges faced in the context of this research with respect to devising a theoretical approach which is capable of contextualising the field of football and the agents and relations within it, in such a way to consider both the functionalist implications of it as a significant social space and the ever-present power relations for the various forms of capital involved. Similarly, as the research is interested in understanding complex subjective processes such as identity (re)production and cultural integration, the adopted theoretical approach needed to take account of both the structural factors and the subjective factors related to the agents. As a result of this discussion, I proposed that a Bourdieuian theoretical conceptualisation would be beneficial for the research. Then, I first reviewed the concept of field, and having argued that it would fit perfectly to the purposes of the present research, I presented a discussion of Turkish-speaking ethnic community football in London as a field. This conceptualisation, I argued, helps construct a dynamic field which neither relies on a specific ethnic community nor on a specific locality, thereby helping capture the complexity and transnationalism of the relationships inside. Then, I turned to the relationships

themselves and proposed that conceptualizing these relationships as reflections of ‘agents’ strategies to improve their position in relation to the relevant stakes in a given field’ (Bourdieu 1990). The relevant stakes are conceptualized as different forms of capital, the value of each of which is dependent on the nature and structure of the field. So, ‘talent in football’ or ‘becoming a champion of the Turkish league’, I further argued, are immensely valuable capitals in the field of football in my case, while they would be absolutely worthless in many other fields.

In the last part of this chapter, I reviewed the relevant social science literatures to contextualize the research themes that are investigated in this study. As these are highly fragmented and growing literatures, the review was inevitably partial and selective as a tool for clarifying purposes and analytical directions. In each sub-section, I reviewed the relevant literature and then placed the present study into that literature by referring to the theoretical and analytical convergences and divergences. In the next chapter, in turn, I will present the methodology used in this research to finalise this initial introduction and background.

CHAPTER 2 An Ethnography of Immigrant Football: Fieldwork, Methods, and Material

2.1 Introduction

After a few phone calls and emails, the very first time I stepped into the 'field' was on April 4th, 2010. It was a sunny Sunday, which I later found out to be something to cherish in London, and I was to meet with the President of the Turkish Community Football Federation (TCFF) to watch the semi-final of the 'Cyprus Turkish Airlines Federation Cup' featuring *Akıncılar* FC against *Beşiktaş*, the two top teams competing in the 'Ezel 1st and 2nd Division Turkish Leagues', respectively. At that point, these all looked quite unfamiliar and intriguing as there was an international Turkish-Cypriot airline company [19] sponsoring a small amateur federation in London which included teams named after little Cypriot villages (i.e. *Akıncılar*) as well as famous Turkish professional football clubs (i.e. *Beşiktaş*). So there I was watching a reasonably high-quality amateur football match on the natural grass pitch of Bush Hill Park in Enfield that was regulated by three certified British referees who were sanctioned by the London Football Association (LFA)[20]. The Turkish-speaking players were switching back and forth between Turkish and English as their chosen

[19] Cyprus Turkish Airlines (CTA) was a political attempt of bringing Turkish Cyprus into international affairs. It was established in 1975 following the Turkish military intervention as a Turkish company registered in Istanbul and has been managed with the help of the Turkish state and Turkish Airlines. Moreover, due to the international sanctions imposed on the Turkish Republic of Northern Cyprus (TRNC), there were no direct international flights from TRNC to anywhere in the world, obviously except for Turkey. Therefore, the quite frequent Nicosia-London flights by TC Airlines would always make a stop-over in Turkey. TC Airlines went out of business due to economic as well as political reasons in June 2010.

[20] At that point, I thought that they were assigned by the LFA. I later learned that these referees are LFA-certified and approved people whose names are listed as available referees. The autonomous leagues, or anyone who would like to hire certified referees for any football competition, could contact and invite them to regulate their competitions. The referees would then submit match reports to the LFA for the LFA-sanctioned competitions. Their performance is also evaluated by the clubs and federations which hired them. As they have different levels of success as referees and corresponding reputations, their pay changes as per the game they officiate.

language of communication and I was almost immediately sure that there were some patterns concerning these switches. The best three 'foreign' (*yabancı*, meaning non-Turkish) players of *Akıncılar FC,* I was told, were not on the pitch because they were excused to spend the Easter Weekend with their families. It was also in this very first incursion into the field that I heard, as recorded in my field notes, '*Beşiktaş* did not stand a chance as the Cypriots always look out for each other and stand in the way of any *Türkiyeli* (i.e. someone from Turkey) team's success'. What was more striking to me was that the person who reported this perceived 'discrimination' was the manager of another TCFF 2nd Division team, *Mevlana FC*, which was the team of the Mevlana Mosque (in full, the Mevlana Rumi Mosque and Dialogue Centre) in Edmonton. He was quick to try to assure me that although it obviously was their desire to draw more children into the mosque, they were not discriminating against anybody and they 'even had players with tattoos[21]' in their squad.

There were a number of questions confronting me in the face of such complexity. First of all, having decided to apply Bourdieu's conception of a field rather than focusing on a single community or locality, how was I supposed to draw the boundaries of my field effectively, comprehensively, and feasibly in view of such complexity? Second of all, what methods was I to apply to gather information about such multifaceted and complex issues within such a field? Would participant observation and continuous close contacts within the field be enough or should I include interviews with agents occupying key positions? Thirdly, what would be the proper position for myself within this field?

In this chapter I shall elaborate on the answers I chose to give to these questions in the framework of this research. Therefore, this chapter has three overall purposes. First of all, I will try to describe the methods and operational concepts I have used in my fieldwork and

[21] Tattoos are religiously forbidden by Islam and they are considered to be signs of degeneration and assimilation for the young people who sport them.

in the analysis presented in this dissertation. As I have used a mixed methodology employing quite a wide range of methodological tools, the second purpose of this chapter is to consider the epistemological bases of these various methods. In particular, I will try to justify and explain both why I have used different methods in my ethnography such as photography, in-depth interviews and archival analysis, and how these diverse methods factored in my analysis in producing an original contribution to the knowledge around my subject matter. Thirdly, I will try to reflexively evaluate the advantages and disadvantages of the employed methodology and the ensuing analysis in the general context of anthropological and ethnographic research.

In the following section, I describe the London fieldwork in more detail. Next, I proceed to describing the main methods used in data collection. In addition to the more conventional methods of participant observation and in-depth interviews, I have made extensive use of secondary sources including personal archives and local newspapers. More importantly, there were three international field trips which had not been planned in the beginning of the fieldwork but which enabled me to gather invaluable insights into the transnational aspects of my field. These trips are also described in that section. Then, I elaborate on my personal position within this field as a researcher, Turkish individual, football enthusiast, and friend. Here, I also describe the process in which I volunteered to write the history book for the TCFF, and having been entrusted with this responsibility, how my position within the field changed. Then, I will present a discussion of the nature of the data collected through such diverse methods and how I have used them in the analysis to be presented in the following chapters.

2.2 The Fieldwork and Methods

> Ethnography is to the cultural or social anthropologist what lab research is to the biologist, what archival research is to the historian, or what survey research is to the sociologist. Often called ‘participant observation’, ethnography is based on the

> apparently simple idea that in order to understand what people are up to, it is best to observe them by interacting with them intimately and over an extended period (Monaghan and Just 2000, 13).

The ethnographic fieldwork for this research took place between July 2010 and January 2012, although initial contacts, informal conversations, and pilot interviews started a few months before. Initially, I had planned to keep the fieldwork to the duration of a full season which usually starts with pre-season preparations in July and ends in May-June with Cup ceremonies and annual balls. However, once I established my connections within the field and got invited for a third international trip to Cyprus for the second time alongside the TCFF delegation in January 2012, I decided to prolong it.

I had rented a room in a shared house located between Wood Green and Haringey which is one of the parts of North London with the most sizable Turkish-speaking residents. The house was ideally located for my fieldwork as it was a few minutes walk away from the Turkish-Cypriot Community Centre where all TCFF meetings took place as well as being a very short bus-ride away from the various parks in which the football games were played, particularly the Pymmes Park and Bush Hill Park in Enfield and Finsbury Park in Haringey (see Figures 2.1-2).

I have included in my fieldwork a combination of research methods, the details of which are described below. I regularly attended football matches, training sessions, social events, and formal institutional meetings for **participant observation**. While I tried to keep myself sufficiently flexible in terms of to which events I attended, I also chose a number of clubs, institutions, and individuals on whom I paid a more focused attention. In addition to so many informal and unrecorded conversations and encounters experienced during the events I attended, I also conducted 72 tape-recorded, semi-structured **in-depth interviews** with a carefully selected and diverse group of individuals. In the meantime, I closely followed the local and transnational Turkish-speaking **media** reporting on the

Turkish-speaking football leagues in London. I also had the opportunity to access some personal **archives** on the history of Turkish-speaking football leagues in my capacity as the editor of the book on the history of the TCFF which was commissioned by the TCFF Committee. Last but not the least, I accompanied different actors of the field of Turkish-speaking football in London to Turkey and Northern Cyprus in four unplanned **international trips**.

2.2.1 Participant Observation

The observations, impressions and all social interaction with research subjects were recorded either on the spot or immediately afterwards as field-notes. To complement these notes, a range of visual and audio recordings, such as pictures, video footage and voice recordings, were taken where possible (see below for a more detailed discussion). Participant observation was conducted in the events, meetings, and social occasions which are summarised in Table 2.1.

Both the TCFF and the TKFF adult divisions are so-called 'Sunday leagues' which schedule their league games to be played on Sundays, while arranging some Federation Cup or other tournament games in the weekday evenings. The more recent TCFF youth divisions, on the other hand, play their league games on Saturdays. So, throughout the season, I spent most weekends either at the Pymmes Park in Enfield (see Figure 2.1) where the majority of TCFF league games of all divisions were played, or at the Finsbury Park (see Figure 2.2) in Haringey where all the TKFF league games were played. Only some of the more affluent and longer established clubs in the TCFF leagues rent their own home fields elsewhere. For the rest, Pymmes Park was the home ground. A maximum of 8 matches could be played side by side simultaneously in the Pymmes Park, while the Finsbury Park could host even more games simultaneously.

When quoting or referring to my informants, I use pseudonyms to protect their privacy and anonymity, except for a small set of individuals who are public personas in the field and who have given me their informed consent to openly use their names. The pseudonyms are selected from famous football players in the world, I used current players' last names such as *Messi* and *Ronaldo* as pseudonyms for the young football players in my field and last names of former famous players such as *Pele* and *Maradona* for the administrators and other adults. All pseudonyms are written in italics.



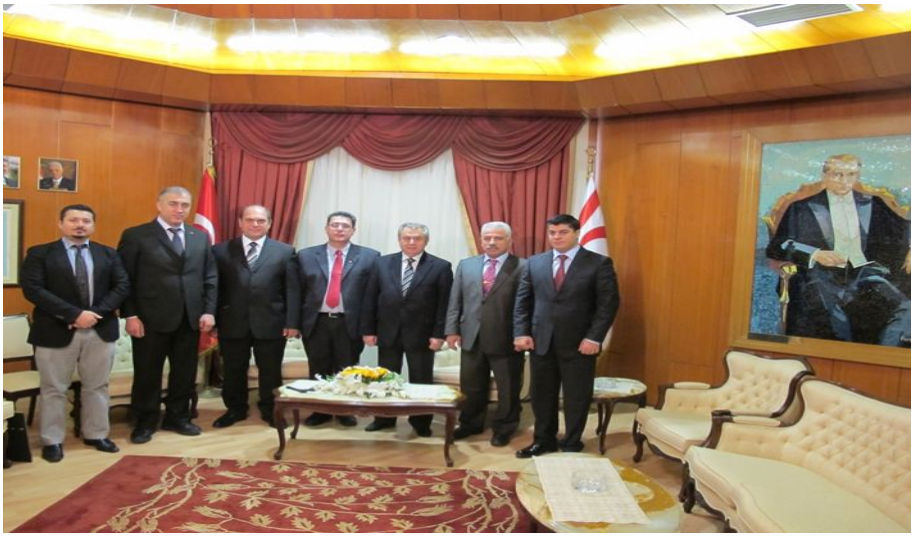
Figure 2.1-2.2 The Google Earth pictures of Pymmes Park (above) and Finsbury Park (below)
http://www.google.com/earth/



Table 2.1 Institutions, Events, and Meetings for Participant Observation	
Regular TCFF and TKFF Competitions	Leagues (4 adults and 2 youth leagues)
	Federation Cups
	Special Tournaments
LFA Tournaments	Club Tournaments
	League Mixed-Team Tournaments
Meetings and Social Gatherings Outside the Football Fields	TCFF Meetings
	Union of Clubs Meetings
	Balls and Fund-raisers
	Dinners and Cocktails

While participant observation of these events, meetings, and social occasions continued for the full duration of the fieldwork and enabled me to have a large perspective; I have also aimed at directing a narrower focus on a selected set of clubs from the TCFF leagues to be able to have a closer relationship with some of the individuals. With this aim, I selected four clubs to follow more closely along their respective campaigns week in and week out.

Table 2.2 Clubs of Focus	
Club	**Description**
***Boğaziçi* FC**	Turkish-Cypriot, named after the village Bogazici
***Yalova* FC**	Turkish-Cypriot, named after the village Yalova
***Beşiktaş* FC**	Turkish, named after famous professional Turkish team, owned and managed by Kurdish individuals
***Mevlana* FC**	Turkish, named after the Mevlana Rumi Mosque and Dialogue Centre in Edmonton
London Turkish Masters FC	Predominantly Turkish-Cypriot veteran team







Figures 2.3-2.4-2.5 Photos from Fieldwork; an official meeting with the Prime Minister of Turkish Republic of Northern Cyprus, İrsen Küçük, at his office in Nicosia, Cyprus (top); at the Annual Ball of a TCFF club, Bogazici FC, with TCFF President Turgut Esendağlı (middle); before a training match I played with the London Turkish Masters FC, with TCFF Committee member *Van Basten* (bottom)
[Photos by KOU]

Fieldnotes: As stated, I recorded all my observations, impressions, and social interaction into field notes using little notebooks. Above each note I wrote the date and place of notation. I have written the notes in English or Turkish, depending on the context. I used Turkish, for example, if I was reporting a conversation I had in Turkish for the sake of simplicity. I have kept any written material, such as leaflets or invitations for social events, within my notebooks with notes attached on how I acquired that material, what the context was, and so on.

Of course, I have had a dynamic and continuous relationship with my field notes, as they were mostly comprised of observations that would require explanation and analysis. Here is a part of my field notes from Sunday, 19 October 2010, at the Pymmes Park league games as an example:

- I've started to watch the Mevlana- Karadeniz Genclik match. One of the people I talked to was Mr *Hakan Sukur* (his mobile number), who is the father of number 10 player of Mevlana, *Rooney*. He says *Rooney* used to play for Besiktas last year, which became the champions of the 2nd division and so promoted to the 1st this year. He has been playing in TCFF leagues for a long time. The father says, they owe a lot to his former trainer *Puskas* hoca (his mobile number). I asked why he moved from a successful and ambitious team to a moderate 2nd division team. He says, while *Rooney* was doing very well there and happy with his life, he argued with his trainer, who said an unacceptable thing to *Rooney* and he could not take it. He was in Turkey for holiday when this all happened and learned that his son transferred to Mevlana upon arrival.
- Those who are watching the games are 99% males. There are only a few girls around, and they are quite young, maybe 11-19 years old. The guys are from all ages. The little girls are the daughters of managers and administrators of the clubs, I am guessing. The teenager girls could be girlfriends of players. There is an apparent gender dynamic here- fathers come to watch their sons play, and not mothers. Football is a manly game? Would mothers be unwelcome?
- In the second half of the matches, I moved. Now I am with Mevlana manager and sub players. I met one of their managers (apparently there are two), his name is *Cruyff* (his mobile number). He says he has no relationship with the mosque other than a brief encounter before. Mevlana FC has their training sessions on Friday evenings. The manager said I am welcome to attend one. I joked about being out of shape and asked whether I could train with them. He said of course, looked at my belly, and laughed. I think I will first watch one!

As it should be obvious in this example, the notes were a means to navigate the research by way of acquiring new contacts, devising new questions to think about and try to answer as well as collecting the bits of information that through time created a more sensible picture of the day to day relationships within the field. I later transcribed all my field-notes (as well as tape-recorded in-depth interviews) on my computer to make it easier for myself to browse through them. I used a qualitative research programme, called HyperRESEARCH, which allows one to input a lot of written material, create codes and assign these codes to different parts of the written material. This way, one could label all related material with the same code. For example, I created the code 'integration' and assigned this to individual notes, in-depth interviews, or newspaper columns as well as specific parts of each note, interview, or column such as sentences or phrases. Then, when I called up the material with the 'integration' code, all the assigned material would appear. Considering the large volume of the written material I have collected throughout the fieldwork, this programme became very helpful.

Photographs: The visual material captured mostly in the form of photographs, but also as video recordings, has been a major way of collecting information and observations from the field. I took a large number of photos myself with the camera of my smart phone, which provided me with a very convenient way of capturing visual evidence of reasonable quality thanks to advanced technology. I also asked many individuals, among whom the sport journalists have been the most generous and helpful, to send me their photos of the matches, training sessions, players, or social events related to Turkish-speaking football leagues. I also collected photographs from social media websites, mostly Facebook, after obtaining permission from their owners. There have been two major uses of photographs for the research. The first one concerns collecting data. Aunger (2004: 13) states that the

assumption that ethnography should rely only on a limited set of field data collection methods, which traditionally included only participant observation and reliance on key informants, has significantly restricted the scientific significance of ethnography as a method. Although ethnographic photography is still sometimes characterised as closer to art than science (Grimshaw and Ravetz 2005), it has also been celebrated as a significant data collection method, a 'mirror with a memory' that might help heal our 'blindness':

> We are not generalists, an imagery beyond our professional area is apt to be peripheral and often projectively distorted. **We see what we want to see, as we want to perceive it**. Generally, the fragmentation of modern life makes it difficult to respond to the whole view.(Collier and Collier 1986: 5, emphasis added)
>
> The camera, by its optical character, has **whole vision**. No matter how select a unit we might wish to photograph, the camera **faithfully** records this specialised subject and also **all other associated elements** within the focus and scope of its lens. This capacity makes the camera a valuable tool for the observer (Collier and Collier 1986: 7, emphasis added)

Particularly during the analysis of the collected ethnographic material, the visual material did provide a refreshment of my experiences and observations, as well as letting me see some new elements which had escaped me during my time in the field. A striking example of this latter point is related to my field trip to Cyprus. While I visited the club building of *Çetinkaya* FC, my goal was to collect information about this club that has close relations with its namesake club in London. At that point, I had not yet grasped the centrality of the Cyprus conflict for the establishment of the Turkish Community Football Federation and therefore was not particularly interested in this conflict. During my visit I took the photo below (Figure 2.6), which is the historical *Taksim* (partition) stadium which used to be used by this club. It was months later that I started to learn more about the Cyprus conflict and the place of football in it. The next time I looked at that picture, I realised that there was a UN observation tower right in the middle of the photo as the stadium itself is on the UN drawn ceasefire Green Line. The photo managed to collect data that I was not looking for

at the time and thus helped my analysis of the central place of football and *Çetinkaya* FC in the Cyprus conflict for the Turkish-Cypriots. I discuss this at length in the next chapter.



Figure 2.6 The historical *Taksim* Stadium in Nicosia, Cyprus. While I thought I took a photo of a deserted football field, I was actually collecting evidence on the centrality of football in the Cyprus conflict through this symbolic place on the UN Green Line dividing the capital of Cyprus into two parts.
[Photo by KOU]

The second important use of visual evidence is its strength in representing the material. Through photographs, I can also 'show' some of the significant scenes, rituals, and moments instead of only 'describing' them. There are so many excellent photographs I have been able to collect that depict remarkable moments from my field, which I could barely describe in a very dry manner, if at all. For example, I could try to describe a championship celebration with the traditional Turkish musical duo of *davul-zurna* (drum and shrill pipe) which are the *sine qua non* of any Turkish-Kurdish rural celebration, themselves decorated with Turkish and Turkish-Cypriot national flags and played by the Club President of the champions himself, where one of the richest Turkish-Cypriots in London who is also the main of sponsor of the TCFF leagues co-presented the Title Cup

with the TCFF President who, by the way, is also a columnist working for a local London newspaper which is owned by the aforementioned co-presenter. However, the narrative wouldn't nearly have the same impact the following photo (Figure 2.7).



Figure 2.7 *Akıncılar* FC, the TCFF First Division Champions of 2010-2011 Season, is being presented with their Cup and celebrating with the Club Chairman playing the traditional Turkish *davul*, while the *zurna* is being played by a professional musician in the background who is outside of the frame of this photo
[Photo by KOU]

2.2.2 Interviews

In-depth interviews were also crucial for the purposes of this research, especially in getting the individual perspectives and narratives into the picture. These subjective narratives and individual histories of the actors were fundamental in connecting the many dots that have emerged during the observations. To create an account that is as complete as possible, I interviewed a very wide variety of individuals. A total of 72 tape-recorded, in-depth interviews were conducted to this date which complement the hundreds of informal

conversations. The list of the individuals and distribution of the number of interviews conducted are presented in the Table 2.3.

Table 2.3 Distribution of Interviewed Individuals	
Interview with	**Number**
With Administrators of Institutional Actors (see below)	22
Players	20
Media	8
Sponsors	7
Friends, Relatives, Followers	15
TOTAL	72

These in-depth interviews were semi-structured in their design so as to give the respondents a degree of flexibility to give their own experiences and perspectives within their own narratives. The interview questionnaires were customised for each interview considering the position of the individual to be interviewed but they are all structured in 9 main parts (for examples on individual questions, see the Appendix): (i) History of migration to London of the respondent and his/her family; (ii) Life in London; (iii) Personal History with Football; (iv) Place of Football in Life in London; (v) Football and Identities; (vi) Football and Community; (vii) Football and Integration; (viii) Views on the Turkish-speaking Community in London; (ix) Views on the Future.

Each interview took on average around 60 to 75 minutes, before which an informed consent was secured, in written form wherever possible, after explaining the purposes of the research and ensuring the respondent of the confidentiality of the data collected (see in Appendix 1).

2.2.3 Engaged Institutional Actors

The actors within the field of Turkish-speaking football are both individuals and institutions. Therefore, a wide range of institutional actors has been engaged through interviews, informal visits, and analysis of their publications. A list of institutions that are considered to be important and contacted in the framework of the research is presented in Table 2.4.

Table 2.4 Engaged Institutions	
Ethnic Football Federations and Leagues	Turkish Community Football Federation (TCFF)
	Turkish Kurdish Football Federation (TKFF)
	Cypriot Football Federation (KOPA)
Community Associations	Turkish Cypriot Association
	The Federation of Turkish Associations
	Day-Mer
	Bogazici Neighbourhood Association
Religious Institutions	Mosques (Aziziye; Suleymaniye; and Mevlana)
	Cemevi and Alevi Cultural Centre
Clubs	Football Clubs
Media	The Olay, Londra Gazete and Turkish Times Newspapers and Genc TV
National Football Actors and Other State Institutions	LFA
	Turkish and Turkish Cypriot FAs
	Turkish Embassy and Turkish Cypriot Delegation in London

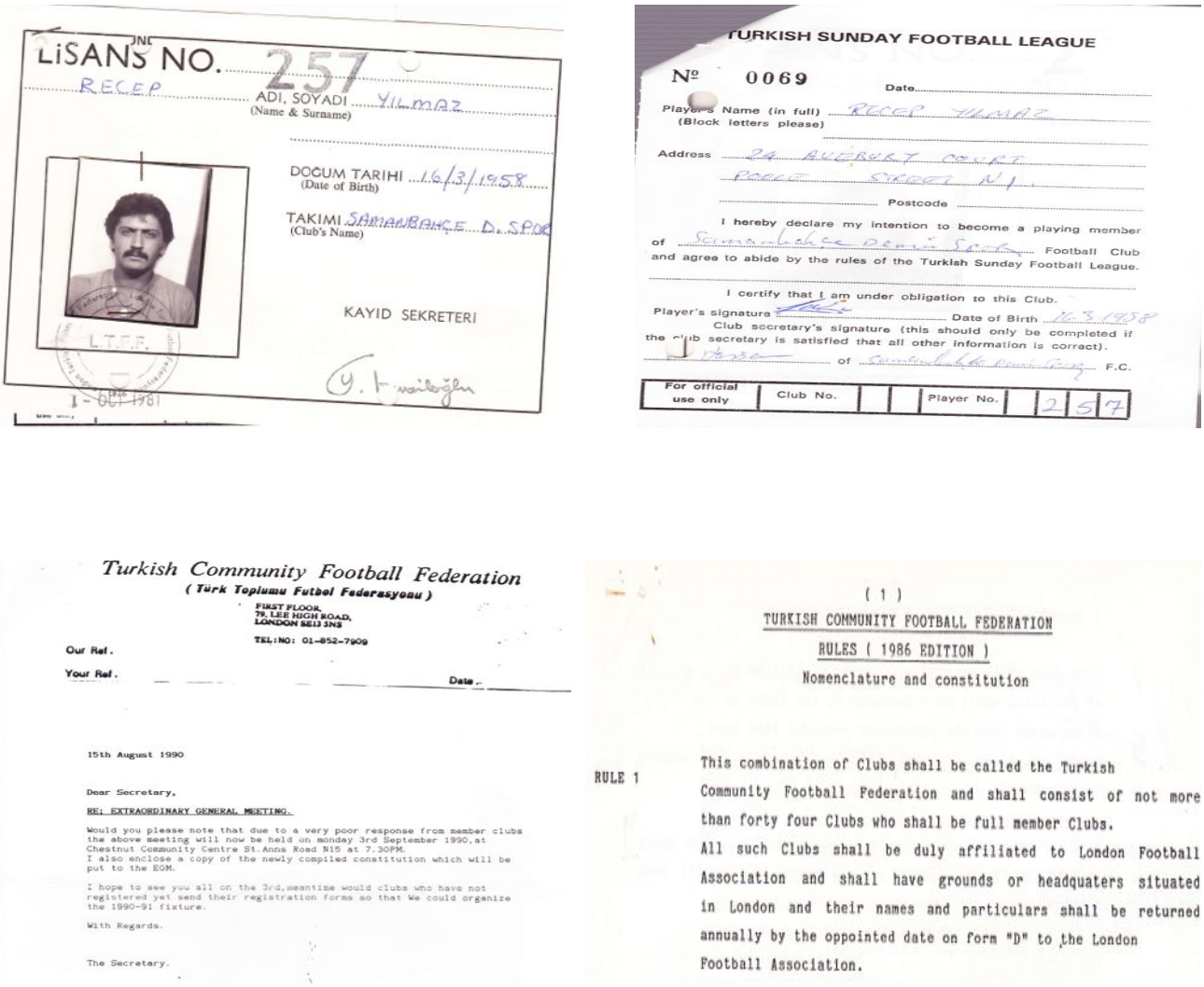
2.2.4 Analysis of Secondary Sources

To complement the primary data collected through above activities, the available sources of secondary data were also gathered. These are summarised in the Table 2.5.

Table 2.5 The Sources of Secondary Data	
TCFF Publications	TCFF publishes an annual magazine at the end of each season which contains a significant degree of information about the season.
Local Media Sources	The Turkish-speaking communities in London have a very vibrant local media which have been showing significant attention to amateur football.
Newspapers	All of the local newspapers assign at least few pages for Turkish football leagues in London. Three newspapers have been closely followed regularly and archived for detailed analysis: Londra Gazete; Olay; and Turkish Times.
TV	There is a Genc TV which broadcast over satellite and is followed mostly in Northern Cyprus and by the Turkish Cypriot community in London. They have a programme every Tuesday on the previous week's fixtures. All programmes of the past year have been digitally saved and archived along with another programme called 'London window'.
Personal Archives (see below)	Although TCFF has no official archives, some individuals have kindly shared their documents and pictures along with their stories. All documents and pictures have been scanned and electronically stored with the permission of their owners.

Archives: The fieldwork process has also included a number of research-related activities that are not directly or primarily oriented at gathering data but served the overall purposes of research. The two most important such activities were the writing of a 'TCFF History Book' and archiving. In the first-ever meeting of the TCFF that I attended, which was the Annual General Meeting (AGM) in June 2010, the president of the federation promised the delegates, who had just elected him for a second term in the post, that the history of the TCFF and Turkish Football leagues in London would be immortalised by a book to be published within a year. When I offered my assistance in this pursuit, I was eventually entrusted with the task altogether, which took a significant amount of time. Eventually, however, the writing process contributed greatly in the acquisition of precious information concerning the history of TCFF which otherwise could have been out of reach.

The below documents are some examples of the documents related to previous TCFF Federations. The top two ones are an example of a player license to play in the then Turkish Sunday Football league in 1981. The bottom left is an invitation to an Extraordinary General Meeting, while the bottom right is the first paragraph of a document entitled “the Turkish Community Football Federation Rules 1986 edition”.


LİSANS NO. 257

RECEP

ADI, SOYADI YILMAZ
(Name & Surname)

DOĞUM TARİHİ 16/3/1958
(Date of Birth)

TAKIMI SAMANBAHÇE D.SPOR
(Club's Name)

KAYID SEKRETERİ

LTCF

1 - OCT 1981

TURKISH SUNDAY FOOTBALL LEAGUE

Nº 0069

Date

Player's Name (in full) RECEP YILMAZ
(Block letters please)

Address 24 AUCKLAND COURT
PEACE STREET N1

Postcode

I hereby declare my intention to become a playing member of Samanbahce Demir Spor Football Club and agree to abide by the rules of the Turkish Sunday Football League.

I certify that I am under obligation to this Club.

Player's signature Date of Birth 16.3.1958

Club secretary's signature (this should only be completed if the club secretary is satisfied that all other information is correct).

Name of Samanbahce F.C.

For official use only | Club No. | Player No. 257

Turkish Community Football Federation
(Türk Toplumu Futbol Federasyonu)

FIRST FLOOR,
79, LEE HIGH ROAD,
LONDON SE13 5NS

TEL:NO: 01-852-7909

Our Ref.

Your Ref. Date

15th August 1990

Dear Secretary,

RE: EXTRAORDINARY GENERAL MEETING.

Would you please note that due to a very poor response from member clubs the above meeting will now be held on monday 3rd September 1990,at Chestnut Community Centre St.Anns Road N15 at 7.30PM.
I also enclose a copy of the newly compiled constitution which will be put to the EGM.

I hope to see you all on the 3rd,meantize would clubs who have not registered yet send their registration forms so that We could organize the 1990-91 fixture.

With Regards.

The Secretary.

(1)

TURKISH COMMUNITY FOOTBALL FEDERATION

RULES (1986 EDITION)

Nomenclature and constitution

RULE 1 This combination of Clubs shall be called the Turkish Community Football Federation and shall consist of not more than forty four Clubs who shall be full member Clubs.
All such Clubs shall be duly affiliated to London Football Association and shall have grounds or headquaters situated in London and their names and particulars shall be returned annually by the oppointed date on form "D" to the London Football Association.

Figures 2.8-2.9-2.10-2.11 Two player licenses dated from 1981 (top) and an invitation to an extraordinary General Meeting in 1990 (bottom left), and part of the 1986 TCFF Rules Book (bottom right).
[Scanned archival material by KOU]

The personal archives also included a significant number of photos as well as newspaper clippings from the first days of the Turkish-Cypriot football in London. In many cases, these

have been used to validate the historical accounts given by the individuals in the in-depth interviews. The following is an example:



Seçime 1. ve 2. Lig temsilcileri, Kıbrıs Türk Cemiyeti ve Federe Devlet temsilcileri katıldı. Cemiyet'in "Oy hakkı" üzerine yapılan tartışmalar nedeniyle hava bir ara gerginleştl. Oylarını kullanan üyeler, Başkanlığa Yaşar İsmailoğlu'nu seçtl. (Foto: HÜRRİYET)

Eski Başkan Tansu Karayel 8′ e karşı 15 oyla kaybetti

Spor Federasyonu Başkanlığına Yaşar İsmailoğlu seçildi

Kıbrıs Türk Cemiyeti'ne oy kullandırılmak istenmemesi üzerine bir ara hava elektriklendi. Daha sonra Cemiyet'in oy hakkı kabul edildi

Federasyon seçiminden önce Yaşar İsmailoğlu ve Tansu Karayel, KTFD Temsilcisi (Foto: Hürriyet)

Figure 2.12 A Hurriyet newspaper clip from 1978 where the headline reads 'Yaşar İsmailoğlu was elected to the Presidency of Sport Federation'.
[Scanned archival material by KOU]

This newspaper clip is from the Hurriyet newspaper in 1978, which at that time was the only newspaper in Turkish that was distributed in London. It gives the number of votes each candidate received as well as, on the side, describing how the situation got tense when the Cyprus Turkish Association (CTA) was first denied a vote. As I describe in detail when I talk about the foundation process of the TCFF in London, the CTA was one of the founding institutions of the Federation in 1976. As such, it was given a vote in the annual general meetings to be cast alongside with the clubs. This account was provided by Yaşar İsmailoğlu, who was the founding president of the Federation. His account, therefore, was verified by the newspaper account above, which continues to report that the CTA was later given back its right to vote.

2.2.5 Research Trips

During the fieldwork, I had the chance to observe some of the very important actors of the field outside of their London context. These were during the three international trips I attended in the TRNC and Turkey.

The first trip was to Northern Cyprus and it was extremely useful in understanding how great a role football plays in the relationship between Turkish Cyprus and the Turkish Cypriots in London. It took place in January 2011 and I was with the TCFF administrators, the 2009-2010 season champions, *Akıncılar* FC, and the Turkish Community Mixed Team.

The second trip was to Antalya, on the Mediterranean shores of Turkey, in March 2011. It involved staying at a hotel with a team composed of veteran Turkish players who used to play in TCFF leagues. The team is called the London Turkish Masters FC and they were invited to Antalya to compete in a Masters tournament organised at a 5-star hotel. In addition to a subsidised vacation for 6 days at a luxurious hotel, this trip was extremely useful in showing how football functions as a transnational social space in which people from very different geographies could come together and interact.

The last trip was to Nicosia, North Cyprus again in January 2012. It was an excellent chance to revisit some of the observations I made during the previous Cyprus visit. The details of all the visits are presented in the following chapters.

2.3 Position within the Field

It is now a widely accepted view that an anthropologist is not an 'objective detached observer recording pre-existing facts' (Haraway 1991), but he/she must be seen as an 'active, situated, participant in the construction of accounts and representations' (A. Turner 2000: 51). It has been further suggested that, the social relationships that are developed in

the context of an ethnographic fieldwork between the anthropologist and a set of diverse people should not be seen as fixed but rather as shifting ones 'that have constantly to be negotiated' (A. Turner 2000: 53). The anthropologist is someone who is primarily participating in the very social context he/she is researching and is a significant author of events with significant outcomes for everyone in that social context.

It is therefore, necessary to reflect on my own position, physical and symbolic, in the field. My position within the field, though varied in time and depending on the context, has been predominantly that of a respectable Oxford researcher investigating Turkish-speaking football leagues in London. In fact, the day after my very first visit to London on April 4th described in the beginning of this chapter, Turgut Esendağlı, who was working for the Sports section of a local Turkish newspaper as well as being the President of the TCFF, ran a news report on my visit with the title "Sport and Immigrants are a subject for Research" with a photo of myself (see Figure 2.13). The text described how a 'young academician', who contacted Esendağlı for his doctoral research on Turkish-speaking immigrants in London and football, 'inspected' the football fields on Sunday. It later presents a rather sizable part of my academic resume to the readers.

What was even more effective in establishing my position as the 'respectable Oxford researcher' particularly amongst the club managers and administrators was the way in which I was introduced during the 2010 AGM of the TCFF in June. Towards the end of this meeting, the newly re-elected President of the Federation announced that a researcher from Oxford University was interested in their leagues and asked me to introduce myself. I briefly introduced myself and my research trying to look as sympathetic as I could and finished by asking the attendants, the representatives from every single club registered in the leagues, as well as media members and some players, to help me with my research by not getting very annoyed by my questions and constant presence.



Spor ve Göçmenler araştırmacı konusu

Doktora tezi için Türk Toplumu Futbol Federasyonu Başkanı Turgut Esendağlı ile temasa geçerek Pazar günü sahaları gezen genç Akademisyen Onur Unutulmaz, Türkçe konuşan göçmen toplumun spora yaklaşımları ve taraftarlık konularındaki tutumları konusunda bilgi topladı. Başkan Esendağlı dışında sporcular ve antrenörlerle de tanışıp konuşan Onur Unutulmaz ileriki günlerde birtakım daha temaslarda bulunacağını belirtti. Onur Unutulmaz 1982 yılında Antakya'da doğdu. İlk ve orta öğrenimini bu şehirde tamamladıktan sonra Boğaziçi Üniversitesi Siyaset Bilimi ve Uluslararası İlişkiler bölümüne girdi. Aynı okulda Sosyoloji Çift Anadal Programına kabul edilerek her iki bölümden de Yüksek Onur derecesiyle 2005 yılında mezun oldu. Aynı sene Koç Üniversitesi Uluslararası ilişkiler Master programına tam burslu olarak kabul edildi. Bu bölümden ikincilikle 2007'de mezun oldu ve Oxford Üniversitesi'nde Göç Çalışmaları Yüksek Lisans programına tam burslu olarak kabul edildi. 2009 yılında bu programı başarıyla tamamlayarak yine Oxford Üniversitesi'nde Antropoloji Doktora programına başlamaya hak kazandı.Onur Unutulmaz akademik yaşantısı boyunca uluslararası göç, göçmen entegrasyonu ve çok kültürlülük politikaları üzerine çalışmış olup bu konularda pek çok araştırma makalesi yazmıştır. Bunların pek çoğunu içlerinde Harvard, LSE, Oxford ve Montreal Üniversitesi gibi dünyanın en önde gelen üniversitelerindeki uluslararası konferanslarda sunmuştur. Onur Unutulmaz aynı zamanda Amerikan German Marshall Fund ve Alman Robert Bosch Stiftung tarafından 2008'den itibaren başlatılan ve göç ve entegrasyon konularında çalışan genç liderlerin ülkelerini temsil ettikleri 'Transatlantic Forum on Migration and Integration' da son 3 senedir Türkiye'yi temsil etmektedir.Onur Unutulmaz halen doktora tezi için artan öneminin aksine üzerinde az sayıda akademik çalışma bulunan Londra'daki Türkçe konuşan göçmen topluluğunu kültürel entegrasyon süreçleri üzerine araştırmasına devam etmektedir.

Figure 2.13 A newspaper clip from the local Turkish newspaper, *Olay*, on my first visit to the field and first meeting with the Federation President.
[Scanned archival material by KOU]

My position as the Oxford researcher was first established, therefore, amongst the managers and administrators of the TCFF clubs. This later became more widespread as the players saw me frequently talking with their managers and administrators and I was addressed as '*hocam*' (my teacher) which is used more often in the high-school and university contexts than in primary levels of schooling, and also used frequently to express respect to the addressee. This later turned out to be the predominant way in which almost everyone addressed me. I became 'Onur *Hoca*' in the field and most people in the field treated me as 'someone who was writing a book on themselves'. I have very often been 'requested' to write about issues that they felt were important. During our interviews as well as informal conversations, people would say to me frequently 'write this too' or 'you must mention that'. I have welcomed this attitude as a principle as in many

cases it encouraged my subjects of analysis to share as much information with me as they could, sometimes even without my prompting.

2.4 The Ontology and Epistemology of the Ethnographic Data Collected through Different Methods

Ethnographic writing and analysis has been subject to a significant degree of critical discussion as to whether it can be considered 'scientific'. It has been convincingly argued that as there is no single, preexisting, hegemonic truth that an ethnographer can discover and as all social studies are intrinsically interpersonal, a purely scientific approach to ethnography is impossible (Clifford and Marcus 1986). Moreover, an ethnographic analysis should explicitly acknowledge the nature of the data on which it is based: 'inferences of the anthropologist do not have the same ontological status as informant responses to questions in the field, nor do verbal reports of behaviour have the same ontological status as observed behaviour' (Aunger 2004: 131).

Ethnography: Participant Observation and Narratives of Informants

As reviewed above, the data collected through the ethnographic fieldwork which is at the centre of this research came either as my own observations and experiences captured as field-notes, or as narratives communicated to me by various informants through interviews, shorter informal conversations, or various other exchanges. The purpose of ethnography, Geertz (1973) notes, is to construct and present a 'thick description' of the people, events, and relationships in the field. A description and understanding is as 'thick' as it needs to be to understand cultural nuances and meanings, or at least as much as necessary to sufficiently understand and effectively interpret the social contexts. The famous example

involves the ability to be able to distinguish an ‘involuntary twitch’ from a ‘conspiratorial wink’, and distinguish those from a ‘parody wink’, which all look exactly the same to an objective, and ignorant, observer who only sees someone ‘rapidly contracting his eyelids’ (Geertz 1973: 6). They obviously have totally different meanings and significance, which can only be understood through competency in the relevant cultural codes and the contexts.

Therefore, as is true for all ethnographies, I present here an ethnographic description of people, events, and relationships as seen, evaluated and interpreted by myself using the data collected through my observations. There is always the risk of analysing and presenting an actual metaphorical wink as a metaphorical twitch. I have, therefore, paid every effort to confirm the accuracy of my interpretations and have patience before reaching significant conclusions. One method for doing this has been ‘ethnographic triangulation’ which refers to ‘checking the reliability and completeness’ of the collected data about, for instance, an event, by obtaining ‘a variety of sources of data’ relating to the same event (Walliman 2006: 56). The inclusion of a number of events with diverse epistemological perspectives is surely an advantage for the ease with which such triangulation can be achieved.

However it is also necessary to reflect on the nature of the data collected from informants. As I repeatedly label it as such, the data needs to be seen as a narrative, which is a subjectively constructed account. Therefore, in addition to the risk of ‘seeing a wink and interpreting it as a twitch’, there is the risk of reporting a wink, while in fact, the observed action was a twitch. This is a more complicated issue, obviously, as the falsity of the reported narrative might be caused by a false interpretation on the informant’s part, it might be a deliberate attempt of deception, or simply an unawareness of the difference between a wink and a twitch, among other things.

The secondary resources used in the analysis, which were helpful in the attempt of triangulation, have a diverse set of different ontological statuses. The archives, for example, were very helpful in understanding the historical background of the field and the presence in the past of the many of the issues still present in the field today. One important issue to note here is the selective nature of any archives, whether personal or institutional. In all of the personal archives I have reviewed, I noticed that all of the newspaper clippings, documents, or photographs were ones which put the owner of the archive in a positive light: souvenirs of past successes, the elections won, the honors received. There has invariably been a noticeable omission of any bad news, sporting defeats, or larger failures. This selective nature is to be expected and doesn't affect the epistemological value of the documents that are selected to be in the archives. However, the omissions need to be kept in mind and the archives should not be considered to be presenting a complete picture in themselves.

Lastly, the nature of the media products, such as newspaper reports or articles, radio shows or TV programmes, is somewhat mixed. They are similar to personal narratives in that they reflect the views, position, and agendas of the people who produce them and therefore should be regarded to a certain extent as subjective narratives. They, however, diverge from the subjective narratives presented to me as a researcher because they are prepared and presented with a public audience in mind.

2.5 Ethnography in Migration and Sport Research and the Place of this Study in the Literature

There has been an increasing number of ethnographic studies on sporting cultures and social spaces in social sciences, as reviewed above. Many of these studies set out to investigate a certain research theme or question, such as the relationship between

ethnicity, religion, and construction of gender roles (Ahmad 2011); immigration and ethnic relations in the immigration context (Bradley 1996; da Cunha 1995); or, social inclusion or exclusion (Burdsey 2004a, 2006), usually within a single ethnic community as defined and specified in the respective study, such as British Asians (Burdsey 2007), Muslim footballers in South Australia (Palmer 2009), Irish immigrants in Scottish society (Bradley 1996, 2006), or Italian immigrants in Brazil (Bocketti 2008).

This study can be easily categorised within this bourgeoning literature as it similarly investigates similar social themes with a sociological and anthropological gaze within a sporting context. It also converges with the dominant methodological tendency within the literature to consider its research questions in relation to a specifically defined ethnic/ cultural community. Similar to the examples cited above, where the 'communities' in focus are quite diverse such as Muslims in South Australia or British Asians, and are not necessarily viewed to have or represent a single, reified, and essentialised cultural identity; the Turkish-speaking community has also been defined as a 'community' with analytical considerations without assuming or suggesting any distinct reified cultural identity.

This study, however, diverges from the majority of the sporting ethnographies in a number of significant ways. First of all, although the research questions that have been identified numerous times were also somewhat central to the methodological gaze of the research process, the primacy has been given from the beginning to understanding what is happening within this field as a whole and in its full complexity. In other words, taking into consideration the suggestion of Bourdieu and looking at the field in an as holistic way as possible has been the methodological priority of this study. That has been why I have chosen to define the field, as discussed in chapters 1 and 2, in a dynamic and fluid way, 'a space of potential and active forces' (Bourdieu and Wacquant 1992: 101), in reference to the wide variety of different agents and actors within it spread across geographic

boundaries, instead of defining a stable and constant field with reference to a demarcated locality or a single ethnic community in focus.

As discussed in Chapter 2 in detail, another methodological difference between the present study and the dominant methodologies in the literature is the extensive use of secondary resources including personal and institutional archives as well as products of local and transnational media outlets. In addition to participant observation of significant events and data obtained from informants in the field, these secondary and archival resources have brought a historical and contextual deepening to the methodological perspective of this study.

Another point of significance is the extensive use of visual material both for data collection and analysis, and for presentation purposes. As I have discussed above in some detail, there has been a significant increase in the use of visual anthropological methods in recent years, most particularly in still photography and ethnographic films. In this study, as it will become clear in the six analytical chapters, these visual materials are used not merely with an effort to display the point being made, but are also used to be a part of the very arguments being made. In other words, the photos presented in the following chapters are there to make certain arguments, and to reconstruct and represent the colourful, vibrant, and vivid complexity and dynamism of the field itself.

It should also be highlighted one last time, at the risk of being repetitive, that this study, unlike many apparently similar ethnographies of sporting 'subcultures' (Free and Hughson 2003; Van Rheenen 2009), is not concerned with 'describing the Turkish-speaking culture' in London. In other words, while determining this community, as defined and justified above as the focus of this research, I do not have any illusions about the existence of a single cultural identity. One of the differences that distinguishes this study from the majority of studies in the literature is also that it doesn't search for the culture of a community.

PART II

DIASPORA POLITICS AND TRANSNATIONALISM

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DIASPORA POLITICS AND TRANSNATIONALISM

In this second main part of the dissertation, I shall start presenting the ethnographic account and analysis on issues around diaspora politics in the transnational social space of football. Overall, the main argument made in this part is that the field of Turkish-speaking football in London has always been a politicised and transnational field for the Turkish-speaking community to maintain strong relations with the diasporic homelands as well as to maintain a strong ethnic and cultural identity by using the popularity of football. Its politicised as well as transnational nature has been constructed by design, as Turkish-speaking ethnic community football in London has been the product of a transnational political project which was born, for the most part, as a result of the international conjuncture created by the Cyprus conflict in the 1970s and its influence in the Cypriot diasporas, both Turkish and Greek, in London, which has been the 'global capital' of these diasporas as the capital city of the former colonial rulers.

After providing an ethnographic account on the creation of this field and showing how this field has been utilised for communal mobilisation around an ethnic identity in the London public space as well as for providing a bridge between the Turkish-Cypriots and Cyprus; I will argue that the conceptualisation of 'diaspora politics' needs to be reconsidered. I will provide an ethnographic account on the existence and significance of various transnational political relationships created, sustained, and engaged by a large number of actors with different natures mobilising the 'diasporic links' in the specific context of the fields in which they exist.

CHAPTER 3 Creation of a Politicised Transnational Space in Diaspora: Football as a Bridge between London and Cyprus

3.1 Introduction

The single biggest ethnic group within the Turkish-speaking community in London is that of Turkish-Cypriots. As former colonial subjects, their arrival in London in significant numbers predates those of Turks and Kurds from Turkey. Undoubtedly, neither the migration experience of the Turkish-Cypriots, nor the formation of the Turkish Community Football Federation (TCFF) in 1976 could be sufficiently understood without paying proper attention to the Cyprus conflict, the international conjuncture it had created, and the significant place that London holds due to British colonial history.

In this chapter, then, I aim to do two main things. First, I will present a background for the creation of the politicised and transnational field of Turkish-speaking football in London. I will start to do this by providing a brief review of the history of the Cyprus conflict. In the context of this conflict, I will argue that the UK as a country and London as its political and cultural centre has become extremely significant for the Cypriot diasporas, both Turkish and Greek. I will also claim that it was not a mere coincidence that the (Greek) Cypriot League (KOPA) in London was established in 1975 and the Turkish-Cypriot one in 1976, almost immediately following Turkey's military intervention in Cyprus in 1974, signifying the historical climax of this long-standing and still unresolved conflict. While this conflict and the international context of the time, in which London was so central, sufficiently explains the need felt by both Cypriot diasporic communities for communal mobilisation, the selection of football as an appropriate medium still requires explanation. Therefore, I will

provide another brief historical account of football in Cyprus, emphasising its long-established role in community mobilisation and representation of ethnic identities back in Cyprus. Lastly, I will describe the process in which the TCFF was established in London, highlighting the fact that it was an international, if not yet adequately transnational, political project from the beginning.

The second thing I will attempt to do in this chapter is to show that the field of Turkish-speaking football in London is still a politicised transnational field which constitutes a 'bridge' between London and many places that include, most significantly Cyprus, but also Turkey, Germany, Greece, and beyond. I will show, through my ethnographic account, how football has constituted a much desired bridge between Cyprus and London and how it has made it possible for the Turkish-speaking community to become an actor in a major international conflict. I will also show that, although it was this conflict and the related international context that gave rise to the establishment of the TCFF, many actors are involved in this field pursuing a variety of economic, political, and social goals. This very theme will be thoroughly discussed in the next chapter with a theoretical discussion of the concept of new diaspora politics through football.

To sum up, this chapter is intended to make three contributions for the overall argumentation of the dissertation. Firstly, it will put Turkish-speaking ethnic community football in its proper historical context, thereby showing that it has always been politicised and transnational by design. Secondly, it will present evidence on the existence of different political projects, created and pursued by different individual or institutional actors in the field including communal mobilisation, representation of ethnic identities, reproduction of cultural identity in the diaspora, and bridge creation between the diasporas and the homelands for mutual support. Thirdly, and related to the second point above, this chapter is meant to show that neither the actors/agent nor the political projects or agendas need to

remain limited to a local or domestic context; instead, it will argue that even small institutions established by diasporic communities may amount to becoming international actors with political significance. This last aimed contribution will also lead the way for the presentation of further ethnographic evidence and the argument for a redefinition of the concept of 'diaspora politics' in the next chapter.

3.2 International Context: the Cyprus Conflict

The emergence of organised Turkish-speaking football in London could only be understood in its historical context, particularly in relation to the international political context created by the conflict over Cyprus. This post-colonial struggle, which had started as an inter-communal one before quickly turning into a full-fledged international conflict, had a major influence on the Turkish and Greek-Cypriot communities in London, and had definitely affected these communities' efforts for organisation and mobilisation in support of their respective national political claims. As we shall see in the following brief account, the creation of the TCFF was, to a significant degree, a result of this wider political context.

After more than 300 years of Ottoman rule, the de facto government of Cyprus had passed over to the British Empire in 1878 by the Ottoman Sultan in an attempt to secure British support against the growing Russian threat, while it remained nominally under Ottoman sovereignty for almost another half a century (Dodd 2010: 3). While there are varying claims about the population of Cyprus and its composition, one thing that is clear is that the majority of the population was Greek Orthodox while the Muslim Turks were a minority even during the Ottoman era. The first British census in 1881 found that the number of Christians was 137,000, while the number of Muslims was 45,458 (Dodd 2010: 278).

The Greek-Cypriot majority had welcomed the change of administration since they considered that as a step towards their long-standing political ideal of *enosis* (unification) with Greece (Hill 2010: 297). Cyprus was later officially annexed by Britain in the context of a emerging World War I in 1914, and in 1925 it was declared a Crown Colony. In the new international context of the Cold War and de-colonisation in the 1950s, Greece was pushing for the *enosis* alongside with the Greek-Cypriot majority in the island, particularly at UN meetings. Turkey, on the other hand, was adamantly opposed to this goal. Turkey's demands were more diverse which at first included a guaranteed preservation of the status quo, i.e. continued British sovereignty, later evolving into a demand of the return of Cyprus to Turkish sovereignty from which it was taken, and lastly to an effective state of *taksim* (partition) along ethnic lines of a Cyprus that is not under Greece's sovereignty (Dodd 2010: 1-19).

In the mid-1950s, the Greek-Cypriots started a mobilisation against the British rule in Cyprus to force the British to accept *enosis* (Dodd 2010: 20). EOKA, the Nationalist Organisation of the Cypriot Struggle, was established in 1954 and started violent actions to this end. Although the violence was aimed against the British colonial rule and not directly against the Turkish-Cypriot community, the inter-communal relations were extremely adversely affected as the Turkish-Cypriots mostly manned the police force. There was also a growing fear that if enosis was to be achieved, the Turkish-Cypriot minority would be left at the mercy of Greek rulers. With the dynamics of the Cold War, where Britain was no longer able to support Greece and Turkey[22] against communist aggression from Soviets and America stepping in throughout the 1950s, the Cyprus conflict was growing in significance in the international political agenda.

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[22] In the famous 'Truman Doctrine', the American President Harry Truman suggested that "The British Government, which has been helping Greece, can give no further financial or economic aid after March 31" and "The British Government has informed us that, owing to its own difficulties, it can no longer extend financial or economic aid to Turkey" and asked the US Congress for authorisation of US financial assistance to both countries. The whole speech, known as 'Truman Doctrine', is available at http://www.trumanlibrary.org/publicpapers/index.php?pid=2189&st=&st1=

In 1960, an agreement was reached in a tripartite conference in London attended by Turkey, Greece, and the UK. The agreed upon formula was neither the Greek *enosis* nor the Turkish *taksim*, but an independent Republic of Cyprus, which was a Federal State but not on a geographical basis. There was a power-sharing arrangement between the two communities, where the Greek majority naturally had more influence but the Turkish minority was given several legal and judicial safeguards. Moreover, an additional Treaty of Guarantee was signed by the three countries, each of which was assigned the status of Guarantor States and given the right to intervene, unilaterally if necessary, to ensure the continuance of the Republic of Cyprus as established by the Treaty of Establishment (Dodd 2010: 38-40).

Before long, however, inter-communal conflict broke out between the Greek-Cypriot and Turkish-Cypriot communities. A religious leader and the head of the *enosis* campaign, Archbishop Makarios, was elected the first President of the Republic in 1960. Under his leadership a series of constitutional changes were adopted that were considered by many in the Turkish community to be destructive of the agreed power-sharing arrangements. Makarios was accused of trying to pave the way for the annexation of Cyprus by Greece. Shortly after, these political tensions started to translate into inter-communal violence, and in 1963 the Turkish side withdrew from power-sharing arrangements in protest. A year later, a UN peacekeeping force was set up while Turkish-Cypriots started withdrawing into defended enclaves. The UN furthermore drew a ceasefire 'green line' (Dodd 2010: 48-51; Papadakis et al. 2006).

This already very tense situation in Cyprus further deteriorated when a military *coup* took place in Greece in 1967 creating a *junta* that would rule for seven years. In 1974, a *coup* in Cyprus, which was openly backed by the Greek 'Colonels', overthrew Makarios, exacerbating Turkish fears over annexation of Cyprus by Greece. Within days of the *coup*,

Turkey intervened, invoking its role as a Guarantor State in the founding Treaty of Guarantee. Turkish military forces occupied a third of Cyprus enforcing a partition roughly

Table 3.1 A Timeline of Cyprus Conflict, 1878-1983	
1878	De facto government of Cyprus passes to British Empire after more than 300 years of Ottoman rule, while it remained nominally under the sovereignty of Ottoman Empire
1914	Cyprus is officially annexed by Britain
1925	It is declared a Crown Colony
1955	Greek Cypriots begin guerrilla war against British rule. The guerrilla movement, the National Organisation of Cypriot Combatants (EOKA), wants enosis (unification) with Greece. British authorities arm a paramilitary police force made up of Turkish Cypriots.
1956	Archbishop Makarios, head of enosis campaign, deported to the Seychelles.
1959	Archbishop Makarios returns and is elected president.
1960	**Independent 'Republic of Cyprus' is declared by the 'Treaty of Guarantee' which gives Britain, Greece and Turkey the right to intervene as 'guarantor states'.**
1963	Makarios raises Turkish fears by proposing constitutional changes which would abrogate power-sharing arrangements. Inter-communal violence erupts. Turkish side withdraws from power-sharing.
1964	A UN peacekeeping force was set up while Turkish-Cypriots started withdrawing into defended enclaves. **A ceasefire 'Green Line' was drawn by the UN**
1967	A military *coup* takes place in Greece creating a military junta
1974	**A military *coup* takes place in Cyprus backed by the Greek military junta. Within days of the *coup*, a military intervention by Turkey takes place which occupies a third of Cyprus enforcing partition roughly along the UN Green Line**
1975	**Turkish side establishes an independent administration in the North under the leadership of Rauf Denktaş.**
1975	A population exchange takes place between the South and the North
1983	At the end of long peace talks sponsored by the UN, Turkish side suspends the talks and proclaims the independent Turkish Republic of Northern Cyprus (TRNC). It is recognised only by Turkey.
Source: Adapted from BBC Timeline series: http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/europe/1021835.stm (website last accessed on 28.11.2013)	

along the Green Line. After this, the *coup* collapsed and Makarios fled the island. In 1975, the Turkish side established an independent administration in the North under the leadership of Rauf Denktaş. That same year, the Greek and Turkish leaders agreed on a population exchange between the South and the North, further homogenising the ethnic

compositions of the populations in the two sides. While UN-sponsored peace talks continued throughout this time and beyond, an agreement could not be reached. In 1983, Rauf Denktaş, suspending the talks, proclaimed that the land north of the partition was the independent Turkish Republic of Northern Cyprus (TRNC). To this day, the TRNC has been recognised as an independent sovereign state only by Turkey (Dodd 2010: 91-100; Papadakis et al. 2006).

3.3 Significance of London for the Cypriot Diasporas

Since Cyprus was a former British colony and as a result of the liberal immigration policies concerning the colonies (Hansen 2000), the vast majority of emigration from Cyprus has been directed to Britain. While these migration flows from Cyprus had already started in the aftermath of WWII (Bhatti 1981), it consistently intensified in the processes following the declaration of independence, political problems, inter-communal conflict, and the Turkish military intervention in 1974. As a result, a significant number of Cypriot immigrants from both sides have ended up in Britain, and are mostly concentrated in London (Aydin 2001; Bhatti 1981).

In the first couple of decades following the WWII, the Greek and Turkish-Cypriot communities in London seem to have gotten along well. Not only did they settle in similar regions of London, mostly in the North Boroughs including Hackney and Enfield; they were involved in the similar economic sectors, most notably textiles, with very positive neighbourly relations (Aydin 2001; Bhatti 1981; GLA 2009; Phellas 2005; Robins and Aksoy 2001). However, the deteriorating political climate back in Cyprus and an increasing number of newly arriving immigrants who were uprooted, and hence politicised, by the conflict, had an unavoidably negative impact on relations in London when the mid-1970s arrived. While a number of Turkish-Cypriots and Greek-Cypriots actively tried to keep the

relations positive, blaming either Turkey, Greece, the British colonial legacy, or ethnic nationalism as the reasons for this conflict, a greater number of people in each community was drawn into the language of conflict (Bhatti 1981).

London, it must be noted, is remarkably significant for the Cyprus conflict and for the Cypriot diasporas. The UK has been involved in this conflict as a primary actor for many decades and was declared a Guarantor State of the independent Republic of Cyprus in 1960. As such, it was not only capable but also responsible to act in the context of this conflict. Therefore, London as its capital carried a remarkable degree of symbolic importance. As important as the political and legal involvement of the UK had been throughout the conflict, London has also been the 'global capital of Cypriot diasporas'. As explained, the vast majority of both Turkish-Cypriot and Greek-Cypriot immigrants have settled in London due to historical links of colonialism. This was even more important for the minority Turkish-Cypriots as tremendous emigration from Cyprus has further shrunk the size of the Turkish-Cypriot community on the island, so much so that you will repeatedly hear the argument, as I have in so many occasions, that 'today, there are more Turkish-Cypriots living in London than there are in Cyprus'. This history of migration between Cyprus and London has also meant that a vast majority of Turkish-Cypriots in London, if not all, have very close familial links to people still living in Cyprus.

This brief historical account on the Cyprus conflict should make it clear that the link between the Turkish-Cypriot community in London and the newly formed Turkish-Cypriot government in Cyprus was crucial for two main reasons. First of all, ever since the autonomous Turkish government was established in 1974 and the TRNC was proclaimed in 1983, no other country than Turkey has recognised it as a legitimate and independent state. Therefore, the small TRNC is almost completely cut off from the outer world and has been subjected to a large-scale embargo and exclusion from the international system. This

means that the TRNC has had extremely minimal diplomatic relations (mostly with the UK and, following the accession of Cyprus, with the EU) as well as not being able to participate in any international organisations. In such a context, the relations with the diaspora and the mutual visits has served as the TRNC's most significant international contacts.

Second and more importantly, the Turkish-Cypriots had lived under a perceived threat of political and cultural domination posed by the majority Greek-Cypriots for a significant period of time following World War I. This threat intensified under the newly founded Republic of Cyprus. Following Turkey's military intervention, the already minority Turkish-Cypriot population of the island became even smaller through the impact of emigration. Therefore, to make the terms of peace more favourable to the Turkish side, Rauf Denktaş and the political leadership of the time adopted mass settlement policies and brought large numbers of people from Turkey, creating remarkable demographic changes in the island (Dodd 2010: 122). As time progressed and these settlers proved to be permanent citizens of the new Turkish-Cypriot Republic, a fear of being overwhelmed by Turkey and losing the subtle characteristics of a unique Turkish-Cypriot identity emerged. A recent social-psychological report by Oxford Centre for the Study of Intergroup Conflict has found that "Turkish Cypriots perceive that the tangible assets like political and economical power as well as their values, norms they adhere to, and their traditions are under attack. They perceive that their social standing as Turkish-Cypriots and the values attached to this identity are being threatened by Turks from Turkey AND Greek-Cypriots." (Cakal 2012: 33).

Therefore, in the Turkish-Cypriot case, maintaining strong relations with the diaspora and ensuring the preservation of cultural identity in the diaspora goes beyond the concerns of mobilising the economic and political power of the diaspora for national interests. For the

small population of Turkish Cyprus for whom the identity necessarily involved the psychology of minority and the small Turkish-Cypriot diasporic community in London, I would argue, this has been constructed as rather a matter of survival.

3.4 A History of Community Mobilisation and Representation of Ethnic Identities through Football: 'The Example in Cyprus'

> We wanted to **bring people together,** first and foremost. I am coming from a Marxist-socialist tradition. So I thought it was **essential to have an organised community**. We were organising mass meetings to raise awareness with limited success. People had shown very little interest in these. Then, I saw **the example in Cyprus**... how people **organised and mobilised around football clubs**. So we decided to establish a football team! I had no idea, then, that it would lead to a tournament, and that would lead to a league, and that would bring us to today... (Interview with Yasar ismailoğlu, 12.03.2011).

Starting from the beginning of organised Turkish-speaking football in London, football has been used as a medium around which to mobilise the community and represent the Turkish-Cypriot identity in the London public space. An interesting question is 'why football?' The reasons that made football an option at the time and, arguably, that partly account for its success over the years were mainly threefold. First of all, the perception of football as a non-politicised common passion for the community made it a strong alternative to appeal to every segment of the community (significantly, except for women, see Chapter 6). Secondly, it was seen as a particularly promising activity for reaching out to the young people. Thirdly, there was 'the example in Cyprus', as suggested by Yasar I. above, where it was a well-known fact that in Cyprus football clubs had served as hubs for communal organisation and mobilisation as well as a representation of ethnic identities all the way from the 1930s.

So, what was the Cyprus example? The first formal Football organisation was established in Cyprus in 1934 as the Cyprus Football Association (KOP). The first Cypriot League contained seven Greek-Cypriot clubs, and only one club from the Turkish minority: *Çetinkaya Türk Spor Klubü*[23]. *Çetinkaya SK* remained as the only major Turkish-Cypriot club competing in the Cypriot First Division until 1954 when it left the division, while in the 1953-54 season there were in total five Turkish-Cypriot teams competing in the lower KOP leagues (Hatay 2005). For the 18 seasons that *Çetinkaya SK* competed in the Cypriot First Division, it was the primary subject of communal pride for the Turkish-Cypriots. "Every game that it was playing was a 'national' game, every game was a matter of ethnic identity", recounts the older Turkish-Cypriots who remember those times (also see, Hatay 2005: 11, for a history of football in Cyprus). The team used to play its games in the historical '*Taksim*' (Partition) Stadium, which now lies within the United Nations monitored 'Green Line' that splits Nicosia into the Greek and Turkish parts, a stadium which is still a football field though it has not been used for many years (see Figure 3.1).

What made *Çetinkaya SK* a major symbol and representative of Turkish-Cypriot identity has also been related to its success. Not only did this lone Turkish-Cypriot competitor of the Cypriot First Division manage to win the league title once in 1951, but it also won the Cypriot Cup twice in 1952 and 1954, having lost at the final in 1953. Most importantly, though, was its success at the so-called *Pakkos* Shield which was given in the beginning of each season to the winner of the match between the previous season's league and cup winners. *Çetinkaya SK* won the Shield every single time it had the chance for it, in total thrice in 1951, 1952, and 1954. As in this 10-year period, no other team has surpassed this success of winning it three times, so *Çetinkaya SK* has been entitled to keep the

[23] The Greek-Cypriot teams were: AEL Limassol, Trast AC, Olympiakos Nicosia, Aris Limassol, APOEL, Anorthosis Famagusta, and EPA Larnaca. Çetinkaya Türk Spor Klübü was originally formed in 1930 by the name of Lefkoşa Türk Spor Klübü (Nicosia Turkish Sport Club) and later merged with Çetinkaya Türk Asnaf Ocağı (founded in 1943) in 1949, changing its name to the one it has at present.

shield permanently. This shield has ever since been presented not only as the greatest success of the Turkish-Cypriot football, but also as a symbol of Turkish-Cypriot identity and a reminder that the Turkish-Cypriots have always been a part of the island (see Figure 3.2).

The accounts for the reason for *Çetinkaya SK*'s move from the Cypriot First Division and the Cypriot Football Association at the end of the 1953-1954 season differ. Some people suggest that it was as a result of the emerging inter-communal conflict between the Greek and Turkish communities. The current president of the TCFF says *Çetinkaya SK* did not itself leave, but was kicked out. He claims that when in 1955 the Turkish clubs were excluded from the Cypriot leagues that people were writing 'No Turks, or Dogs allowed' on the stadia. It has also been suggested that the club's departure from the Cypriot league was a manifestation of growing demand within the Turkish-Cypriot community for football that the Cypriot Football Association could not meet. Accordingly, the emerging clubs, mostly given quite nationalist names such as *Doğan Türk Birliği* (Doğan Turkish Union) and *Magusa Türk Gücü* (Magusa Turkish Arms), wanted to join the leagues necessitating that the Turkish community open its own league. As a result, the Cyprus Turkish Football Federation (CTFF) was founded in 1955. It must be stressed that this separate organisation into single-community football federations took place five years before the national independence of Cyprus from British colonial rule, and almost two decades before the Turkish military intervention in the island. Football was one of the obvious public arenas in which Turkish and Greek ethnic identities were being represented separately well prior to inter-communal conflict.



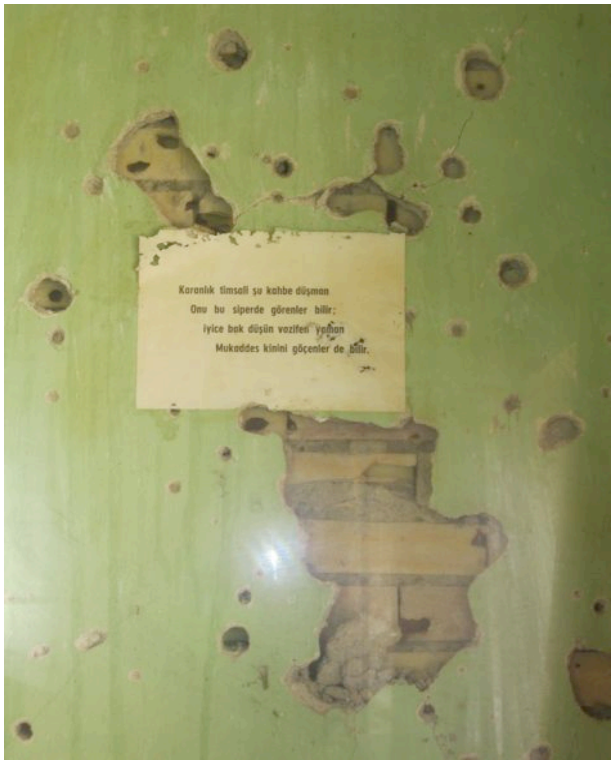
Figure 3.1 The historical Taksim Stadium, which used to be the home of *Çetinkaya* SK, thus still painted in its colours -Yellow-Red. Notice that there is an UN Observation Tower placed as it is in the official UN Green Line splitting the capital, thus making the stadium one of the remaining living embodiments and symbols of the Cyprus conflict.
[Photo by KOU]



Figure 3.2 The *Pakkos* Shield exhibited on the walls of the *Çetinkaya SK* club building in Nicosia. This Shield is still considered to be a 'badge of honour' of the Turkish-Cypriots, symbolising their success in adverse conditions.
[Photo by KOU]

Today, in the face of great rivalry amongst the Turkish-Cypriot clubs, there seems to be a consensus on the importance of what *Çetinkaya* SK stood for and what it achieved for the Turkish-Cypriots. Following its footsteps, many Turkish-Cypriot villages and towns organised around football clubs to declare their existence during and after the inter-communal conflict. Even today, one can easily observe that football and various football clubs have been intertwined the Turkish-Cypriot identity and the Cyprus conflict as one of this identity's integral defining features.





Figures 3.3-3.4 At the *Çetinkaya* SK club building, a part of the wall was kept in its original condition from the Cyprus conflict with many bullet holes.
[Photos by KOU]

The last photograph I took at the club building of *Çetinkaya* SK illustrates this intertwining of the Cyprus conflict and the Turkish-Cypriot identity in an artistic way (see Figures 3.3 and 3.4). A part of the wall in the building is kept in its original condition during the inter-ethnic violence and framed to drawi attention. There are many bullet holes on the wrecked

wall and a piece of paper, which also appears to be kept for a long time, with a poem on it. The poem in Turkish reads

Karanlık timsali şu kahbe düşman	(Like the darkness is this backstabbing enemy)
Onu bu siperde görenler bilir;	(Only those who saw it from this trench would know it)
İyice bak düşün vazifen yaman	(Look closely and think, your mission is dire)
Mukaddes kinini göçenler de bilir	(Those who emigrated also know your sacred grudge)

Although some of its effect is inevitably lost in translation, the poem obviously is written in a very nationalist tone. The reference to the enemy, who is further qualified to be 'backstabbing', is clear. The more important significance of this poem is twofold. The first part concerns the message. The 'grudge' kept against the enemy for all the pain and suffering is 'sacred'. The poem moreover instructs the reader 'not to forget' and to make him/her not forget, a message that is further reinforced since it is on a wall full of bullet holes on a building on the Green Line which belongs to a football club that represents the Turkish identity in the island.

The second is in the word '*göçenler*' ('those who emigrated') which is a dual reference to those who died during the bloody conflict and those who had to leave their homes because of it. Someone who died is referred to as migrated from this world to the next in Turkish. In other words, *göçmek* is used in Turkish to refer to death as commonly as the verb 'to pass away' is used in English. Therefore, the message of this poem seems to say that those who died during this conflict will never forget and suggest to those who have migrated from Cyprus to keep their sacred grudges, even though they left. In other words, there seems to be a call both for remembering the conflict, the enemy, and the sacred grudge, and for solidarity across a diasporic consciousness of the unity created by the experience of this conflict and the presence of this sacred grudge in the projected Turkish-Cypriot identity.

3.5 Establishment of TCFF in 1976: A Transnational and Political Field by Design

> It was July, 1976. It all started then. Why? **We wanted to let everybody know that Turks lived and were still living in Cyprus**. Because for a long time, when someone talks about Cyprus, people only thought Greeks lived there. We wanted everybody in London to know we were also there. And **football seemed to be the only medium around which all of us could unite and make that statement**" (Interview with *Zico*, 31.01.2011)

In the face of the international context created by the Cyprus conflict where London occupied an extremely central place for Turkey and Greece to constantly try to justify and propagate their respective positions in this conflict, it is no coincidence that the Greek-Cypriot and Turkish-Cypriot diasporic communities in London also increased their efforts of communal mobilisation and representation of their ethnic identities in the London public space. The establishment of the Greek-Cypriot Football Federation (KOPA) in 1975, the year following Turkish military intervention, should be seen as part of such increased efforts. The official logo of KOPA in London has a Cypriot flag which depicts a picture of the island representing the refusal of partition and the claim of the whole island being under a single legitimate rule (see Figures 3.5 and 3.6). That the establishment of the Turkish Community Football Federation (originally as England Turkish Sport Federation) took place in 1976 is also not a coincidence. I do not wish to suggest that the establishment of either of these federations was a direct and/or exclusive outcome of the Cyprus conflict. Nor could the establishment of TCFF in London be seen merely as a response to the establishment of KOPA. Obviously, there was a significant number of individuals from the Turkish and Greek-Cypriot communities who had started to play football in North London parks as well as local leagues prior to the Turkish military intervention or establishment of either of the federations. However, without referring to the Cyprus conflict and its impact on inter-communal relations in London, it is impossible to explain the organisation around football for either community.



Figure 3.5 The official logo of the KOPA
[Taken from league's website http://www.kopaleague.com]



Figure 3.6 The flag of the Republic of Cyprus
[Taken from http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Flag_of_Cyprus]

The foundation of the TCFF in 1976 was a transnational political project. There were three major motivations behind this project. The first, and arguably the most important, reason was the desire to declare the existence of the community and to be represented in London's public space. The Turkish-Cypriots had been a minority community back in Cyprus and they were still a minority community in London. So, they thought that their chance to make a strong case depended heavily on their ability to get mobilised and speak with a unified voice.

Secondly, at a time when communication and transportation technologies were not advanced, these immigrants felt the need to regularly socialise and interact with people speaking their language and sharing their cultural identity. Apart from the manifested need to be in a comfortable zone of cultural familiarity, more practical reasons were also present. Many of these immigrants were not used to the everyday life in London, nor had they had any knowledge about the legal or political system. Therefore, even for very basic needs such as healthcare or collection of rubbish, they needed the assistance of more experienced members of the community with the relevant linguistic and cultural knowledge.

> Of course, nobody had mobile phones in those days. Very few people had phones in their homes. So it was very **difficult to communicate, come together**... ... And although there were some people who knew some English, a **majority didn't speak the language**. And people didn't know their rights, they didn't know how the hospitals worked, how to pay taxes and so on. So we had to find a way to bring people together and help each other in solidarity. We had to become a community and not individual immigrants... (Interview with *Zico*, 31.01.2011)

The third main reason was a common and overwhelming concern for the youth. In his book, Atay (2006: 117) suggests that, today "the members of the Turkish-speaking community, divided in ethnic, political, ideological and religious lines, are united in the fear of 'losing their children'!" When we look at the past, we see that this concern was very much alive even in the 1960s. Minutes from the TCA meetings show that even when their number was much smaller and everyone in the community seemed to share the desire of returning to the homeland, there was a significant concern of youth getting out of hand by acquiring bad habits and losing their cultural identity. Therefore, there was an urge to be united as a community and protect the children from assimilation by teaching them the language and culture as well as 'taking them back from the streets'.

> So my idea was to establish an institution which could attract people, which could **save the youth from drugs, gangs and losing their identity, which could help them learn and speak Turkish**... So we decided to establish a football team! (Interview with Yaşar İsmailoğlu, 12.03.2011)

It is noteworthy that, although all of these reasons remain as valid reasons for being involved in the field of Turkish-speaking football in different positions, this last one seems to have become the most prominent. I explore this point in much more detail in the chapters on construction and reproduction of ethnic and cultural identities, ethnicised masculinities, and integration.

The Foundation Process: Actors and Agendas

The idea of establishing a football federation emerged only gradually as part of organisation efforts of Turkish Cypriot Foundation (TCF) in London under the initiative of Yaşar İsmailoğlu, who has been quoted above. However once the foundation was established, it was embraced quickly and supported enthusiastically by the newly proclaimed independent Turkish government in North Cyprus (not yet a self-proclaimed Republic at that point) as a way for the Turkish-Cypriot identity to be represented and visible in London, the capital of the third Guarantor State and a direct party to the Cyprus conflict. The support was given through Faik Müftüzade, who was a British citizen of Turkish-Cypriot origin and who was appointed as the special envoy of the Turkish-Cypriot government in Britain. He fought in the British army during WWII and was appointed to this post in 1975. Müftüzade was the third representative of Turkish-Cypriots in London, however, he was the first one appointed by the new autonomous Turkish government in Cyprus established in the aftermath of Turkey's military intervention in 1974. Therefore, Müftüzade came with a different agenda than previous envoys. He wanted to make clear that there were two different ethnic communities living in Cyprus and the Turks now had their own administration.

In the establishment process of the football federation, in addition to the TCF's İsmailoğlu and TRNC's Müftüzade, a third key person involved in the process was Faruk Zapçı; a Turkish journalist who was working as the London representative for the popular and nationalist Turkish daily newspaper Hürriyet. These three individuals and their respective institutions were central in the foundation process and they were granted specific voting privileges by the bylaws of the Federation. Accordingly, while each member club had one vote in the Annual General Meetings of the Federation, Yaşar İsmailoğlu in the name of TCA, Faik Müftüzade in the name of Turkish-Cypriot government, and Faruk Zapçı in the name of Hürriyet newspaper, also each had individual votes.

The foundation process of the federation had been started with the organisation of a tournament to celebrate July 20th, which is the date of Turkey's military intervention in Cyprus, and today is a national holiday in the Turkish Republic of Northern Cyprus (TRNC). The tournament had four teams participating and was called the "Peace and Freedom Cup". There was a striking level of interest and participation in this tournament, and according to the Hürriyet newspaper of the next day, it was attended by thousands of people. In the end, the first champion of London Turkish football was *Türkgücü* FC. The Turkish-Cypriot government in Cyprus not only actively supported the foundation of the TCFF through its special envoy; it ensured that this opportunity was seized to its full extent by creating a bridge between the Turkish-Cypriot community in London and itself. This was why, even before the Football Federation was established as a significant institution, the leader of the Turkish-Cypriot government, Nejat Konuk, came to London to present the Shield to the winners of the very first tournament that was organised amongst only four teams in 1976 (see Figure 3.7).

The summer of 1976 witnessed another event that had accelerated the efforts of establishing a Turkish football league in London. One of the biggest Turkish professional

football clubs, Galatasaray SK, chose London for their pre-season training camp location. The popularity of this club among Turkish-Cypriots was immense and there was a great interest in its camp. Galatasaray agreed to play against a mixed team of London's Turkish immigrants on August 8th as a demonstration of their appreciation of this huge level of interest. The very first Turkish Mixed Team was formed by players from the four teams that had competed in the founding tournament in July and thousands of people came to enjoy this spectacle.



Figue 3.7 The Prime Minister of CFTS, Nejat Konuk, presenting the Championship Shield to Türkgücü FC, 15 August 1976
[Scanned archival material by KOU]

This was not merely another event that signaled the great level of interest in football and convinced the leaders of the Turkish-speaking community that they should organise around it, but it was also a significant manifestation of the transnational character and potential of this nearly universal cultural medium: a Turkish professional team playing a training match against a bunch of amateur players from the Turkish-speaking immigrant

community in London, with thousands of mostly Turkish-Cypriot men and women coming to watch and cheer. To repeat an important point, this was also the first case in which a 'London Turkish Mixed Team' was formed. Though the very same players represented their hometown identities in matches a few weeks ago, they were now representing the London Turkish community against famous visitors from Turkey.



LONDRA KIBRIS HABERLERİ

Ön çalışmalara başlayan komite görev bölümü yaptı

Kıbrıs Türk Futbol Federasyonu kuruluyor

Figure 3.8 The Hurriyet London issue from August 1976 declaring "The Turkish Cypriot Football Federation is being Formed", with a photo of the planning committee [Scanned archival material by KOU]

The Naming of the Federation

As a result of these developments, the England Turkish Sport Federation (ETSF) was established and registered with the London Football Association (LFA) in September 1976. The choice of the name was very much illustrative of the political nature of the whole process. While around 90% of the Turkish-speaking community was Turkish-Cypriot at the time, the newly founded Federation was called 'Turkish', instead of Cypriot or Turkish-

Cypriot. This way, the community leaders chose to emphasise the ethnic or national aspect of their identity (defined in a certain way), over their country of origin. This was partly because they did not wish to exclude the small number of Turkish immigrants from Turkey, but also because, in the political climate of the time, they felt the need to emphasise their Turkish identity over their Cypriot identity. I also would argue that they anticipated the growing presence of Turkish immigrants in London for the future and wished to attract more support from the Turkish state and its institutions in London. In the founding bylaws of the Federation, the raison d'etre of this organisation was spelled out in the following way: "Our purpose is to make our existence, unity and sportsmanship known in a manner best fit to our nation" (see Figure 3.9). The nation that to which this statement refers is clearly the Turkish nation, and the Turkish-Cypriot nation, which was thought to be included in the former.



Figure 3.9 The Founding Bylaw of the England Turkish Sport Federation, one of the last surviving copies
[Scanned archival material by KOU]

In such a context and with the KOPA having been established in 1975, similar concerns about the identity to be represented by the new federation can be seen in the design of the TCFF logo. Although different logos have been designed and used in the history of TCFF, the basic design and the elements involved in the logo have never changed (see Figures 3.10-3.13). These include the 'twin olive branches' that come from the flag of Cyprus and represent the Turkish-Cypriot community. The olive branches also traditionally symbolise peace. A crescent and star, also present, come from the national flags of Turkey and the TRNC (see Figures 3.14-3.15). Lastly, there is a football around the star symbolising the central place of the sport for the nation and the community. Here, it is also significant that the founders and administrators of the TCFF sought to accommodate symbols from both the Turkish-Cypriot and the Turkish national identities.









Figures 3.10-3.11-3.12-3.13 Four different official logos used by the TCFF since its establishment. [Scanned archival materials by KOU]





Figures 3.14-3.15 Flags of Turkey and the TRNC, respectively.
[Taken from http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Flag_of_Turkey and http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Flag_of_Northern_Cyprus , respectively]

The Bridge between London and Cyprus

However, for its initial decade or so, the Turkish Community Football League acted as the Turkish-Cypriot football league and sought significant relations mostly with Turkish Cyprus. Their contacts, notably, have never been unidirectional. Visits from Cyprus to London by political figures and professional football clubs have been reciprocated by the London Turkish-Cypriots starting as early as 1978. The first Federation visit took place in that year and was received like an official diplomatic visit by a foreign state delegation. The founding President, Rauf Denktaş, received the London delegation in the presence of the media. The London football delegation treated the visit in a similar fashion and subsequently made several visits to politically significant sites to mark their visit to Northern Cyprus, including important statues and martyr graveyards (see Figures 3.16-3.17).

Football has established a symbolic bridge between the newly established Turkish Cypriot government in the war-torn Cyprus and the Turkish-Cypriot diaspora in London which was

deeply concerned about the state of their motherland and wished to be able to remain in contact, and if possible, to act in a way to advance their nationalistic cause.



Figures 3.16-3.17 The President of the Turkish Federated State, Rauf Denktaş, receives the London ETSF delegation during their first Cyprus visit in 1978 (top); ETSF Committee Members pay their respect during the same visit to the martyrs of Cyprus conflict (bottom).
[Scanned archival material by KOU]

3.6 Diaspora Politics through Football: Turkish-Cypriot Diaspora in London and Turkish Cyprus

The above account on the historical background of the Cyprus conflict and the creation of the TCFF as a political project encompassing a transnational and politicised field is essential to understanding how this field operates today. In the remaining part of this chapter, I will present further ethnographic evidence from my fieldwork in London and North Cyprus that shows the ongoing significance of football as a bridge between Cyprus and London for the Turkish-Cypriots as well as the use of this field by the Turkish-speaking community in London to become actors in an international conflict. Then, in the next chapter I will provide plenty of further ethnographic evidence that manifests the complexity and dynamism of the transnationalism of this field as well as in the significance of the extent to which diaspora politics have reached within it.

3.6.1 The Continuing Bridge between London and Cyprus

The relations between Turkish Cyprus and the TCFF in London have never been completely cut off since the foundation of the latter in 1976. However, the relationship between the TRNC and the TCFF in London has become rejuvenated and strengthened in the last few years, partly due to a renewed effort on the part of the TRNC to connect with its diaspora in London and partly because of TCFF's vision of bringing more financial and political support from Cyprus. While in the previous 34 years since the foundation of TCFF there has been only one official Cyprus visit of the federation, the last couple of years have witnessed three such visits with a remarkably intensified set of institutional relationships. Mutual visits of namesake clubs in Cyprus and London, on the other hand, have been sustained since the early 1980s on an uninterrupted yet sporadic basis.

In the following, I will provide the ethnographic evidence from the two Cyprus trips that I have personally attended.

2010-2011 Season TCFF Trip to Cyprus: The 2010-2011 season was a remarkable turning point in the relations between Turkish Cyprus and the TCFF in London. After the first visit of the London TCFF to Cyprus in 1978 (see Photos 3.16-3.17), the mutual visits from both sides have all been on the level of individual clubs. In 2011, however, the TCFF has made a historical decision to organise annual international trips each season. The league champion of the preceding football season and the mixed TCFF team were to travel abroad as a way of rewarding their achievements and motivating the players. In the first seasons, since the champions and federation cup winners were all Cypriot teams, the destination was to be Cyprus. Unlike the first Cyprus trip in 1978, this time the trip idea was born out of a mutual discussion and the London TCFF was to pay all their travel expenses. In the 1978 trip, the Turkish-Cypriot government had not only invited the London TCFF but also paid for most of their expenses. This time, the TRNC promised to provide free accommodation to the London group of around 60 individuals. What was strikingly similar to the first visit, however, was the fact that the London TCFF delegation was to be received as though it was a diplomatic visit from a foreign country.

When this trip was announced at a monthly TCFF meeting, I approached the president to try to acquire more information about it. When I asked why this trip was planned, which would apparently create quite a significant financial cost to the Federation, he gave me a concise list of reasons without any hesitation. First of all, the trip, which would be a regular annual occasion for the coming seasons, would be a great investment to increase the quality of the football in the TCFF leagues. Every year the success of the champion club as well as the players from all the clubs in the league who made it to the TCFF Mixed

Team would be rewarded with this all-expenses-paid international trip with their teammates. The desire to participate in it, therefore, would inevitably increase the motivation for success both on the level of individual players and that of clubs.

Secondly, this trip would be a great way to improve the already positive relations with the TRNC Government and the Football Federation. Most significantly, the TCFF's efforts toward acquiring an official headquarter building in North London needed significant financial support and the TRNC Government looked to be the most likely candidate for providing such support. The financial support of the local London sponsors was sufficient to fund the day-to-day management of the leagues. However, purchasing, or renting on a long-term contract, a whole building with offices and indoor spaces for socialisation was beyond their financial commitment to the TCFF, if not beyond that capacity. The timing was good, too, because of the recent change in the administration of the TRNC Football Federation. The new president of the TRNC Football Federation was a personal friend of the London TCFF president, and the latter was determined to make full use of his personal networks to realise his promise of obtaining a building for the TCFF. To improve the relationships, the TCFF already offered to seek the participation of an English club to the London Cup, an annual tournament organised between the London TCFF and the TRNC FF in London. The remarkable political implications of this are elaborated on in the next section on the London Cup itself.

Thirdly, the trip was meant to serve not only as a reward to the players and administrators of the clubs, it was also meant to serve as a 'gesture of appreciation' to the main sponsors of the TCFF leagues. Hearing this was slightly confusing for me as I had already learnt at that point that the league sponsors were also the main financial sponsors of this trip. How could a trip that you were paying for simultaneously serve as a gesture of personal appreciation? I would later witness the significance of this trip for the sponsors as they

would participate in meetings with the members of the TRNC government in Cyprus, which included the Prime Minister, the Speaker of the Parliament, and the Economy Minister. Later I would also learn that these sponsors, known to be some of the wealthiest Turkish-Cypriot businessmen in London, were also heavily involved in business relations with Turkish Cyprus and they were all invited to these meetings with senior government figures as guests of honour.

Last but not least, the trip was a symbolic assertion that the links between the TCFF football in London and the TRNC were still very strong. The President was not very pleased about the growing frustration amongst some of the oldest Turkish-Cypriot clubs in London about a perceived loss of identity in the federation. Accordingly, although these clubs were complaining about an increasing '*Türkiyelileşme*' (Turkey-isation) of Turkish community football in London at the expense of its dominant Turkish-Cypriot character, the TCFF was not simultaneously open to all members of Turkish-speaking community in London and proudly carrying the historically special relationship with the Turkish-Cypriot State (see Chapter 5 on identities for a fuller discussion). This trip was to prove this inequality. Unsurprisingly, the Turkish clubs in the TCFF leagues made this exact argument, suggesting that the TCFF was managed by the Turkish-Cypriots, and that there was widespread discrimination against the clubs established by immigrants from Turkey.

Having heard all these reasons listed by the TCFF president, my interest in this trip as a great example of diaspora politics at very different levels in the transnational social space of football has grown considerably. I immediately asked whether I could go to Cyprus with them to make observations for my research. The TCFF committee members were kind enough to invite me to join the TCFF group to travel and stay with them during the whole trip.

We met at London Stansted Airport at 10 pm on January 6th. Since the TRNC was not a recognised state, there was no direct flight from London to Nicosia and therefore we had to go through Turkey, which meant the trip was to take more than 8 hours. When we arrived at the airport in Nicosia the next morning, having spent the night in the airplane, there was an official state delegation as well as a small army of journalists welcoming the London Turkish League Champions, *Akıncılar* FC; the Turkish Community Mixed Team; and Federation officials. The journalists obtained some statements from the official Cypriot welcoming committee as well as the people from London. Although I knew how, and to some extent why, this visit was significant for the TCFF in London, I did not know at that point how immensely important this trip was perceived to be by the Turkish-Cypriots until I saw these scenes of reception at the airport.

The main two components of the programme of this visit were the football matches and official meetings with the TRNC political leaders. The media followed the London delegation at every single step of this programme and the TCFF president was treated almost as a minister from a foreign government.

The official meetings involved the London TCFF's visits to the Prime Minister İrsen Küçük, to the Republican Parliament and its Speaker Hasan Bozer, to the Minister of Sports and Education, Nazım Cavuşoğlu and to the Football Federation (see Photos 3.18-3.20). All of these high-level political figures welcomed the TCFF delegation with great sympathy and enthusiasm. The motive behind this warm reception was evident in Nazım Cavuşoğlu's remarks during the visit in front of all the media members:

> It is our duty to keep the relations between our brothers in London and this country, their ***vatan*** (motherland) very warm. Sport is a medium. We are giving our full support through both sports and education. We have been supporting our students there. Because, we are the **owners** of this same *vatan* living in different geographies. We are working here, and you, our brothers in London are contributing greatly in the **preservation of our culture, language, folklore** in London. (Nazım Cavuşoğlu, the TRNC Minister of Education and Sports, at his reception of the TCFF delegation at the Ministry, 07.01.2011)





Figures 3.18-3.19 The Prime Minister of the TRNC, İrsen Küçük, presents the President of the TCFF, Turgut Esendağlı, with a plaquette (above); the Speaker of the Republican Parliament, Hasan Bozer, receives the London delegation at the Parliament (below). Note that in both offices there are Turkish and the TRNC national flags, as well as a large painting of Mustafa Kemal Atatürk, the founder of modern Turkey. [Photos by KOU]





Figures 3.20-3.21 The Minister of Education and Sport, Nazım Cavuşoğlu, accepts the London delegation (above); constant local and transnational media attention at every meeting (below)
[Photos by KOU]

The minister's words undoubtedly summarise the political sentiment behind the TRNC's support to Turkish community football in London in a very clear way. Obviously, one can easily doubt the sincerity of these remarks if they remained only at the level of political discourse. However, the desire to enhance the relationship between Turkish Cyprus and the TCFF in London is practically materialised through so many actions including the financial support for this trip. In addition, it was later announced that the TRNC made a very generous financial contribution for the TCFF to acquire a headquarter building in London[24]. Only two months after this trip, on March 19th, the headquarter building of the TCFF was opened on Green Lanes, Palmer's Green, with a ceremony attended by the TRNC Minister of Education and Sport and the Turkish Consul General in London (see Figure 3.20).



Figure 3.22 A red ribbon is cut in the opening of the TCFF Building by the TRNC Minister of Education and Sport, Nazım Cavuşoğlu (in the middle), the Turkish Consul General in London, Ahmet Demirok (on the left), and the main sponsor of the TCFF leagues, *Backhenbauer* (on the right)
[Scanned archival material by KOU]

[24] Although exact financial figure was not disclosed, it was suggested to be in 'the tens of thousands of pounds'.

A summer youth camp which involved a significant football component was also discussed and planned on this trip. This was organised in the following summer of 2011 in Cyprus. The TCFF was asked to send as many Turkish-Cypriot kids from London as they possibly could to this all-expenses-paid youth camp. In return, the TCFF advertised the camp in London newspapers, clearly presented as a great success gained by the Federation in the service of London Turkish community, and also asked the clubs in its leagues to encourage children to participate. The newspaper advertisement described the camp as an opportunity for 'our children to return to their homeland and breath the air of their ancestors'.

The second main component of the visit, as mentioned, involved football matches. The champions of the TCFF first division, *Akıncılar* FC, played two friendly matches against two clubs from the TRNC first division. But the real highlight of the visit was the match between the London Turkish Mixed Team and the TRNC 'National Team'. Due to the aforementioned international embargoes imposed on the TRNC, there hadn't been a national team in Turkish Cyprus. Therefore, the idea of a football match to be played by all the very best players from the TRNC professional leagues against a 'foreign' team aroused great excitement and was presented by the Turkish-Cypriot media as an **'international' match**. The presence of the four black, non-Turkish players in the London Mixed team reinforced this image. To increase this excitement and the perceived significance of this game even more, the match was proclaimed to be the 'Dr Fazıl Küçük Cup', after one of the founders of the Turkish resistance movement, *Türk Mukavemet Teşkilatı* (TMT-Turkish Resistance Organisation) and biggest national heroes of the TRNC as well as the uncle of the current Prime Minister, İrsen Küçük. As a result of the widespread media promotion of this game as an important international match and the fact that the TRNC state embraced this match as such, the stadium was completely full of supporters. The government of the TRNC was represented at a very high level with the

Prime Minister, the Speaker of the Parliament, and three other Ministers all personally present at the stadium. For a team of amateur players who had been playing football in the parks of North London while holding other jobs and training only once a week, this 'international match', which was broadcast live on TV, was arguably the football and sporting highlight of the year. In the end, the amateur London boys beat the professional Turkish Cypriot 'national team' following penalty shoot outs. Everyone in the London TCFF delegation was ecstatic. The Cup was going to London (see Figures 3.23-26).





Figures 3.23-3.24 The TRNC National team and the TCFF Mixed Team before the kick off (above); the Cup presented by President İrsen Küçük to the TCFF Mixed Team Captain with teammates celebrating (below)
[Photos by KOU]



Figures 3.25-3.26 The TCFF Mixed Team with the TCFF Committee Members and TRNC Prime Minister İrsen Küçük, celebrating on the pitch (above); *Van Basten*, a member of the TCFF Committee, giving an interview to Cyprus Genc TV, a satellite TV broadcasting in Cyprus and London.
[Photos by KOU]



2011-2012 Season Visit to Cyprus: In the 2011-12 season, instead of a single trip in which both the TCFF Mixed Team and the previous season's champions travelled together, there were two separate trips. The first one took place in November 2011 when the London Turkish Mixed Team travelled to Cyprus for a re-match against the TRNC National Team. This time, it seemed, the sentiments of union and friendship were slightly overshadowed by the increased level of competition, since for the Turkish-Cypriots the game became a matter of national pride with previous year's shameful defeat in everyone's memory. The trip ended in the same way, however; to the total amazement of the traveling Londoners and to the shocked disappointment of the hosting Cypriots. I was not able to take part in this trip but followed the newspaper headlines in London as well as heard the personal testimonies of the people who travelled, which painted a vivid picture.

I was, however, able to attend the second trip to Cyprus in the season, which took place in January 2012. This time, the two Champion clubs of the previous season were brought to Cyprus. The league winner for a second consecutive season, *Akıncılar* FC, was joined by the TCFF Federation Cup Winners, *Yalova* FC. There were two highlights in this trip that need to be added here without repeating the observations detailed above from the first visit in January 2011. The first was a piece of significant news that arrived at Stansted Airport on the evening of January 13, 2012, just as the London group was taking off for Cyprus through Istanbul. The Founding President of the TRNC, Rauf Denktaş, who held the position for 20 years only to be replaced in 2005, had passed away. Both the TRNC and Turkey declared a week-long national mourning period for this much respected leader. Denktaş was also one of the founders and leaders of the TMT. This event changed the whole programme of the visit, with the friendly games planned to take place in the first couple of days following our arrival were cancelled. The President of TCFF was officially invited to the state funeral for Denktaş on January 15th. The funeral programme started with a massive cortege in Nicosia, the partitioned capital of both the TRNC and the

Republic of Cyprus in which the TCFF was represented by its President and 10 football players (see Figure 3.27).



Figure 3.27 The TCFF delegation, carrying a banner with the logos of all clubs in the TCFF leagues, at the Funeral Cortege of late founding President of the Turkish Republic of Northern Cyprus, Rauf Denktaş, on 15.03.2012.
[Photo by KOU]

In addition to the unexpected passing away of Rauf Denktaş, the trip also coincided with the death day anniversary of Dr. Fazıl Küçük, who was mentioned above. Although I was already quite familiar with the status assigned to the London TCFF and its administrators in Turkish Cyprus, I was fascinated by it once again at these solemn occasions. The commemoration ceremony took place at Dr Fazıl Küçük's mausoleum. Turgut Esendağlı was assigned a very high position during the funeral. He stood with all the members of the government as well as the top military officers during throughout the occasion (see Figures 3.28 and 3.29).





Figures 3.28-3.29 Just before the Funeral of Rauf Denktaş, top level politicians and military officials gather at Fazıl Küçük's mausoleum (above); President of the London TCFF, Turgut Esendagli, after placing a wreath on behalf of the TCFF before the funeral ceremony, on 15.03.2012 (below).
[Photos by KOU]

The second highlight was the deliberate effort to make the two traveling Turkish-Cypriot clubs visit their namesake villages and meet their namesake Cypriot professional clubs. In other words, the London *Akıncılar* and *Yalova* have met the Cyprus *Akıncılar* and *Yalova*. The programme also included a friendly match of the London team against its namesake, similar to the friendly matches played in the first visit a year ago (see Figure 30). However, the level of competition seemed to be much lower with players playing much more 'softly'. The feeling was one of brothers joking around rather than a serious football game.



Figure 3.30 The London *Akıncılar* FC together with the TRNC *Akıncılar* FC before their friendly match.
[Photo by KOU]

The programme, however, was not restricted only to football matches. The host clubs welcomed their London counterparts at their namesake villages, gave them a guided tour, and organised a traditional feast. Most players of the London clubs saw those villages and ate traditional Cypriot food for the first time. Football had managed to create a bridge

between the origin villages and the third generation diaspora members from London in a physical way (see Figure 3.30-33).


Haberal Kıbrıslı
13 Ocak PAZAR 2013
Telsim 1'inci lig ekibi Binatlı, hazırlık karşılaşmasında Gaziveren'i 2 – 1 mağlup etti
Binatlı, 2'nci devreye hazır
Telsim 1. Lig takımlarından Binatlı, Telsim 2'inci lig batı grubunda yer alan Gaziveren ile yaptığı hazırlık karşılaşmasını 2 – 1 kazandı
Sayfa 29'da
Londra Yeni Boğaziçi ile Yeni Boğaziçi futbol takımları dostluk maçı yaptılar
Boğaziçi'ler buluştu
Londra Federasyon kupası şampiyonu olarak adamızda kamp yapmakta olan Londra Y.Boğaziçi takımı ile KKTC deki Y.Boğaziçi futbol takımları dostluk karşılaşmasında buluştu
Sayfa 31'de
Hazırlık maçı
Kuzey Kıbrıs Turkcell play-off'a şartlandı

Figure 3.31 A TRNC national newspaper reads '*Boğaziçi'ler buluştu: Londra Yeni Boğaziçi ile Yeni Boğaziçi futbol takımları dostluk maçı yaptılar*' (The *Boğaziçi*s have met: London's *Yeni Boğaziçi* and [Cyprus's] *Yeni Boğaziçi* football teams played a friendly match)
[Scanned archival material by KOU]

These trips very clearly manifest that 'football as a bridge' is not only a metaphor. The notion of diaspora politics is neither simply a macro-level concept referring to national governments and their efforts of engaging diaspora communities, but obviously provides an important social space in which individuals, NGOs, business companies, and so on could use their diasporic connections to pursue various agendas. The London TCFF, a diasporic NGO, for instance, attempts to use its connections with the TRNC and Turkish-Cypriot businessmen in London as a way to secure their financial support to obtain a building in North London to use as the headquarters of the Federation.





Figures 3.32-3.33 The London *Akıncılar* FC players visiting the *Akıncılar* village in North Cyprus. For most of them, this is for the first time in their lives that they have been in their namesake village. The team poses with the sign of the village (above), while one player sits on an agricultural tractor, also for the first time (below).
[Photos by KOU]

Obviously, there are the symbolic and non-material reasons for both the TRNC government and the Turkish-Cypriot businessmen in London to support Turkish-speaking community football in London. These include, as can be deduced from the statements of the TRNC ministers and TCFF sponsors, keeping Turkish-Cypriot cultural identity strong and protecting the youth from bad habits, and so on. However, the notion of transnational diaspora politics which will be further refined in the next chapter suggests that the field of Turkish-speaking football is full of transnational diasporic connections such as the ones that are used to underline and utilise more material factors in pursuing various agendas.

In the next section, I would like to describe a key institutionalised relationship through football which is clearly political: the annual London Cup.

3.6.2 The London Cup

As mentioned before, the TRNC has been suffering from a widespread international embargo and has not been able to take part in any international organisation throughout its existence. Sports in general, and football in particular, are no exception to this. Although the Cyprus Turkish Football Association (CTFA) was established as early as in 1955, and the Turkish-Cypriot Football Leagues started to run separately from the Greek-Cypriot Leagues a decade before the partition of the island, the Turkish-Cypriot football clubs have never been able to officially compete in any international organisation (Hatay 2006).

To enhance the relationship between the TRNC and the mostly Cypriot Turkish community in London, the TCFF and the TRNC Football Association jointly organised the first London Cup in 2007. The idea was to create a regular competition among the Turkish-Cypriot clubs and the London Turkish clubs in which the four top clubs of the two leagues (the first division and federation cup winners of each) compete every year. This way, the

professional football clubs of the TRNC would gain some international experience as well as being motivated by the promise of a free trip to the capital of football as a reward for success. For a self-declared state that is trying to get international recognition and acceptance, participation in an 'international' tournament organised by an officially sanctioned 'foreign' institution is immensely important. The importance attached to this tournament by the TRNC is reflected not only by the fact that the state has been making a significant financial investment, or that all major national media institutions follow this tournament every year, but also by the fact that at least one minister of the government attends the London Cup every year in person to present the trophy to the winner.

> The first time we organized the London Cup, the KOPA (Greek Cypriots) in London were furious! They didn't want to make a scene but I found out that they complained about this tournament to the LFA informally. Because they knew just so well that Turkish Cypriot teams playing against London-based teams in London was a big deal. It was nothing less significant than an indirect recognition of the existence of Turkish Cyprus. (Turgut Esendağlı, President of TCFF).

This already very important tournament gained a fascinating new aspect this past year. For the first time in 2011, the London Cup was planned to include six clubs: in addition to the two Turkish Cypriot champions and two London Turkish champions, an English team that competes in one of the official LFA local leagues and a team from Germany, Mannheim, were also invited. The political implications of a Turkish-Cypriot club officially competing against a LFA-sanctioned English club are much bigger and much more significant compared to previous tournaments. This is how the TRNC and the London TCFF have attempted to bypass the international embargo imposed on the TRNC and move closer to international recognition. This plan, however, could not be realised in 2011 because of a controversy surrounding the championship game in the TRNC which had resulted in leagues finishing much later than scheduled and the TRNC clubs' failure to obtain visas to

enter into the UK. As a result, the 2011 London Cup featured only London Turkish clubs for the first time.

The 2012 London Cup was cancelled due to the TRNC national team's participation in the VIVA World Cup for non-FIFA-affiliated teams in Iraqi Kurdistan. As many of the players from the Cypriot champion teams were also included in the national team, the TRNC Federation decided not to attend the London Cup in 2012. The VIVA World Cup is a remarkable tournament in terms of transnationalism through football, as those participating in this tournament, including the TRNC, are communities with unrecognised claims to nationhood, independence, or autonomy. Besides the TRNC, which officially competed in this tournament under the name of 'Northern Cyprus', the competing teams included Kurdistan, Western Sahara, Occitania, Zanzibar, Reaetia, Tamil Eelam, Darfur, and Provence. In the end, Northern Cyprus made it all the way to the final of the tournament to lose against Kurdistan (i.e. Iraqi Kurdistan). It is fascinating to see how Turkey has been a great supporter of Northern Cyprus' participation in this tournament as a way of creating an international awareness of the existence of Northern Cyprus Turks while the very same agenda has been followed by the Kurds under the politicised name 'Kurdistan' to which Turkey is less than sympathetic.

To reiterate, the London Cup is meant to be a political statement by an unrecognised 'state' through a diasporic community that only partly identifies itself with it in a symbolically significant metropolitan city which also happens to be the capital city of an important direct party (as the third Guarantor state besides Turkey and Greece) to its international recognition. In this sense, it can easily be seen as part of a transnational political project with a concrete agenda to a certain end using specific means. However, seeing it only as a project of the TRNC state would be a gross oversimplification. The transnational nature of the London Cup is more significantly present in the process leading

up to this tournament. I have witnessed a great amount of interaction between the London TCFF and a large number of other actors that wanted to use the London Cup for their own specific agendas. One of such actors was a German-Turkish food company that wanted to sponsor the tournaments in their campaign to expand their 'halal meat' business to the London Turkish-speaking market. Upon the suggestion of the owner of this company, in fact, the plan to include a German-Turkish team in the London Cup was born.

Another case was a young representative from a Turkish club from Eastern Greece (or the Western Thrace, as this ethnic Turkish community calls the region), *İskece Türk Birliği* (Iskece Turkish Union), that I met at one of the monthly TCFF meetings. This young man, as he recounted, was born and raised in Gümülcine (or Komotini in Greek) as part of the sizable Muslim Turkish minority which had lived in this city for centuries and remained in Greece following independence from the Ottomans. He went on to say that he was playing football in Gümülcine for a Turkish team that was representing the Turkish identity there and that when he came to London to study, he joined a Turkish team (*Mehmetçik* FC), with the same sentiments. He wanted his local Greek-Turkish team to play in the London Cup (in 2011) to make the existence of Turks in Western Thrace known and to draw attention to the assimilationist policies of the Greek administrations. He told me so proudly that the Western Thracean Turks had been organising their own tournaments in Germany for the past two years, in Hannover and Duisburg, respectively. His request was politely rejected at this meeting as the plans at the point had been to organise the tournament with six teams, an English and a German-Turkish team on top of the original four. However, he was assured that the London TCFF would contact him for the tournament after that, which ended up not being organised in 2012.

3.7 Conclusion: Football, Cyprus Conflict, and Turkish-Cypriots in London

As evident in the account provided above, organisation around football has been the product of a political vision and project in the Turkish-Cypriot community in London, which was to a significant extent created in the transnational context of Cyprus conflict. Therefore, it has never been a merely domestic political vision or a space with only domestic/national actors involved. From the beginning up to today, it has been a transnational social space in which certain political agendas are pursued, social relations are established, and collective identities are formed and maintained that span national boundaries.

The above ethnographic account and discussion reveals a number of remarkable conclusions. First of all, football has enabled the Turkish-Cypriot community in London to mobilise around and represent a common ethnic identity, defined in an overwhelmingly political way. The institutional structure of this mobilisation in football was designed and pushed by the leaders of the Turkish-Cypriot community, and was also supported and enabled by the Turkish and Turkish-Cypriot national establishments in London. The founding fathers of the Turkish Football League in London admit that they were inspired by the ‘example in Cyprus’ of how football has been used for ethnic community mobilisation and the representation of their minority identity through the sport.

Secondly, football has constituted a significant bridge between Cyprus and London since the establishment of the TCFF in 1976. The connection between the Turkish-Cypriot community in Cyprus and the one in London is a vital one as the Turkish-Cypriots are a minority in both contexts. As such, the bridge of football is not simply significant for communication and economic benefits, but serves as a vital lifeline and assurance for the Turkish-Cypriot identity.

Thirdly, through football, the Turkish-Cypriot community in London has managed to become an active and significant player in a major international conflict, which in great part is itself a result of them living in London. I have described above in some detail how the community football league, its mixed team, the special tournaments, and the clubs have not only represented various ethnic and national identities in the London public space, but has also made it possible for the Turkish-Cypriots to voice their political views concerning the conflict. I have also described the unique and special significance for this international conflict as being the centre of former colonial empire and the only third country that is a direct party to the Cyprus conflict aside from Turkey and Greece. In the context of the Cyprus conflict, moreover, the Turkish-Cypriot community in London has been giving the most valuable international contact to the small TRNC government which has not been recognised by any country except for Turkey and which has been excluded from the outer world by imposed international embargoes. This is obviously one of the significant aspects of the second point raised above, which makes the bridge between Cyprus and London a lifeline for both communities. Moreover, the field of football provides the Turkish-Cypriot community in London with the chance to adopt certain strategic measures with political concerns, such as through the London Cup whereby the TCFF in London has been trying to get an English team to compete against a TRNC team on British soil in a LFA-sanctioned tournament.

Fourthly, the field of organised ethnic community football in London provides Turkish-Cypriot individuals, as well as other individuals of the Turkish-speaking community, with a large number of social, economic, political opportunities to engage in on personal and community levels. While there are many examples of such relations to be drawn from the account provided in this chapter, there will be a fuller discussion of this theme with many more examples in the next chapter.

3.8 Epilogue: 'Football Unity in Divided Cyprus'- the FIFA Deal

After the writing of this chapter was completed, I came across a very interesting news report concerning football in Cyprus on the BBC's website. The title was 'football unity in divided Cyprus' and it was about an agreement reached between the respective Greek and Turkish Cypriot Football Federations towards a united football governance in Cyprus. The reporter, Francis Collings, suggests -rather optimistically- that while "the political gulf there [between the North and South of Cyprus] remains very large after 39 years of separation; it could well be that football is starting to lead the way where politics has failed to deliver" (BBC 2013).

Indeed, the signing of the deal at the FIFA headquarters in Zurich, Switzerland, has been a tremendous step in Cyprus, both in terms of football and politics. The agreement for a provisional arrangement was reached on 5 November 2013 and signed by the respective Presidents of Cypriot Football Association (CFA) and Cyprus Turkish Football Association (CTFA). Apparently, the Federation of International Football Associations (FIFA) President, Sepp Blatter, who invited both Federations to Zurich, pushed this step forward. The signing was also attended by the President of Union of European Football Associations (UEFA), Michel Platini. The sentiment behind the support of FIFA and UEFA for the endeavor seems to be similarly optimistic and beyond the narrow concerns over football, as Sepp Blatter makes clear by his statement: "Both the Cyprus Football Association and the Cyprus Turkish Football Association are today providing the whole world with an excellent example of **how football can build bridges and bring people together after a long period of conflict**." (CFA 2013, emphasis added).

The President of CTFA, Hasan Sertoğlu, reportedly gave a speech at the occasion that is full of unmistakable political sentiments, where he said:

> Thank you all for taking an interest to our problems. We are the people of the same country. The only difference is that they are Greek Cypriots and we are Turkish Cypriots. **We live in the same island, on the same land and we don't have any problem with each other. There is a division that is only stemming from political reasons.** Because of this division, the CTFA has been successfully organising its own leagues in the North in accordance with the rules of FIFA and UEFA since 1955. **For 40 years the United Nations (UN), and nowadays the European Union (EU), have been working to remedy this division but, alas, there hasn't been a solution.**
>
> **Under the leadership of FIFA, we can succeed in achieving something that has yet to be achieved by anyone** (CTFA 2013, emphasis added).

The statement is striking as it is explicitly talking about a political initiative for solving the Cyprus conflict to be taken in the field of football. Sertoğlu states that the separate football leagues have been organised since 1955, but the disappointment has been at the failure of the UN and the EU to solve the division, 'for over 40 years', obviously referring to the partition of the island in 1974. The international nature of the initiative, where Turkey and Greece have been absent, and international organisations like FIFA and UEFA considered as the two Football Federations's authorised and competent respondents, also helped to increase the optimism surrounding its potential to contribute to the solution of the Cyprus conflict.

I should also note that the agreement, as historical as it indeed is, does not receive universal praise and support from everyone in and out of Cyprus. For one significant example, the President of Cyprus, Costakis Koutsokoumnis, said to the BBC reporter:

> This agreement, it does not constitute a precedent for the Cyprus problem, and the talks, and the politicians. However, certain politicians, both in the North and in the South, they have decided to show this agreement as an example. Negative or positive. We resent that (transcribed from the video report at (BBC 2013).

Certain calls for caution also appear in many media outlets, both Greek and Turkish, which suggest that the deal might force their respective administrations towards a 'less favourable' solution. An article which appeared in Cyprus Mail on the 'risks' of the deal is

very typical, where a Greek-Cypriot lawyer and a former President of CFA, Christos Triantaphyllides, is quoted as saying:

> **Football cannot and should not have been forced to accept a *fait accompli* before a complete solution is found to the Cyprus problem** which is still at a very delicate stage, ...
>
> ... the agreement has already been ratified by the CFA and if it is also ratified by the TCFA, then this would mean that the TCFA would be **officially recognised**.
>
> If this goes ahead then foreign teams might come and play in the **occupied areas** against Turkish Cypriot teams. **The next step, which I fear greatly, is if there is no solution to the Cyprus problem that Turkish Cypriot teams will take part in official FIFA and UEFA competitions** (CyprusMail 2013, emphasis added)

This recent and extremely exciting development has manifested once again that football has become so deeply interfused with the politics of the Cyprus conflict. As such, both communities as well as international actors attempt to utilise football as a political tool that, no matter what football-related purpose might appear to have advanced, is designed to inevitably have an effect on the more general politics of the island. It is too early to evaluate the overall political, social, and cultural implications of this specific initiative for Cyprus and the solution of the Cyprus conflict, yet, it is clearly a remarkable step which gives rise to optimism for a solution, one which is to be followed very closely for its wider implications.

CHAPTER 4 Diaspora Politics in the Transnational Social Field of Turkish-Speaking Football in London

4.1 Introduction

In Chapter 3, I have described the process in which the field of Turkish community football has been created as a politicised and transnational social space in London in the context of the historical peak of Cyprus conflict. I have shown how football has been strategically utilised by the Turkish-Cypriot community organisations in London for communal mobilisation and representation of the Turkish-Cypriot identity and Turkish-Cypriot cause in the Cyprus conflict in the London public space. I have also discussed how football is still being utilised by the Turkish-Cypriot diasporic communities in London to constitute a bridge between Cyprus and London and by the TRNC government to constitute a significant portal opening to the outside world. I have claimed, lastly, that these sets of relations in the field of football should be considered part of a redefinition, hence expansion, of the concept of 'diaspora politics'.

In this chapter, in turn, I will provide further ethnographic support for this argument and attempt to engage in this redefinition of the concept. I will attempt to show how football has constituted a significant 'transnational social space' in which important political, social, and cultural relationships that span several national borders have been established and sustained by the Turkish-speaking community in London. I will also show how football has been used by the Turkish-speaking community in London as well as by various institutions in Turkey and Cyprus to engage each other and/or third parties with various agendas. I shall refer to all these efforts with the notion of **diaspora politics** and I will attempt to offer

a systematisation of the concept suggesting a preliminary typology of diaspora politics with respect to the different levels at which such political relations are forged and sustained as well as with respect to the different actors involved in them.

I shall, first, briefly discuss the concepts of transnationalism and transnational social spaces. Then, I will clarify in some more detail what I mean by diaspora politics. I will also underline the much broader understanding of 'politics' implied and employed in this concept. Particularly, I will suggest that, in contrast to the tendency to oversimplify it in one way or another in much of existing literature, diaspora politics contains very complex sets of relationships that exist on a variety of levels and involve a diverse set of actors. Although any effort to provide a completely inclusive typology of different forms of diaspora politics will most likely fail due to the complexity and dynamism of this necessarily transnational field, it is still possible and worthy to offer a systematised picture of diaspora politics. I will try to offer such a typology for diaspora politics. I will, then, present the ethnographic evidence from the field of Turkish-speaking football in London that shall be illustrative of both the complexity and dynamism of contemporary diaspora politics. The chapter will close with a concluding section that discusses the application of the offered typology to the ethnographic account.

4.2 Transnational Social Spaces and Turkish-speaking Football as a Transnational Field

The previous chapter has argued that, from its inception, the Turkish-speaking football leagues have constituted a significant part of a transnational social field. Transnationalism has emerged as a significant turn in social sciences in the last couple of decades, and particularly so in relation to migration issues (Faist 2003; Frykman 2003; Portes et al. 1999; Vertovec 2009). Vertovec (2009: 1) quotes Cano, who finds that the number of

journal articles with the keyword 'transnationalism' listed in the *Social Science Abstracts Database* increased from a handful in the late 1980s to nearly 1,300 in 2003, with two-thirds of those articles published between 1998-2003. The definitions, scales, and units of analysis, as well as methodological approaches vary widely in this ever-growing literature (Baubock and Faist 2010; Faist 2003; Portes et al. 1999). Broadly speaking, transnationalism refers to "economic, social and political linkages between people, places and institutions crossing nation-state borders and spanning the world" (Vertovec 2009: 1).

There is certainly an increasing number of 'social spaces' that are not necessarily corresponding to 'geographical spaces' of the nation states in the lives of all people (Pries 2001). Basch *et al.* (1997: 7) define transnationalism and the emergent social spaces in the following way:

> We define "transnationalism" as the process by which immigrants forge and sustain multi-stranded social relations that link together their societies of origin and settlement. We call these processes transnationalism to emphasize that many immigrants today build **social fields** that cross geographic, cultural, and political borders. (emphasis added)

It should be already obvious, then, that the field of organised ethnic football in the Turkish-speaking community in London is a perfect example of one such significant transnational social space. The field involves a wide range of sustained relationships among individuals and institutions spanning the national borders of the UK, Turkey, and Cyprus among others, and was originally conceived of as a medium to advance a political statement by a mobilised diasporic community in the (perceived) interests of the country of origin, i.e. Cyprus. Today, with advanced transportation and communication technologies, the field of Turkish-speaking football allows a more extensive range of transnational activities and relationships to exist amongst a much wider set of actors.

In this chapter, I would like to surround my discussion around this conception of transnational social spaces and the wide range of political relations that take place within them at different levels. I believe that it is possible to identify these political relations in relation to the actors, tools, and agendas involved. I will refer to the totality of these political relations with the notion of 'diaspora politics'. Before presenting the ethnographic account, I will elaborate on the concept of diaspora politics in the next section.

4.3 Diaspora Politics

In recent decades, there has been a remarkable race to engage diasporic communities for a range of political and economic objectives. On the one hand, emigration countries have been trying to mobilise diaspora resources in the service of country's economic and political development. Already by the turn of the century, Meyer and Brown (1999) identified forty-one formal knowledge networks linking thirty countries to their skilled nationals abroad. In addition, many emigration countries have established "Diaspora Ministries" to support their nationals abroad and to maintain strong relations with them.[25] Turkey has not been different in this manner. In addition to a growing number of programmes and projects organised by government institutions like TÜBİTAK (the Scientific and Technological Research Council of Turkey) and various ministries aimed at diaspora Turks, a new Presidency for Turks Abroad and Related Communities was established in 2010 under the Prime Ministry.

Immigration countries, on the other hand, have been increasingly acknowledging both the reality and irreversibility of ethnic and cultural diversity in their societies. This is particularly

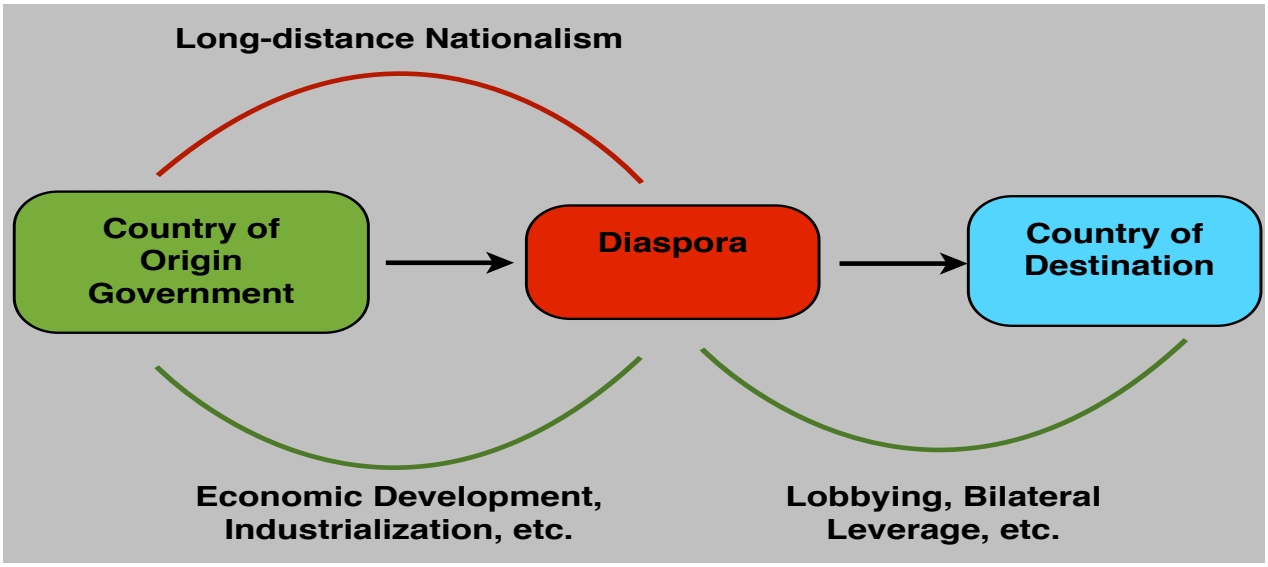
[25] Some of these cases are very extreme. For instance, the government of the Philippines has established a consultation office in the US to give legal advice to Philippino asylum-seekers to get refugee status. In other words, the government is helping individuals who are claiming to have escaped the country to make their case (Vertovec 2009, 8-9). Such is the extent of emigration countries' acknowledgement of the importance of diasporic communities.

the case for the industrialised Western countries, where around 10% of the national populations are now constituted by foreign nationals, while another 10% or so are naturalised or further generation immigrants (Hansen 2000). Furthermore, growing identity concerns and the rise of 'identity politics' in the wake of 'clash of civilizations' discussions in the aftermath of the 9/11 attacks have led to the securitisation of immigration discourses (Grillo 2005). Therefore, there has been a growing effort on their part to facilitate cultural integration of immigrant and minority communities (see chapters 7 and 8).

Crucially, we must add, there is an increasing number of non-state actors with a diverse set of agendas that are also involved in diaspora politics, including but not limited to the diasporic communities themselves. Sustaining a common diasporic identity and staying in touch with their co-ethnics around the globe has certainly become much easier and much more logistically effective for dispersed communities with today's technological advancements in transportation and communication. There are a lot of Non-Governmental Organisations (NGOs) and International Organisations (IOs) as well as economic actors that are trying to engage and mobilise diasporic communities for their respective agendas.

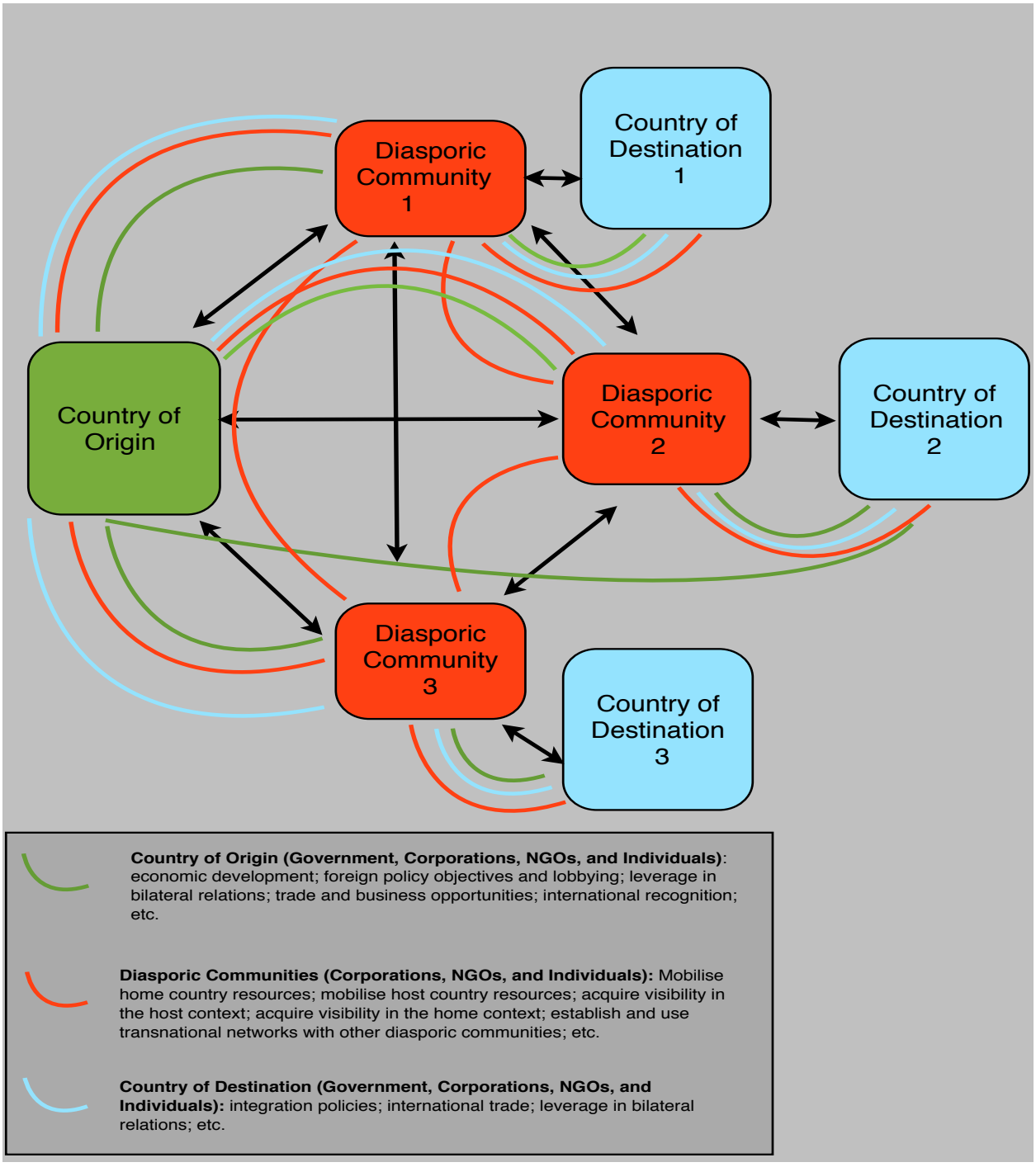
Although a majority of the increasing number of studies on diaspora politics confines analysis mostly to macro level relations between the country of origin government and various diasporic groups, this perspective is seriously over-simplifying. In this restricted perspective, as mentioned above, the country-of-origin governments try to mobilise diaspora resources either for domestic political-economic objectives such as economic development, industrialisation, increasing competitiveness; or, for international political-economic objectives such as having political and economic leverage in bilateral relations or increasing diplomatic effectiveness on international issues (see Figure 4.1).

Figure 4.1 The Simplified Conception of Diaspora Politics



What I mean by 'diaspora politics' is inclusive of a much broader spectrum of political relationships. In the context of this dissertation, politics is understood to take place all the time and in every facet of human life where there are power relations. Politics is taken to concern the continuous "production, distribution and use of resources in the course of social existence. Politics is, in essence, power: **the ability to achieve a desired outcome, through whatever means**." (Heywood 2000: 10, emphasis added). This way of conceptualising politics is in accord with Bourdieu's understanding of the specific 'stakes' and the different forms of capital within each specific field. So, the discussion here will not be confined to political relations at the state level but will include those between non-governmental actors from the country of origin (i.e. corporations, NGOs, and individuals) and diasporic communities; those amongst different diasporic communities themselves; and those between the country of origin actors and the respective diasporic communities established in their country. Therefore, by diaspora politics, I refer to each and everyone of these complex, dynamic, and often intersecting sets of political relations sustained in the transnational social field of Turkish-speaking football (see Figure 4.2).

Figure 4.2 The Complex and Dynamic Field of Diaspora Politics



In other words, diaspora politics refer to the engagement and mobilisation of diasporic links by any means to pursue local, national, international, or transnational agendas. In today's world, the actors involved in diaspora politics do not merely include the country-of-origin government, as suggested by the simplified conception of the term. There are large

numbers of other actors including local, national, and international NGOs, businesses, and individuals, as well as the governmental institutions of the country of destination.

Moreover, these actors engage and mobilise diasporic links at different levels and/or to pursue political-economic objectives at different levels with such engagement and mobilisation. In other words, diaspora politics can function and should be examined at the **macro**, **meso**, or **micro levels**. At a macro level, we can give the example of country-of-origin governments trying to engage the highly-skilled members of their diaspora for the development of their national economy. At the meso level, we can list different businesses that try to benefit from diasporic links financially. Finally, there are numerous examples of individuals making use of their diasporic links to have a better life at the micro level. Crucially, the very same actors could engage in diaspora politics at different levels for different purposes. In other words, a governmental actor could make use of diasporic linkages for meso-level purposes as well as for macro-level ones. Therefore, actors and levels may not always coincide.

In the next section, I shall present the ethnographic evidence for the existence of such political relationships within the transnational social field of Turkish-speaking football. In the last section, I will discuss a model of diaspora politics which will attempt to provide a systematic representation of these complex sets of political relationships forged and sustained at different levels in various transnational social fields by giving examples from the specific case of Turkish-speaking football in London.

4.4 Diaspora Politics in the Transnational Field of Ethnic Football

Turkish community football was conceived of as a means to make the diasporic Turkish-Cypriot identity visible and to advance a political statement in the public space, constituting

a transnational social space from its inception to today. As evident in the account provided in the previous chapter, football in the Turkish-speaking community in London has always been a politicised site. However, it would be misleading to consider the political nature of the Turkish-speaking football league as a homogeneous and harmonious political project designed and implemented from a top-down approach. In fact, as one of the most popular and significant sites for community mobilisation, ethnic community football immediately became a centre-stage for community politics. Different segments of the community have sought to use its potential for mobilisation around collective identities as well as its effectiveness to represent those identities in the London public space for their own agendas, whether local, national, or transnational. In the following text, I will describe the historical process of the evolution of Turkish-speaking football leagues in London with a particular focus on the struggles, conflict, and cooperation in community politics.

4.4.1 Diaspora Politics of Ethnic Football Federations

In the previous chapter, I described how the TCFF was established to mobilise the Turkish-Cypriot community in London as well as to create solidarity and unity within the whole Turkish-speaking community in 1976. As such, it is easy to see that from the beginning of such an organisation around football, the community leaders in London as well as politicians back in Cyprus and Turkey considered the Federation to be a political tool to be used directly. The political visions within the increasingly diversifying Turkish-speaking community, however, were also quite diverse. In the heated political context of the Cold War, the late 1970s saw the increasing politicisation of Turkish and Turkish-Cypriot societies as well as its effects on the Turkish-speaking community in London. The main political cleavage within the Turkish-speaking communities was between the political right, which was characterised by nationalism and religious conservatism, and the political left,

which was characterised by a strong emphasis on secularism and socialist values (Tuncay et al. 1989: 236-246). The below newspaper clip from 1978 exemplifies the political context and how the TCFF was at the centre of political discussions of the Turkish-speaking community although being 'only a Sports Federation'.



İsmailoğlu, suçlamalara cevap verdi

"Türk lobisini destekleme kararı aldık"

"Spor Federasyonu olduğumuz için, politikaya bulaşmamak kararındaydık. Amaç bölümüne KEMALİZM ilkeleri doğrultusunda faaliyet göstermeyi, içeren maddeler koydurma isteğimiz KTC'de kaldırıldı!.."

İsmailoğlu Türk gençlerini bölmemek için "Lobi" ye evet dediklerini açıklarken kuruluşlarına bir spor federasyonu olduğunu söyledi. Federasyonun bölünmesi olayında ise KTFD Londra Temsilcisi Faik Müftüzade'yi suçladı.

2

Mihrişah TOMASOĞLU

Biz de, uluslararası ilişkilerin ve ekonomik gelişmelerin zorlaştığı bir devrede, Kıbrıs Türk Federe Devletimizin karşılaştığı bazı engelleri aşması açısından böyle bir Türk lobisini destekleme kararı aldık. Ancak, biz bir Spor Federasyonu olduğumuzdan sonu belirsiz politik çalışmalara bulaşmamak ve zar zor bir araya toplayabildiğimiz Türk gençlerimizi tekrar kaybetmemek için böyle bir "lobi"ye evet derken, Spor Federasyonu olarak bizi de beraberinde sürükleyebilecek eylemlerin "hedefi" açısından güvenceler istedik. Örneğin amaç maddelerine "kemalizm" ilkeleri ışığında faaliyet gösterme hükmünün temel madde olarak geçmesini istedik. Bugün "Konsey çalışmalarında" kalan derneklerin bazıları, böyle bir maddenin "Arap ve Müslüman" dostlarımızın itirazına neden olacak gerekçesi ile karşı çıktılar. KTC de bu dernekleri destekledi ve "kemalizm" ilkeleri ışığında faaliyet gösterme maddesi kaldırıldı.

Figure 4.3 A newspaper clip from Hurriyet, 1978
[Scanned archival material by KOU]

The translation of this news clip (Figure 4.3), from Hürriyet newspaper, a major nationalist newspaper from Turkey that is also published and distributed in London, reads:

Ismailoglu [the President of TCFF] has responded to the accusations

"We have decided to support the Turkish Lobby"

- Since we are a Sports Federation, we were in the opinion of not getting mixed up with politics. When we demanded to put principles of KEMALISM into the Purpose section, the Turkish Cypriot Association shot it down.

- We have decided to support the Turkish Lobby to help the Cyprus Turkish Federated State to overcome the difficulties it is facing in a context where the international relations and economic developments corner us. However, since we are a Sports Federation, we did not want to be involved in political activities, the outcomes of which are not known. Also, we did not want to lose our Turkish youth once again, whom we could bring together with great difficulties. So, when we said yes to such a **lobby**, we wanted certain assurances as to the **purposes** of its activities. For example, we wanted to have 'will do activities in the light of principles of **Kemalism**'

> in the Purposes section as an essential article. Some of the associations which remain as part of the '**Council activities**' today objected to such an article claiming that it would incite objections from our '**Arab and Muslim**' friends. The TCA supported these associations' objection, and the article of activities, in the light of principles of '**Kemalism**', was discarded (emphasis in the original).

Yaşar İsmailoğlu, the founding president of the TCFF, described this process to be one of an intense ideological and political struggle and intra-communal conflict, which seems to be confirmed by the news piece presented above from 1978. Although it has been suggested repeatedly in the article that the TCFF was only a sports federation which did not wish to be involved in politics, it is also stated that when they gave in to pressure and decided to support the 'Turkish Lobby' in London, they wanted to make sure that this lobby would follow policies and activities in the light of certain political principles. 'The principles of Kemalism', it has been repeatedly emphasised above, were demanded by the TCFF, which has strong state secularism and European Enlightenment values at its heart. As well, the suggested reason for the rejection of this demand, i.e. possible objections from 'Arab and Muslim' friends in London, also suggests that the political context at the time included other diasporic communities in London, and that people and associations with 'rightist' or conservative political agendas seem to have sought after inter-communal alliances. Also, we need to note, while the TCFF was stating that they didn't wish to be involved in politics, they also seem to express their significance for the Turkish-speaking community in London by stating their success at reaching and mobilising the Turkish youth in London.

***Division of TCFF into two Federations and Reunification*:** It should be noted that, therefore, football should not and could not be seen as an instrument that has always been used deliberatively and strategically under the firm control of a single group of individuals and/or institutions. In contrast, it has been the subject of many political

struggles within the field. While at the historical peak of the Cyprus conflict, epitomised by Turkey's military intervention in the island ın 1974, it appears to have been rather easy to secure unity, solidarity, and communal mobilisation for a single cause; internal differences seem to have surfaced within a matter of a few years, as seen above.

The political diversity and polarisation within the field of Turkish-speaking ethnic community football in London has kept growing while also reflecting the influences of the immense politicisation within the Turkish and Turkish-Cypriot societies and from the political developments in Turkey and Cyprus in the late 1970s. The ensuing 1980 military *coup d'état* in Turkey was ultimately a victory of the rightist-nationalist wing over the leftist-socialist one. In the Annual General Meeting (AGM) in 1981, it was suggested to me by several informants, that there was a mobilisation amongst the clubs with a right-wing political leaning to overthrow the President of the TCFF, who was known to be openly Marxist. At that point, significantly, the TCFF was the biggest single Turkish organisation in London with its 32 participating clubs.

As part of these efforts, a very famous Turkish law professor with a Muslim-conservative background, Professor Mümtaz Soysal, was invited to talk in the AGM in support of the candidacy of *Maradona*. However, the incumbent President, who was also one of the founding fathers of the TCFF in the first place, received a majority of the votes, albeit with a margin of only one vote, and was re-elected. The clubs that had not voted for him decided to leave the league and establish their own league to be administered by their own federation. For four seasons, there was a leftist Turkish football federation led by the openly Marxist Yaşar İsmailoğlu, and a rightist-nationalist Turkish football federation led by a nationalist ex-professional footballer, *Maradona*.

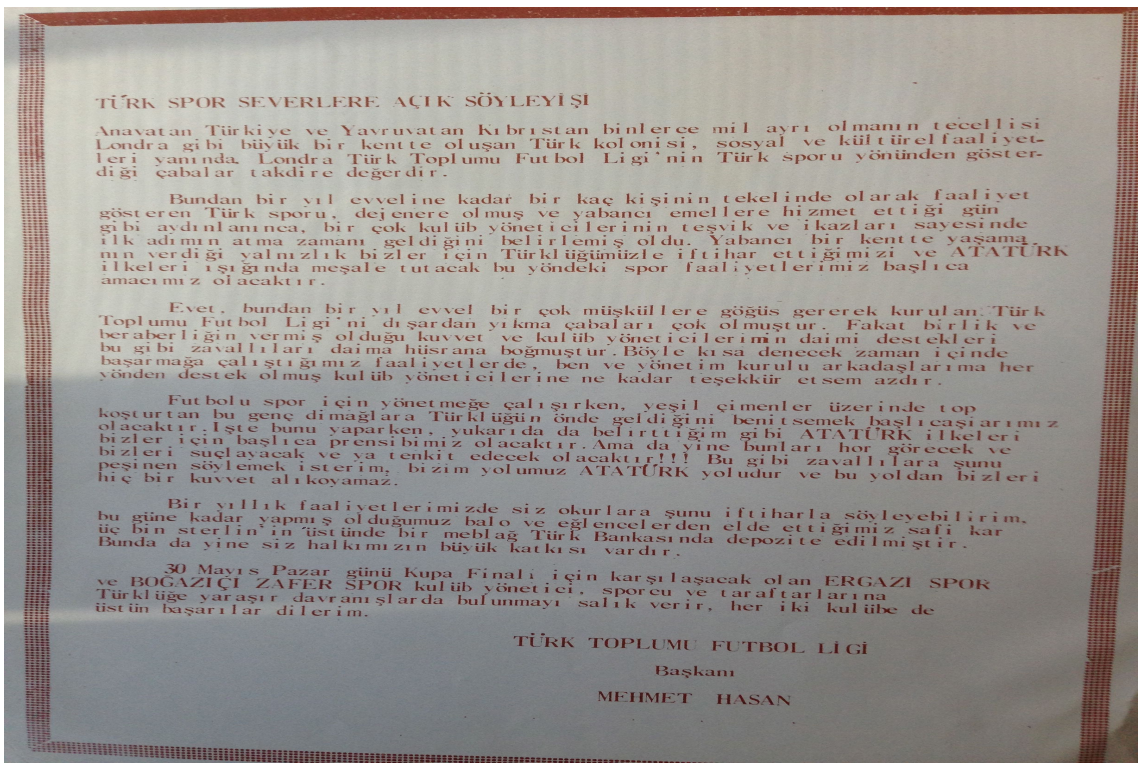


Londra Türk Toplumu Futbol Ligi

1982 KUPA FiNALi

Ergazi F.C. v Boğaziçi Zafer

30 MAYIS 1982 PAZAR GÜNÜ SAAT 12 DE



TÜRK SPOR SEVERLERE AÇIK SÖYLEYİŞİ

Anavatan Türkiye ve Yavruvatan Kıbrıstan binlerce mil ayrı olmanın tecellisi Londra gibi büyük bir kentte oluşan Türk kolonisi, sosyal ve kültürel faaliyetleri yanında, Londra Türk Toplumu Futbol Ligi'nin Türk sporu yönünden gösterdiği çabalar takdire değerdir.

Bundan bir yıl evveline kadar bir kaç kişinin tekelinde olarak faaliyet gösteren Türk sporu, dejenere olmuş ve yabancı emellere hizmet ettiği gün gibi aydınlanınca, bir çok kulüb yöneticilerinin teşvik ve ikazları sayesinde ilk adımın atma zamanı geldiğini belirlemiş oldu. Yabancı bir kentte yaşamamın verdiği yalnızlık bizler için Türklüğümüzle iftihar ettiğimizi ve ATATÜRK ilkeleri ışığında meşale tutacak bu yöndeki spor faaliyetlerimiz başlıca amacımız olacaktır.

Evet, bundan bir yıl evvel bir çok müşküllere göğüs gererek kurulan Türk Toplumu Futbol Ligi'ni dışardan yıkma çabaları çok olmuştur. Fakat birlik ve beraberliğin vermiş olduğu kuvvet ve kulüb yöneticilerimin daimi destekleri bu gibi zavallıları daima hüsrana boğmuştur. Böyle kısa denecek zaman içinde başarmağa çalıştığımız faaliyetlerde, ben ve yönetim kurulu arkadaşlarıma her yönden destek olmuş kulüb yöneticilerine ne kadar teşekkür etsem azdır.

Futbolu spor için yönetmeğe çalışırken, yeşil çimenler üzerinde top koşturtan bu genç dimağlara Türklüğün önde geldiğini benimsemek başlıcaşiarımız olacaktır. İşte bunu yaparken, yukarıda da belirttiğim gibi ATATÜRK ilkeleri bizler için başlıca prensibimiz olacaktır. Ama da yine bunları hor görecek ve bizleri suçlayacak ve ya tenkit edecek olacaktır!!! Bu gibi zavallılara şunu peşinen söylemek isterim, bizim yolumuz ATATÜRK yoludur ve bu yoldan bizleri hiç bir kuvvet alıkoyamaz.

Bir yıllık faaliyetlerimizde siz okurlara şunu iftiharla söyleyebilirim, bu güne kadar yapmış olduğumuz balo ve eğlencelerden elde ettiğimiz safi kar üç bin sterlin'in üstünde bir meblağ Türk Bankasında depozite edilmiştir. Bunda da yine siz halkımızın büyük katkısı vardır.

30 Mayıs Pazar günü Kupa Finali için karşılaşacak olan ERGAZI SPOR ve BOĞAZIÇI ZAFER SPOR kulüb yönetici, sporcu ve taraftarlarına Türklüğe yaraşır davranışlarda bulunmayı salık verir, her iki kulübe de üstün başarılar dilerim.

TÜRK TOPLUMU FUTBOL LİGİ

Başkanı

MEHMET HASAN

Figures 4.4-4.5 An invitation to the Federation Cup Final of the newly founded London Turkish Community Football League (above); the message from the President of this league in the same document which is quoted below (below) [Scanned archival material by KOU]

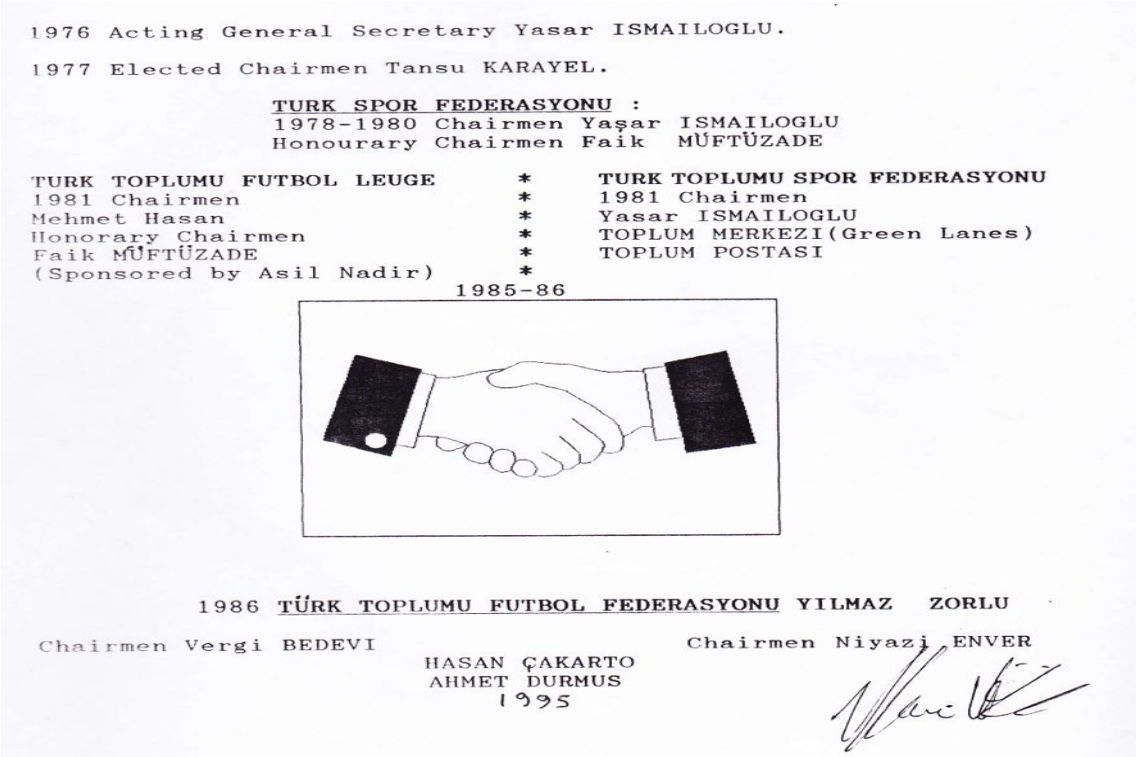
In this invitation (see Figures 4.4-4.5), the President *Maradona* addresses the 'Turkish sport fans' with a message which is very nationalist in tone in May 1982:

> We are the Turkish colony in London, thousands of miles away from the *anavatan* {motherland-mother homeland) Turkey and the *yavruvatan* (baby-homeland)[26] Cyprus. Just until one year ago, the Turkish sport in London was confined to the hands of a handful of individuals. It was obvious as daylight that it was **degenerated** and **serving the goals of foreigners**. So, it was time to take the first step in the face of encouragements and precautions of the administrators of so many clubs. Our main purpose will be to counter **our loneliness in this foreign city** in the lights of the principles of ATATURK.
>
> Yes, there have been many attempts from the outside to destroy the Turkish Community Football League, which has been established in the face of tremendous adversity.
>
> Our main purpose is to make the young minds who play their football on the green grass understand that **Turkishness comes first.** While doing this, as I said above, the principles of Ataturk will be our main light. But still, there will be people who will look down on these and criticize us!!! I would like to say to these miserable people in advance that our path is the path of Ataturk and no one will be able to keep us from it. I can proudly tell you that in the short one year of our existence, we have raised 3000 pounds which is deposited in the Turkish Bank. We thank you, our people, for your great contributions in this.
>
> I would advice the players and supporters of our finalists Ergazispor and Boğaziçi Zaferspor to act in a way that **is worthy of Turkishness** and wish them all the success (emphasis added).

Immediately from the tone of the message and the language used in it, one can detect the political undertones of a strong nationalism. The emphasis on Turkishness runs throughout the message and it is presented as the primary purpose of league's existence. The careful reference to both Turkey and Cyprus as organically linked homelands, as *anavatan* and *yavruvatan*, respectively implies an active effort to address immigrants from both countries. There is also the reference to the administrators of the England Turkish Sport Federation (ETSF), the President Yaşar İsmailoğlu being the primary target, as a handful

[26] *Vatan* in Turkish means the motherland or homeland. These two terms, *anavatan* (literally the mother homeland) and *yavruvatan* (literally the baby homeland) have become the constant terms that refer to Turkey and TRNC in relation to one another. In other words, when someone says *anavatan* in Cyprus everybody would automatically understand Turkey. In the same way, when someone says *yavruvatan* in Turkey or to a Turk anywhere in the world, everyone would automatically understand that TRNC is being referred to.

of individuals who monopolized the management of the Federation in the service of foreign powers and in a degenerate way.


1976 Acting General Secretary Yasar ISMAILOGLU.

1977 Elected Chairmen Tansu KARAYEL.

TURK SPOR FEDERASYONU :
1978-1980 Chairmen Yaşar ISMAILOGLU
Honourary Chairmen Faik MÜFTÜZADE

TURK TOPLUMU FUTBOL LEUGE	*	TURK TOPLUMU SPOR FEDERASYONU
1981 Chairmen	*	1981 Chairmen
Mehmet Hasan	*	Yasar ISMAILOGLU
Honorary Chairmen	*	TOPLUM MERKEZI(Green Lanes)
Faik MÜFTÜZADE	*	TOPLUM POSTASI
(Sponsored by Asil Nadir)	*	

1985-86

1986 TÜRK TOPLUMU FUTBOL FEDERASYONU YILMAZ ZORLU

Chairmen Vergi BEDEVI — Chairmen Niyazi ENVER

HASAN ÇAKARTO
AHMET DURMUS
1995

Figure 4.6 Archival document, dated 1995, giving information on the former Federation managements, sponsors, and so on.
[Scanned archival material by KOU]

The above document was distributed in 1995 at a TCFF meeting to summarise the evolution of the Federation as well as to honour the previous Presidents who were all invited. The list shows that from the establishment of the federation (as England Turkish Sport Federation in 1976) to the division into two federations in 1981, it was mostly under the control of Yaşar İsmailoğlu with the special envoy of the Turkish-Cypriot state, Faik Müftüzade, as the ‘honorary Chairman’. From 1981 to 1986, including 1986 in which the reunification took place, there was one ‘Turkish Community Football League’ (Türk Toplumu Futbol Ligi) and one ‘England Turkish Sport Federation’.



"Sayın temsilci, Siyasal Bilgiler Fakültesi'nde okurken, Anayasa dersinin hocası olan Anayasa Uzmanı Mümtaz Soysal'ı çağırdılar. Aksayar salonunda yapılan toplantıda konsey çalışmalarına tüm Türk örgütlerinin katılmasını önerdi. Bu öneri kabul edilmiş ve F.O. Müftüzade tüm örgütleri kuruluş çalışmalarına çağırdı. İlk toplantıda yeni gelen ve eski örgütlerin üye kayıtları ve tüzükleri ile bir sonraki toplantıya katılmaları kararı alındı. Bir ay sonraki toplantıda Müftüzade kendisi 32 Türk örgütünü toplantıya çağırdı. Toplantıya katılan 26 örgüt huzurunda geçici bir başkan seçildi. Bir tek oy alan KTC temsilcileri, Kültür Derneği temsilcileri ile beraber salonu terkettiler. Tekrar 11 örgüte dönmemizi istediler. Sayın temsilci, bir aymüsaade istedi. Seçim sonucunu beğenmeyip, kaçan örgütleri geri getirtemeyince "konsey" çalışmalarını uzun bir süre dondurdu. Bu uzun süre içinde alttan girdi, üstten çıktılar. 32 kulüpler en büyük Türk örgütü olan Türk Spor Federasyonunu ikiye böldüler."

İsmailoğlu konuşmasının devamında, "Geçitkalieliler" Derneği'nin Konsey çalışmalarına çağrılmadığını, neden olarak da bu derneğin futbol kulübünün federasyon bünyesi içinde temsil edildiğinin Faik Müftüzade tarafından kulübe mektupla bildirildiğini belirterek, şunları dedi:

"Oysa Geçitkalieliler Derneği, bir futbol takımı değil, Geçitkalieli-leri bünyesinde toplayan, "Akıncılar" veya "Mehmetçikler Yardım Sevenler" Derneği gibi hatta onlardan daha aktif sosyal çalışmalar yapan bir dernektir. Futbol takımı ise bunun bir spor koludur."

Konuşmasında özellikle KTFD Londra Temsilcisi Faik Müftüzade'nin taraf tutmasına ağırlık veren konsey çalışmaları dışında tarafı tutulmuş Spor Federasyonu'na da girdiğini öne süren İsmailoğlu şöyle devam etti:

'Başbakan Çağatay'ın huzurunda söylediğimiz gibi Spor Federasyonu'nun parçalanmasında en büyük pay Müftüzade'nindir. Spor Federasyonu'nunu istediği biçimde yönlendiremediği için çareyi onu bölmekte buldu. Tıpkı eski ustaları gibi "Böl ve yönet". Binbir emek ve ezgi ile kurabildiğimiz Spor Federasyonu'nu o kocaman birliği parçalayabilen Sayın Müftüzade nasıl olur da "Konsey" kuracak."

İki futbol federasyonunun birleştirilmesi için kendilerinin sunduğu olumlu ve yapıcı önerileri Müftüzade'nin olumsuz bulduğunu iddia eden İsmailoğlu, Mehmet Hasan'ın **"Biz birleşmek için ayrılmadık"** dediğini de öne sürüyor?

Hackney Cypriot Centre (Hackney Kıbrıslılar Merkezi) konusuna ilişkin ise, 2 yıldır merkezde çalıştığını, kuruluşun bir Rum derneği olmadığını, yönetim kurulunun yarısının Türk, yarısının Rumlar'dan oluştuğunu ifade eden Yaşar İsmailoğlu, Hackney sınırları içinde yaşayan Türklerden ilgili makamların haberdar olmadığını savundu.

Hackney Belediyesinde olan olaylara ilişkin ise en son 27 Ekim'de bir toplantı yapıldığına değinen İsmailoğlu, şunları söyledi:

"Sorunların çözümü için Kıbrıslı 10 dernek birlik olmayı ve bü-

tünleşerek 33 kişilik bir azınlık topluluklar meclisi oluşturmayı kabul ettik. Bu toplantıya katılan dernekler şunlardır. Spor Federasyonu, Kültür Derneği, İslam Cemiyeti, İslam Vakfı, İslam Gençlik Örgütü, Kıbrıslı Türk Cemiyeti, Cypriot Association, Rum Kilisesi, Christian Kardeşliği.

11 temsilciliğin 3'ü Rumlara, 8'i Kıbrıslı Türklere düştü. Ancak 11 temsilci bir bütün olarak çalışacak ve Kıbrıs'ın iki toplumunu da temsil edecektir."

Sonuç konuşması bölümünde/ KTFD Temsilciliğinin kişiliğine gölge düşürdüğünü F.O. Müftüzade'nin bir temsilci olarak taraflarını yitirdiğini, İngiltere'deki Türk toplumunu bir konsey çatısı altında toplayacak hayali ile toplumun gruplaşmasına neden olduğunu iddia ederek, **"İlgili bakanlıkça hakkında kovuşturma açılmasını talep eder, kovuşturma sonuçlanana kadar da kızağa çekilmesini talep ederiz."** dedi. Spor Federasyonu'nun politik çalışmaların dışında tutulacağını da belirten İsmailoğlu, Türk gençliğine spor alanında hizmet etmeye devam edeceklerini sözleriyle konuşmasını bitirdi.

Sorulan bir soru üzerine, Spor Federasyonunu sola kaydırma suçlamalarının çirkin olduğunu,kulüpleri politikaya sokmadığını söyleyen Yaşar İsmailoğlu, konseyi ele geçirme iddialarının da asılsız olduğunu belirtti. Bir başka soruya ise, **"Yeni konsey ve öteki derneklerin oluşturacağı derneklerin dışında kalmayı planlıyoruz. Ben şahsen federasyonumu her iki konseyin dışında tutmak istiyorum. Sırf kimin politika yapıp, kimin politika yapmadığını ortaya çıkarmak açısından"** cevabını verdi..

YARIN: Binatlı, Spor Federasyonu'nu terketti

The newspaper clip on the left is on the process in which the Federation split into two. It reports on a TCA meeting where Yaşar İsmailoğlu blames Faik Müftüzade for dividing up the Federation. More importantly, the language the writer uses is exemplary of the sternness of the dominant language within the Federation discussions:

The biggest responsibility in the splitting up of the Federation belongs to Müftüzade. Since he could not lead and direct the Federation in the way that he wanted, he found the solution in dividing it into two federations. ***Tıpkı eski ustaları gibi: 'böl ve yönet'*** **[Just like his former masters: 'divide and rule']**. He smashed that great union that we have so painstakingly brought together (emphasis added).

Figure 4.7 A newspaper clip from Hürriyet, 1982
[Scanned archival material by KOU]

As I have mentioned in the previous chapter, Faik Müftüzade was a British citizen of Turkish-Cypriot origins who was a member of the British army during the WWII. The reference here to his 'former masters', therefore, brings the colonial politics into the discussion. It is also noteworthy in this news report that Yaşar İsmailoğlu himself is being accused of conspiring with Greek-Cypriots and betraying the Turkish-Cypriot cause in the name of socialist values.

The document in Figure 4.6 tellingly lists not only the names of the rival federations and their respective presidents, but also the individuals and institutions that have sided with each federation. For instance, the rightist-nationalist Federation which was backed by the

Turkish-Cypriot state and the Turkish Embassy in London, had the financial backing of Asil Nadir, the famous Turkish-Cypriot businessman who rose to national fame in Cyprus, Turkey, and Britain having brought a small textile company, Polly Peck, to the UK's top 100 FTSE-listed companies in a matter of a couple of decades. Even though his fate later seems to have reversed[27], he became a national hero for the Turkish-speaking community in London, providing employment to thousands. On the right column, the institutions that supported the leftist-socialist federation were the Turkish Cypriot Community Centre on Green Lanes, and the leftist local newspaper the Community Post.

Lastly, the symbolism for the reunification of the two federations in 1986 is significant. The two hands shaking signify the reconciliation within the community which was secured by mutual compromises, which included the resignation of both Yaşar İsmailoğlu and *Maradona*, and appointment of moderate leaders as co-Chairmen for the initial season. Also, the name of the new federation reflected this spirit of mutual compromises by not adopting the name of the either Federation. Instead, the reunion of the Turkish Community Football League and England Turkish Sport Federation created the modern Turkish Community Football Federation.

Foundation of Kurdish and Turkish Football Federation (TKFF)- Ethnopolitics through Football:

The history and situation of the Kurdish community is quite different. The Kurds have faced a long history of pressure for assimilation in Turkey, and most Turkish-Kurdish immigrants

[27] In 1990, Nadir's business collapsed following a fraud investigation including charges of false accounting and theft, following which he fled London to live in the TRNC from 1993 to 2010. In 2010, he finally returned to London and faced trial. He was found guilty and sentenced to 10 years in prison. His extraordinary story has been subject to many articles, books, and TV programmes. Among the most interesting, see BBC's documentary 'The Rise and Fall of Asil Nadir' aired on 2 September 2012 (http://www.bbc.co.uk/programmes/b01mm38n) and the Guardian article published on 22 August 2012 similarly titled, 'The spectacular rise and fall of Asil Nadir' (http://www.theguardian.com/theguardian/from-the-archive-blog/2012/aug/22/rise-and-fall-asil-nadir)

are asylum-seekers, indicating a more-than average involvement with Turkey's Kurdish conflict. As the newest-comers in London and mostly asylum-seekers, the Kurds appear to be experiencing the hardest time in constructing a secure collective identity in London. Arguably, this is the reason why the Turkish Kurds were the first from the Turkish-speaking community to establish their own ethnic league and why the remaining Kurdish clubs and individuals within the TCFF leagues very often complain about anti-Kurdish discrimination, or 'racism' as they call it. It is apparent, then, that the collective identity projects within the Turkish-speaking community are so narrow as to exclude each one of the three main ethnic groups within. This, in turn, would be expected to be counter-productive in terms of cultural integration of these immigrants.

The establishment of the TKFF, therefore, needs to be considered in a larger and different political context of 'ethnopolitics'. This term is used to describe the process of 'mobilizing ethnicity from a psychological or cultural or social datum into political leverage for the purpose of altering or reinforcing ... systems of structured inequality between and among ethnic categories' (Rothschild 1981: 2). While the foundation process of the TCFF also included an effort for communal mobilisation and representation of ethnic identities in the public space, the establishment process of the TKFF needs to be situated in a different ethnopoloitical project of defining the terms of a ethnic/cultural identity all along. In this process, ethnopolitics 'stresses, ideologizes, reifies, modifies, and sometimes virtually re-creates the putatively distinctive and unique cultural heritages of the ethnic group that it mobilizes' (Rothschild 1981: 3).

The TKFF was established by the individuals who left the TCFF in 1992. This was the result of a gradual process and should be seen in its wider context. The ever-present ethnic dynamics in the Turkish-speaking football field were transformed with the arrival of Turkey-Kurds starting from the 1980s onwards. While the major dividing line in terms of

ethnicity was the one between the Turkish-Cypriots and Turkey-Turks up until the mid-1980s, it has rapidly gained a third dimension with Kurds entering the picture. Many of the Kurds have played in the TCFF leagues as early as 1980s, with some clubs, such as Anadolu FC, being known as Kurdish clubs there. By the time the new millennium has arrived, the number of Kurds from Turkey has become much more significant. *Eusebio*, a former Anadolu FC player, a founding member of the Kurdish Federation and the current Chairman, explains the reason for establishing a second Federation in such logistical terms:

> when we considered the problems of the community here, the problems of the youth, the need of the youth to have better sporting opportunities and more time to be together; we thought that a second league was necessary.

When further asked, he goes on to explain that the point of the league was to create a social gathering place for the community where "racism could be prevented" and where "different cultures and identities could meet each other and prejudices and stereotypes were destroyed". Although *Eusebio* doesn't directly spell out the feeling of discrimination in the TCFF leagues, his statements seem to imply this all along. What he clearly spells out is the feeling that the Kurds were discriminated against and they faced racism back in Turkey, just as well as they face it today in London. In response, the Kurdish federation was established and this political project incorporates a discourse of resistance together with representation and reproduction of identity as in the case of the TCFF. A wider discussion on the Kurdish identity is presented in Chapter 5.

4.4.2 Other Agents in Diaspora Politics: Individuals and Institutional Agents

Other than the league administrations and clubs (see Chapter 5 for a detailed analysis of the clubs as carriers of identities), there is a large number of different agents/actors at

different levels that are engaged in diaspora politics in the transnational social field of Turkish-speaking community football. These include individuals, institutional actors, and state actors both in London and beyond. While the number of examples is extremely easy to multiply, I will confine myself in the following to a few interesting cases involving different actors and levels of the relationship.

Pele and the elections for TCFF Presidency: Before starting my fieldwork in August 2010, I had been to only one match and one TCFF meeting in May before the previous season had finished. The meeting was an AGM of the Federation where they were holding elections for the Presidency. The incumbent candidate was Turgut Esendağlı and the only challenger was *Pele*, who was a former President himself. The AGM was an extremely tense one where participants were ferociously screaming at each other and at more than one point some very nearly resorted to physical violence. In the end, the incumbent president was reelected and *Pele* lost the elections, not for the last time. *Pele* went on to run and lose in the Presidential elections two more times in the summers of 2011 and 2012, both against the same incumbent President.

After observing this electrified contest, I was curious as to the advantages or benefits of being President of the TCFF and what it was that motivated this much not only from these candidates but also from their supporters. In the case of *Pele*, it has been suggested that there was one interesting aspect of his motivation. His wife, *Mrs. Pele*, was a local politician. She was still a member of the Enfield Council from the Conservative Party at the time of writing and many people believe that one of the reasons why *Pele* wanted to be the President of the TCFF was to give his wife further credibility in representing the Turkish community in London, so that she could increase her political credentials. When I spoke with *Pele* and asked this question, he did not hesitate to say that this really was one of the

reasons, although he also suggested that his opponents were exaggerating its significance: “She has a chance to become one of the first Turkish-Cypriot Conservative MPs in the next elections with or without me as TCFF President. I would be only happy if I can help but it is not the entire reason why I wanted to become the President.” The degree to which his wife’s political ambitions were reflected in *Pele*’s bid for TCFF Presidency is a separate question. However, I think it is clearly a good example of how an **individual actor** is attempting to mobilise diaspora resources for **meso level** objectives. In fact, considering the fact that his wife was targeting a national political post, it could be even debated that this example should be categorised as diaspora politics at the **macro level.**

Ronaldo and Playing Football in Cyprus: There is a significant traffic of players between the TRNC and London. While the opportunities for earning more money by playing for a professional team attracts some bright players from London to Cyprus, the number of those who want to use their talent on the football pitch to move to London in search of a better life and perhaps bigger dreams is also significant. The story of *Ronaldo* is a quite interesting example. *Ronaldo* was born in London in 1989 as the fourth child and only son of a Turkish-Cypriot family. He played football in the TCFF leagues for a few years and stood out as a potential star who could possibly make it into professional football.

At that point, the President of TCFF at the time intervened and made him an offer. The offer was a comprehensive one: He was to move to Cyprus and play for a TRNC first division club. To make this offer more attractive, it was also suggested that he could go to a university while in Cyprus. There are many high-quality universities in the TRNC that offer education at an international level in English as part of Turkey’s efforts to make the TRNC an attractive place for young Turkish students and also to diminish the international

isolation of the TRNC. So, the offer was for him to sign to the TRNC club and enroll in the university, thereby getting a university degree while earning a comparatively high level of income playing football. He could also learn Turkish in the meantime, which at the time he could barely speak. I asked the former President who took *Ronaldo* to Cyprus how the young man was able to pass the very difficult central university placement exam to be able to register to that university. He laughed mockingly and asked, 'What exam?' Apparently, they had an agreement with the rector of the university that as long as they regularly paid the tuition fees and kept the deal confidential, any player was able to register to a number of the selected programmes. Of course, the tuition fees were to be paid by the clubs and most of the players never set foot in the university campuses.

I present more detail on *Ronaldo*'s interesting example in Chapter 7 when discussing integration. Overall, however, I think *Ronaldo*'s story contains a number of significant examples of diaspora politics in the transnational field of football. The most obvious one is how the talent in football by an **individual actor** was translated through engagement of diasporic links into acquisition of a number of personal objectives at the **micro level**. There is also the example of the significance of networks, considering for instance how *Ronaldo* was able to register to a university without meeting any criteria for admission.

Backhenbauer and the Cyprus Visits: The two adult TCFF leagues were named 'Ezel 1st Division' and 'Ezel 2nd Division' since 2008-2009 season, after the name of the holding which belongs to *Backhenbauer*, a successful Turkish-Cypriot businessman. Although there were a large number of sponsors contributing a significant amount of money in the Turkish-speaking football leagues in London, the greatest contributor has been undoubtedly this gentleman and his holding. In my personal encounters with him, I have always had the sense that he was neither particularly a football fan, nor identifying

himself strongly with his Cypriot roots. Then, I was trying to figure out, what the reason was for him to invest such significant sums of money in Turkish community football in London.

Backhenbauer was one of the individuals who traveled to Cyprus in all three visits described in the previous chapter. In each of the official visits of the TCFF delegation, *Backhenbauer* was present. Keep in mind, these included visits to the Sports Minister, the Prime Minister, and the Speaker of the Parliament, but also that *Backhenbauer*'s contribution to Turkish football in London was explicitly mentioned in each visit and that he was explicitly thanked by the TCFF president as well as by TRNC politicians in front of all journalists present. Moreover, he was able to chat with these politicians quite often and he looked perfectly comfortable in their presence. On our fourth night in Cyprus during the first visit, the Finance Minister hosted a dinner for the London group in *Girne* (Kryna). Again, *Backhenbauer* sat right next to the Minister and conversed with him the whole night.

Suggesting that *Backhenbauer* was only involved in Turkish football in London so that he could have such opportunities in the TRNC due to the great importance the latter has attached to London Turkish-Cypriot diaspora might be too far-fetched as a conclusion and, my overall impression tells me, a bit unfair. However, it was extremely clear to me that for anyone who was involved in or who was willing to be involved in the executive positions of the TCFF, its symbolic weight and the doors that it would open in the TRNC were big motivating factors. I have later found out that all those larger London sponsors of Turkish football, particularly including *Backhenbauer*, were also involved in significant economic relationships with the TRNC. As such, it was essential for them to have good relations with the TRNC state; the leverage provided by football provided a big advantage on this account. This is, therefore, a striking example of how a **diaspora individual actor** is

involved in diaspora politics at the **macro** and **meso levels** for his corporate interests as well as for personal satisfaction.

***London Turkish Masters FC- Veteran football*:** One of the most active actors in London Turkish-Speaking Football has been the London Turkish Masters FC since its foundation in 2007. This 'veteran' team is composed of adults, some of whom are in their late fifties, who had played football and/or managed teams in the Turkish Community Leagues in the past. This team is a proof, on the one hand, that football serves as a social space and a tool for community organisation not only for young men, but also for adult men who wish to remain involved in active amateur football. On the other hand, Turkish Masters FC constitutes yet another significant connection between the London Turkish Community and the outside world through football. Since its foundation in 2007, the Masters FC has travelled to both Turkey and the TRNC at least once every year. It should be noted that, similar to the reception of the TCFF delegation detailed above, the Masters FC has also been welcomed by the TRNC state at the highest level as a significant diasporic institution (see Figure 4.8).

In addition to the political significance of these visits, there is a remarkable social and economic aspect to these international trips. The Masters' international travels usually include family members of the squad and the trips have the characteristics of a family vacation with football as an excuse. The members participate in the international tournaments specifically organised for veteran teams and they make connections with Turkish veteran teams from Romania, Italy, Germany, and other countries beyond the home teams of Turkey and the TRNC in these tournaments.



Photo 4.8 The London Turkish Masters FC squad during their official visit to the TRNC Prime Minister İrsen Küçük, February 2011
[Photo by KOU]

I established positive relations with the London Turkish Masters FC very early on my fieldwork through *Van Basten*, a member of the TCFF Executive Committee as well as one of the leading members of the Masters FC (see Figure 2.5). He invited me to participate in their training sessions on Thursdays at a North London artificial grass football pitch which were meant to prepare the squad for the upcoming Veterans Tournament in Antalya, Turkey. Once I started training with them, which was a very valuable experience for observation from inside the football field for once, I was widely welcomed by most of the members of the squad. In fact, they asked half-jokingly whether I was over the age of 35, which was the tournament minimum. I even took part in some of the preparation matches (see Figure 4.9).

As a result of my long-term involvement with them, I was also invited to take part in their tournament in Antalya on the condition that I paid for my own travel and accommodation

expenses, which I accepted enthusiastically. The ‘Antalya International Masters Tournament‘ was organised under the sponsorship of a tourism agency at a 5-star holiday resort from 8-11 April 2011 (see Figues 4.10-11). Besides the London Masters and many teams from all around Turkey, there were two teams from Cyprus, and a team each from the Turkish communities of Italy, Romania, and Germany (see Figure 4.10).

The London group arrived a few days before the tournament with their family members. Apparently, this was a long-planned family holiday as some of the families stayed after the four-day tournament for another week. Unsurprisingly, the tourism agency that organises the tournament gave a bargain price on the accommodation at this extremely luxurious hotel, which fortunately also applied to myself. This tournament, very significantly, brought together different communities from across Europe that comprise the Turkish Diaspora in Europe. As a result of this, many lasting relationships were formed and the London Turkish Masters FC organised an ‘International Masters Tournament’ in London in the summer of 2012 to which the Turkish veteran teams from Germany and Romania participated. Before the London Tournament in the summer, the Masters FC participated in the Antalya Masters Tournament in April that took place at the same 5-star hotel.





Figures 4.10-4.11 The London Turkish Masters FC in Antalya. The complete squad posing at the entrance of the hotel under the flags of the countries represented in the tournament (above); The London Turkish Masters FC players on the pitch for their opening match against Kütahya Masters (below).
[Photos by KOU]

The team also attended another international veteran tournament in Madrid, Spain early in the summer of 2012. The Turkish Masters were invited by the club that organised this tournament, AD Veteranos Ribadeo FC, which was not a Turkish club in Spain. The Spanish club contacted the Turkish Masters FC via their Facebook group page to invite them to this tournament (see Figure 4.12). The Turkish Masters used this opportunity to claim that their reputation throughout Europe was rising and that they were doing a great job representing the London Turks everywhere. The Spanish team and a few other teams were invited to the veterans tournament organised in London, but they were unable to attend.



Figure 4.12 The advert that was posted by the Facebook group page of AD Veteranos Ribado FC on the Facbook group page of London Turkish Masters FC on the veteran football tournament in Spain
[Taken from https://www.facebook.com/photo.php?fbid=478470725499213&set=o.220614444616062&type=3&theater]

Turkish Football Federation and National Team Selection Camps: The increasing number of people with multiple nationalities has created many interesting issues. One such issue concerns the choice on the part of professional sports players from

diasporic groups as to which national team they shall play for. While respective publics attach great emotional significance to the players' choice from usually a nationalist perspective, the managers of the national teams compete to lure the best young players to their side probably with more pragmatic concerns. Turkey and the Turkish diasporas have been no exception here. While players like brothers, Hamit and Halil Altıntop (Real Madrid and Schalke, respectively), and Nuri Şahin (Borussia Dortmund) who have been born and raised in Germany opted to play for the Turkish National Team; many other players such as Mesut Özil (Real Madrid) and Ekrem Dağ[28] (Beşiktaş) have opted to play for the countries that they have been raised in, Germany and Austria, respectively. Therefore, the efforts to attract the best young players from the diaspora to play for Turkish national teams have been growing in recent years.

Although the size of the Turkish Community in London is not great compared to the Turkish Communities in many other European countries, this growing interest means that the Turkish Football Federation (TFF) has started to closely follow the Turkish football in London, too. A TFF scout is assigned to London to follow the under-16 and under-14 Turkish Leagues. With the same stated objective, the TFF organises a European-level National Teams Selection Camp every year to bring together promising young Turkish players. These Spring Camps are coordinated by a newly-formed TFF European Representation. The most recent of such selection camps was held in Bielefeld, Germany, to try out young Turkish players under 16 years of age from Italy, the Netherlands, France, Germany, Austria, and the UK for the national team (see Figure 4.13). All but two of the six players that participated from the UK were players of the TCFF Youth Leagues. Here, it is possible again to see how football serves as a transnational social field bringing members

[28] As an illustration of the pace of international movement within professional football, all but one of these cited players have transferred to different clubs since the above lines were written. Their new clubs are Galatasaray (Hamit Altıntop); FC Augusburg (Halil Altıntop); Arsenal (Mesut Özil), and Gaziantepspor (Ekrem Dağ). The only player who is still in the same team, Nuri Şahin, himself made an unsuccessful move to Real Madrid and moved back to Dortmund.

of different Turkish communities across different countries and creating a sense of one, unified diasporic identity. In addition to putting different diasporic communities in contact with one another, these camps also put them in contact with a state organisation and the country of origin itself.



Figure 4.13 The U16 Candidate National Team at the Selection Camp in Bielefeld, Germany. The camp is organised only for the Turkish diaspora in Europe, while there is another selection camp for the Turkish players in Turkey.
[Taken from http://www.tff.org/default.aspx?pageID=281&ftxtID=20712]

Turkish Parliamentary Commission visit in London: One example of the engagement of diasporic links by a governmental actor at the meso level is the London visit of the Turkish Parliamentary Commission. The Turkish Parliament started working on a law to prevent violence and hooliganism in football in 2010. For this purpose, they created a commission of eight Members of Parliaments from all parties. This commission, then, started to visit different European countries that are advanced in football management and have had experiences with football violence in the past. England, of

course, was a clear country to ask for some pearls of wisdom. This is where the TCFF and Turkish-speaking football came into the picture. The parliamentary commission first contacted the Turkish Embassy in London, which in turn contacted the TCFF committee, asking whom they should contact concerning such a briefing meeting and how. The TCFF seized the opportunity to show their worth and prove their usefulness in the eyes of Turkish Embassy and State, with whom they were hoping to forge a closer relationship. The TCFF President immediately contacted *R.Carlos*, the son of *Zico* (a former President of the Federation and the Fixture Secretary at the time) and a former License Secretary of the TCFF, who was now the Secretary of the London Football Association. A Turkish-Cypriot who was born in London and long involved in Turkish football in London for years, *R.Carlos* took a very strong interest in helping the TCFF and the parliamentary commission. The commission, a majority of whose members did not speak any English, was particularly pleased to be able to see a Turkish official so high up in the English football administration. The commission was given a warm welcome at the Wembley Stadium by the LFA officials who later gave a comprehensive briefing on the history of football violence and how Britain fought with it in the past (see Figure 4.14). This is a perfect, albeit possibly not very significant in scale, example of how a country-of-origin government benefits from diaspora resources, in this case human resources and professional networks.

However, the story does not end on this familiar note. The TCFF further used this opportunity to advertise about itself both in London and in Turkey and the TRNC. They organised a formal dinner honouring their Turkish politician guests, in the meantime without forgetting to invite all local media, significant names from the London Turkish-speaking community, and Embassy staff (see Figure 4.14).



Figure 4.14 Scenes from the visit of the Turkish Parliamentary Commission in London as presented in the TCFF annual booklet. The Commission is seen in Wembley Stadium (above) and at the dinner organised in their honour (below). [Scanned archival material by KOU]

I personally witnessed how significant relationships were formed in this dinner between the various Turkish business people in London and the Turkish MPs and Embassy staff. I was asked whether I would consider to stand as a candidate, myself, for the then upcoming parliamentary elections by one of the MPs, who said well-educated, young Oxford graduates were always welcome in his party. At this dinner, the Turkish Embassy notably promised to support TCFF activities morally and financially, after very strategically being asked for such support by the President of TCFF in front of all the heavy-weight guests of honour. This dinner is another good example of diaspora politics showing how a diaspora NGO, TCFF, engaged the diasporic links and relationships at the meso level and micro level to make further connections with the Turkish Embassy in London and use the opportunity for publicity in local and transnational media.

Media: Local Newspapers and Satellite TV

In no other area, perhaps is the transnationality of the lives of diasporic communities so vividly manifested than in local media. Just looking at the pages of a local Turkish newspaper in London is enough: you will see coverage of news from the local neighbourhoods of London next to news from the Turkish Parliament. The economic figures will be from Britain, Turkey, Cyprus, and from time to time, elsewhere in Europe where Turkish communities live. You will also definitely read about football in a global scale with a 'Turkish focus'. The papers will, of course, cover the London Turkish-speaking leagues at length together with the Turkish and Turkish Cypriot professional leagues using a similar language. The other local London leagues will feature only when there is a Turkish-speaking team competing or when a Turkish-speaking player honours his community with a significant achievement in them. A sizable piece on a promising young Turkish-speaking player in the second-reserve team of Arsenal would be followed by the news of a transfer of a former TCFF league player to a professional TRNC team. No part of these items is marginal or unusual. The world of football in the media is a single multilayered transnational social space.

In the framework of my fieldwork, I have closely followed a number of local and transnational media organisations that cover the Turkish-speaking community and football in London. In the following, I shall attempt to exemplify the transnationalism in the field of football in media and the latter's role in reproducing this transnationalism.

The Local Turkish Newspapers in London: At the time I conducted my fieldwork, there were six Turkish newspapers that were being published in London that I followed closely. These are: *Olay* (Event), *Turkish Times*, *Londra Gazete* (London Gazette), *Londra Toplum Postası* (London Community Post), *Avrupa Gazete* (European Gazette), and

Haber (News). While many of these newspapers also include pages in English, all of them have a majority of their publication in Turkish.

As I have suggested above, the perspective of journalism adopted at these newspapers is transnational. Below, three consecutive pages from the sport section of newspaper Olay published on 25 March 2011 are presented (Figures 4.15-17). The back cover of the newspaper, on the left below, includes a short news piece from a game in the TKFF league, the results from the league, next week's fixtures and league tables. On its top right corner, there is also a news piece from the TCFF Youth Mixed team. The page, which is completely in Turkish, is completed with almost half a page of an advertisement in English. Not surprisingly, the company that is featured in this advertisement is also involved in the TCFF leagues as a sponsor.

The next page, which is in the middle below, in turn, features news about the Turkish international team (i.e. the national team of Turkey), which according to this news has started its preparations for the upcoming EURO 2012 qualification group game against Austria. On the right column, there are selected news items on the Turkish professional football league, unsurprisingly on the three major Istanbul clubs, Fenerbahce, Galatasaray, and Besiktas. There is also a small news piece about a Turkish-German talent who is claimed to be a future star, currently playing in the German Bundesliga. While there is a quite detailed league table also of the Turkish Super League, the bottom left corner features an advertisement of a Turkish accounting company, this time in Turkish.



Figures 4.15-4.16-4.17 Three consecutive pages from *Olay* newspaper, a Turkish daily published in London.
[Scanned archival material by KOU]

In the last page on the right above, similarly, the news mostly covered is from the London TCFF leagues. What is also very interesting in this page is the column on the right side of the page with the title of *Büyüteç* (Magnifying Glass) that is written by Turgut Esendağlı, who is the President of the TCFF, which presents his views on the London Turkish leagues, the opening of the new Federation building, the 'below the average' standard of football in Turkey, the 'organic link' between the Turkish Cypriot football and the London Turkish football, among other items. Not only does this constitute another example of the involvement of many of the members of Turkish-speaking community in the field of football, often in many roles and with varying agendas; but also, it shows that in the minds of most of these individuals, and particularly the ones involved in journalism, London Turkish football is only one part of a much greater transnational football field.

Satellite TV: The Cyprus Genc TV and the others

> Global internet links and transnational satellite television programming hold ambiguous consequences for the reproduction of old forms of collective identity. On the one hand, the mass media provide migrant groups with an electronic proximity to their 'home' culture, and so create the informational and social resources for cementing deterritorialized 'communities of sentiment' (Appadurai, 1996: 8)
>
> On the other hand, the mass media complicate the reproduction of these diasporic identities by providing young people and later generations with many, alternative cultural resources. The resulting mixed and fluid identities of the second and third generation stand in symbiosis or contradistinction to the ethnocultural projects of their parents (Appadurai, 1996: 43)

A perfect example is Cyprus *Genç* TV. This channel broadcasts both from Nicosia, Cyprus and London for a mostly Turkish-Cypriot audience both in the TRNC and in the UK. The programmes, including the news, magazine shows, sports programmes, and so on, all operate on transnational level addressing Turkish-Cypriots all around Europe. This is clearly evident in the case of programmes on sports. The main Sunday sports (read as football) programmes are mostly on the 'professional' football leagues in the TRNC while also mentioning the highlights of the leagues of mainland Turkey and London TCFF. There is a programme called 'Studio Football London' that is broadcast on Mondays from London and that is exclusively on the London Turkish football. The producer and presenter of this programme is *B.Moore* who, besides his role of a TV journalist, producer, and presenter, is also a member of the Executive Committee of *Doğan Türk Birliği* FC from the TCFF second division. I was very curious as to the extent that this particular programme is being followed in the TRNC and asked anyone I met there this question. Most of the people I spoke with said that they were aware of this programme and, in fact, they were following the London Turkish leagues with a great interest. When I further inquired about the reason, the most often given answer was the desire to see how their fellow village men were doing in London. In other words, most people in the TRNC who follow football in Cyprus or are involved in football more actively also follow Turkish football in London since a majority of

the teams that compete in London are seen as representing certain local Cypriot identities. Also, the satellite TV channels in general, and Cyprus Genc TV in particular, were one of the most significant channels doing so.

Digital Football Diasporas?: Transnational Diaspora Politics in the Digital Age

The concept of 'digital diasporas', or alternatively 'e-diasporas - virtual diasporas - cyber diasporas', has started to become more prominent in diaspora studies in recent years (Brinkerhoff 2009; Everett 2009; Hozic 2001). The term refers to the new and technologically enhanced ways in which internationally dispersed communities are able to (re)construct, maintain and manifest a 'diasporic identity' and engage in significant transnational relations in the contemporary globalised world.

In the strictest sense, digital diasporas can be defined as virtual communities who exist only in the cyber space and act through internet. However, this is only one part of the actual phenomenon. In fact, digital diasporas should be read as diasporic communities that make use of the extensive range of possibilities provided by advanced information technologies to **(i)** mobilise around a common diasporic identity and form communities; **(ii)** express that identity publicly and negotiate its terms; **(iii)** provide solidary and material benefits to its members; and **(iv)** engage in political, economic, and socio-cultural activities transnationally (Unutulmaz 2012).

It is therefore possible, in fact necessary, to consider the term to refer to the new and great potential that internet has brought for diasporic communities to engage in transnational political relations as defined in this chapter and to create a truly transnational, if also virtual, space for all individuals and communities to freely construct, maintain, and represent identities. Diasporic communities, institutions, as well as whole fields also have

projections in the cyber space in the form of virtual presence. This intersection and interfusion between cyber or virtual space and non-virtual or physical space is a dynamic characteristic of the new diasporic fields. As such, the field of Turkish-speaking ethnic community football in London also includes a significant component of cyber space and socialisation in it. This has been a factor that has made it easier for the agents within the field to engage one another, and yet made it more complicated for the analyst to understand the nature of the whole field.

In adding this 'game-changing' development to the discussion and redefinition of the concept of diaspora politics, as argued to be necessary above, I would like also to give some examples of how digital football diasporas have formed themselves and have used the opportunities created by the internet to engage in transnational diaspora politics. The virtually-present and quite active clubs have a wider audience than those who normally come to watch football games. They use this audience to present information, messages, and calls that aren't necessarily confined within the field of football. For instance, a quick look at the Facebook group of *Akincilar* FC exemplifies how historical, national, and ethnocultural narratives are presented online to contextualise the identity that the club represents. Figures 4.18 and 4.19 below both are perfect examples. The first is a figure representing the change of government when the British took over from the Ottomans. There is a British military commander in the front, followed by Ottoman as well as British soldiers transporting the convicts from one prison to another. A figure shared online by a local football club, this is a message concerning the history of the island transmitted by the administrators of that webpage on behalf of the club to the wider audience that follows the webpage. The second image is a photograph that carries a more nationalistic message. It says on the top '*bekledik ve geldiler!'* (we waited and they came!) in reference to a popular Turkish song which goes '*bekledim de gelmedin, hiç mi beni sevmedin*' ('I waited yet you didn't come; didn't you ever love me'). The prominent place of the Turkish national flag





Figures 4.18-4.19 Two figures shared on the *Yalova* FC Facebook group page. The one above is captioned “transfer of prisoners when the British took over, 1878”. The one below reads ‘*bekledik ve geldiler!’* (‘we waited and they came!’) and ’20 July 1974 Happy Peace and Freedom Day’.
[Taken from https://www.facebook.com/KibrisPaylas/photos/t.1414300591/323509974412591/?type=3&theater and https://www.facebook.com/cezireder negi/photos/t.1414300591/646910022003825/?type=3&theater , respectively]

being held by the Turkish soldiers who landed in Cyprus in 1974 together with this statement gives one message: they came in our time of need, we need to be grateful. Both figures, then, are attempts at communicating certain sentiments about the history of Turkish-Cyprus and the Turkish-Cypriot identity.

It would be, however, premature to suggest that there are 'digital football diasporas' which are fully formed within the field of Turkish-speaking community football in London. Although an increasing number of agents have been using the internet and other IT tools and channels for a growing set of purposes, the scope of the activities on the cyber space is still severely limited. The main channels of organisation, mobilisation, and communication still appear to be located in the physical world and they are used through meetings of people around the football fields, in association buildings, in banquet halls, and local *shisha cafes*. Therefore, while the enabling functions of the internet, as discussed above, should not be underestimated, the impact and significance of internet should not be exaggerated, either.

Another aspect of the digital diasporas is the abundant possibilities for interaction, sometimes anonymously, with the rest of the members of the diasporic communities. This is being done through web forums, comments, chat conversations, and blogs. The digital realm gives members who might be excluded from equal participation in associations a 'voice', for instance, to participate in diaspora politics. This is not to suggest that there is perfect equality in cyber space and that everyone has the same right or ability to express their opinions. However, with its much less strict hierarchy and anonymity, the Internet does give a much greater degree of freedom to individuals to express their views. One discussion thread, which has been taken from *Yalova* FC's Facebook group page, is illustrative. The original post made in the name of club as well as the comments made by individuals are all in English, so there is no need for translation. The last comment is the

most interesting, which asks the second commenter not to brag about the 'great turnout' because the turnout was not from Yalova 'villagers' but from 'his villagers' (see Figure 4.20). We can see how the competition between different Cypriot village identities are being kept alive in who comes to games in greater numbers, among other things



Figure 4.20 A post by Yalova FC on its Facebook group page and comments by individual users
[Screenshot taken from https://www.facebook.com/yalova.fc]

The Internet also gives the individuals an easy point of entry into the field. In Figure 4.21 below, I copied two messages posted on the 'wall' of the TCFF Facebook page. The first one reads; "Hello, I live in London and I would like to play football regularly. Is there a club that holds try-outs for players. Thanks in advance for the information". In a few days, this message was replied to by a comment posted by one of the former TCFF Presidents who gave the email address of the current president and recommended that this person to write to him. The second message reads:

> Hello. I'm menager [can also be translated as 'agent'] Baris. I generally work with Turkey, however, a friend of mine from Cyprus told me that he needs players with

TRNC passports. There is need for players who don't consider football to be just about hanging around and spending time in parks, and who plan a future in football for themselves. If you have any suggestions or recommendations, I'd appreciate your messages. Regards.



Figure 4.21 Two messages posted by individual users on the TCFF Facebook Group page.
[Screenshot taken from https://www.facebook.com/groups/21665740199/]

4.5 Diaspora Politics in the Transnational Field of Turkish-Speaking Football: Towards a Typology of Diaspora Politics

The field of Turkish-speaking football in London has been a transnational social space that has been designed to be a political one since its beginnings in the mid-1970s. This has been the case for individuals as well as for the institutions. In time, moreover, the number of individual and institutional actors involved in Turkish-speaking football in London has multiplied, as has the number of agendas different actors have set out to pursue; hence the call for a new conceptualisation of the term diaspora politics which was suggested in

the beginning of this chapter. This complexity, which was illustrated by the ethnographic evidence provided above, is also supportive of Bourdieu's definition of a field. Accordingly, a field is a structured space of 'positions and position-takings' where: "the structure of the field, i.e. of the space of positions, is nothing other than the structure of the distribution of the capital of specific properties which governs success in the field and the winning of the external or specific profits which are at stake in the field" (Bourdieu 1993: 30). These objectives might be very general, such as making financial profits, or extremely specific to this particular field, such as the various symbolic successes including, for example, 'being the first champion team from Turkey'.

On a small but significant note, I believe that in most cases individual and institutional actors do behave strategically and are fully aware of their agendas, although they may want outside observers (or themselves) to believe that they are doing whatever they do only for the sake of a certain idealised purpose, i.e. protecting the youth, maintaining the ethnic identity, or simply supporting sports. Even so, however, I do not wish to argue here that every single act of every single actor has been meticulously planned to achieve a strategically calculated objective. More often than not, these agendas are very fluid, multiple, and complex, and the actors are dynamic.

Any attempt for a general systematised representation of a complex field of political relations will necessarily be simplifying. However, I believe it is still a worthy effort to provide such a systematic representation of diaspora politics, as it could be illuminating in other transnational social fields where many similar dynamics exist. In the closing section of this chapter, therefore, I will try to offer such a preliminary model of diaspora politics.

A general model of diaspora politics should pay attention to two essential variables: the actors involved and the level at which diaspora politics operate. In terms of the actors who

engage diasporic links to pursue a number of agendas, five major categories of actors can be conceived of, which are:

i) **Country-of-origin government and governmental institutions** (i.e. various ministries, national agencies to reach out to diaspora, etc.)

ii) **Country-of-origin non-governmental actors** (i.e. NGOs, businesses, and individuals)

iii) **Diasporic communities** (i.e. NGOs, businesses, and individuals)

iv) **Country-of-destination government and governmental institutions** (i.e. various ministries, municipalities, integration agencies, etc.)

v) **Country-of-destination non-governmental actors** (i.e. NGOs, businesses, and individuals)

In terms of the levels of relationships, we need to be careful. In the beginning of this chapter, I already suggested that relations could be categorised within three levels of analysis: macro, meso, and micro. However, these levels should not be conceived of as necessarily coinciding with the levels of the actors at all times. In other words, it should not be assumed that a governmental actor, such as the Ministry of Emigration, could only engage in relations at or pursue objectives on the macro level. In the same manner, it is possible and not uncommon for individuals to be engaged in diaspora politics at the meso or even macro levels. Therefore, a model of diaspora politics should also take note of the different levels in which the engagement and mobilisation of diasporic links take place. In combination, a typology for today's complicated field of diaspora politics can be based on the following:

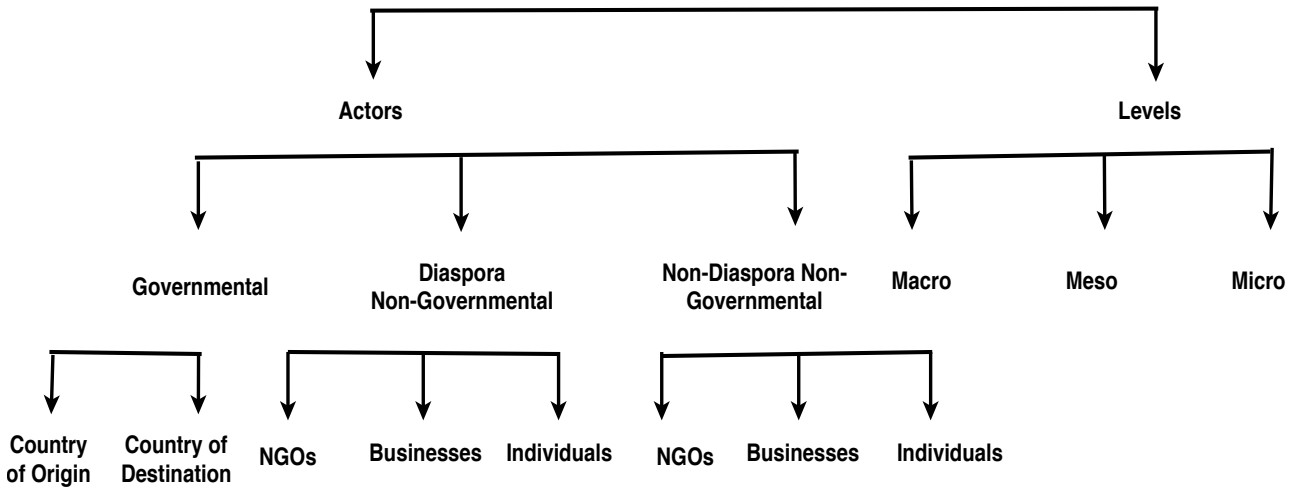


Figure 4.22 Actors and Levels in a preliminary Model of Diaspora Politics

The ethnographic account provided in this and in previous chapters offers plenty of examples for each type of diaspora politics. To put it in another way, each political activity and/or relationship discussed in this chapter can be placed in at least one of the categories offered by this model. These include, for instance, the TRNC's deliberate use of participation in the annual London Cup organised by TCFF to achieve international visibility and bypass, if possible, the international embargoes on it. This relationship can thus be categorised as a form of diaspora politics initiated by a country-of-origin governmental actor for objectives at the macro level. Another example which includes country-of-destination governmental actors engaging in diaspora politics at the macro level is the establishment of the 'London Communities Football League' by the Home Office and the Refugee Council for integration purposes (see Chapter 8). It should be noted that governmental actors are not the only ones that can engage in diaspora politics at the macro level. For instance, the establishment of the TCFF (or the ETSF as it was originally called) in London in 1976 by the Turkish Cypriot Association to support Turkish-Cypriot arguments in the international conflict over Cyprus was a good example of how a diaspora NGO could engage in diaspora politics to mobilise diasporic resources for their objective at

the macro level. In the same manner, governmental actors can engage in diaspora politics at levels other than the macro one. For instance, the Turkish Football Federation's organisation of national team selection camps in Europe to encourage diaspora youth to play for the Turkish national team is a good example of how a country-of-origin governmental actor mobilises diasporic links and resources at the meso level. Businesses and individuals, similarly, can engage in diaspora politics at the micro, meso, and macro levels. A table of diaspora politics examples using this model is presented in the Appendix 2.

PART III

FOOTBALL, IDENTITIES AND MASCULINITY

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In Part III, I turn to the second main analytical theme of the research, namely collective identities. I show that the fear of 'losing the youth' to assimilation and degeneration is a common and unifying concern for the Turkish-speaking community in London. I argue that this fear has been extremely influential in the creation of ethnic community football as a field and has ever since functioned as the most prominent factor motivating adults to get involved. I show in **Chapter 5** that this common and strong concern has been a major factor motivating a majority of the adults to get involved in this field from the start. The different identity projects, I further argue, formed as a result of communal negotiation, are reflections of the vision for how to respond to this crisis.

In **Chapter 6**, this very same identity crisis is characterised as a 'crisis of masculinity', in at least a double sense, which has found its manifestation in organisation around an almost exclusively male site, where hegemonic ethnic masculinities are negotiated and produced. Here, I argue that, having presented the historical link between modern competitive sports and masculinity, the one defining and unifying aspect of all the ethnic identities reproduced within the field is their masculine character. I show that these 'masculine ethnicities' or 'ethnicised masculinities', while reproduced in an almost exclusively male site, represent wider dynamics of the patriarchal structure of the community and the crisis of masculinity experienced in the diaspora.

The structure and position of the field of Turkish-speaking football, which is conveniently situated in the Turkish-speaking private and the British/Londoner public, has been an essential factor accounting for the effectiveness of this field for (re)producing, maintaining, transmitting, and representing hybrid masculine ethnic identities. Both **Chapter 5** and

Chapter 6 end with discussions of this argument using the respective ethnographic accounts provided in each chapter.

CHAPTER 5 Imagining a Community: Football, Collective Identities, and Identity Politics

5.1 Introduction

Before starting to write these lines in an effort to distance my mind from my dissertation, I was reading an interesting book on Bonobos written by primatologist Frans De Waal (2013), which I thought was unrelated to my study. These social primates are very close relatives of humans, possibly even closer than Chimpanzees. One part of the book was describing how 'empathy' and 'sympathy' are not unique to humans and our cultures, but have been detected to exist also among primates. What we call empathy and sympathy have been found to activate certain parts of the nervous system, both in primates and humans, and they are not to be considered as entirely cognitive processes. I also learnt, however, empathy was 'hopelessly biased' in favour of those individuals who are more 'familiar to us than foreigners' (De Waal 2013: 185).

This is where the book became very much related to my study. To illustrate the so-called 'in-group bias' in empathy amongst human beings, De Waal describes a study at the University of Zurich which attempted to measure the neural responses of people to the suffering of others:

> Men watched either a supporter of their own soccer club or a supporter of a rival club getting hurt through electrodes attached to their hands. ... **Only their own** club members activated empathy. **In fact, seeing fans of the rival club getting shocked activated the brain's pleasure areas**. (De Waal 2013: 186, emphasis added)

The selection of football fandom to analyse 'in-group bias' is itself a manifestation of the importance of this sport as an identity maker as well as identity marker. More importantly,

this study shows that people could consider other individuals to be in their own group, a part of ‘us’, only looking at the colours of the clothes these individuals are wearing. Further, considering the fascinating finding that seeing ordinary fans of the rival club getting hurt actually activates the pleasure areas of the brain, it appears that it may be ‘hardwired’ in our brains to mark both ‘us’ and ‘them’ in relation to each other.

While this in-group bias and the tendency to categorise oneself as well as others into collective groupings may well be close to universal with certain biological and evolutionary explanations, the definition of each group, the nature of the relations between different groupings, and the processes in which these are constructed themselves are almost exclusively social and cultural as well as political.

In this chapter, I would like to look at certain significant aspects of the processes in which different notions of ‘us’ are defined, redefined, negotiated, and transmitted amongst different generations in the field of ethnic amateur football. Certainly, this process involves power relations, conflict, cooperation, indoctrination, and domination; as well as affirmation, restriction, and freedom, on different levels. The main ethnographic account on the (re)production and representation of identities presented in this chapter is divided into five sections. I will first discuss the issue of transmission of ethnic and cultural identities to the next generations in the context of a common ‘fear of losing the youth’ in the field. Then, I will present the case of construction and reproduction of identities around clubs in the following section. Here, I will discuss the different types of clubs reviewing their respective implications for the process of the reproduction of identities and give some ethnographic examples from individual clubs. Next, I will discuss some remarkable examples of negotiation and contestation of identities from the field illustrating its dynamic nature. In the last two sections of this part, I will discuss the representation of identities in the shared public space and individuals’ shifting across different identities depending on the context,

respectively. The chapter will end with a discussion of the nature and the position of the field of ethnic community football and its implications for the matters of identity and identity politics as discussed in this chapter.

5.2 Production and Representation of Collective Identities

As I have already mentioned in Chapter 1, many researchers have suggested that sport is a particularly useful sociological site for the study of identities "as it articulates the complex interplay of 'race', nation, culture and identity in very public and direct ways" (Carrington and McDonald 2001: 3). In the same way, Back *et al.* (2001: 270) show through their fieldwork on English football teams that football "provides one of the few spheres in which ideas about identity, ethnicity and race can be **expressed**, **embodied** and **performed**" (emphasis added). Gilchrist (2005: 119) suggests that those who are actively involved in sport teams act as "corporeal **representatives** of broader collectivities", even nations. After all, the identity of a nation of millions "seems more real as a team of eleven named people" (Hobsbawm 1990: 43). On this pitch, and situated in direct opposition to and in the immediate presence of the equally materialised and objective 'other', that the eleven quintessential members of the horizontal camaraderie in matching shirts are united by a common purpose. Can there be a more effective and complete embodiment of the 'imagined community' (Anderson, 1983)?

One thing is clear from the outset: while we can distinguish two major processes concerning collective identities operating in the field of football, we cannot suggest that they are unrelated to one another. These are the productions and reproductions of collective identities, on the one hand, and the presentation, manifestation, and representation of such identities, on the other. In fact, they operate while simultaneously feeding each other; the presentation and embodiment of a certain collective identity in the

public is also actively reproducing it. Therefore, it is difficult to assign primacy to either one. It is possible to start with the representation of identities in the public through sport, which was after all the stated objective of the foundation of the Turkish Community Football Federation (TCFF) all those decades ago in the first place. Starting with football as a project of identity politics for reproducing and transmitting certain ethnic identities in the diaspora is also possible. However, I believe the best place to start is the most easily identifiable common concern amongst the Turkish-speaking community, which may also be identified as the most effective motivator for people to get involved in ethnic community football.

5.2.1 Transmitting Identities: Teaching the Youth Who they are

On 8th of September 2010, I was at the Haringey Borough Stadium to watch two TCFF Charity Shield matches. The youth division match featured the U16 league champions *Yeni Boğaziçi* FC and the federation cup-winners White Hart Rapids (WHR). The second one featured the adult division winners of the league, *Akıncılar* FC, and of the federation cup, *Yalova* FC. These two were the first two official games of the new season and that was why they were being played in the evening and in a stadium, instead of a park. I later found out that in between the two official games there was one 'friendly game' of two 'Masters' teams composed of veteran players who all used to play in the Turkish leagues. Their name in Turkish was the same except for the plurality suffix in Turkish: *Londra Türk Masterleri.* Therefore the age range of the football players on the pitch was quite wide, starting from 14-15 and ending in the late 50s.

The night was also special because it happened to be the last night of the Muslim holy month of Ramadan, the date of which changes every year as it is determined according to the lunar Muslim calendar. That was why there was an *iftar* (fast-breaking) dinner before

the *Akıncılar-Yalova* match. There were TCFF and club administrators, young players of the U16 teams, older players of the adult division teams, and many more senior players of the Masters teams. The guests of honour, however, were four individuals. The Turkish Consul General was invited to present the Shields to their respective winners. The two individuals representing the two major sponsors of TCFF leagues, the owner of the Ezel Holding and a representative from the Turkish Bank, were also present. Lastly, to honour the spirit of Ramadan and the *iftar*, there was an *Imam* (a Muslim cleric) from the Mevlana mosque in Edmonton. Before the fast-breaking, which was literally the case only for a minority of the attendants, there were speeches full of religious motives emphasising the virtues of fasting and the importance of the holy month, given by all the guests of honour plus the TCFF president. When the breaking time arrived, which is the evening *ezan* (call to prayer, traditionally recited at the top of mosque minarets), the *Imam* started to recite the *ezan* in its proper melodical form. The expressions on the faces of the younger players were quite interesting. Some of them looked quite surprised while others seemed to be trying hard to keep themselves from bursting into laughter. The occasion was very likely to be the first in which some of these young players heard the *ezan* being recited live.

While this occasion was simultaneously organised when the date happened to coincide with the last day of Ramadan, there were significant dates regularly marked by football tournaments and commemoration events by the TCFF. One such event is the April 23rd tournaments, which are organised every year to celebrate a significant Turkish national holiday, Turkish Children's Day. On a very sunny and hot Saturday on April 23rd, 2011, the tournament took place at Pymmes Park with the attendance of 19 youth division teams. They were organised in U16 and U14 tournaments to play 7-a-side matches on the part of the regular pitch, where clubs were allowed to enter as many teams as they would like. So, for example, *Yeni Boğaziçi* entered with four teams and *Yavruvatan* with three teams in both categories. The event started with all the entering teams singing the Turkish national

anthem together following speeches given by representatives from the Turkish Consulate in London as well as by main sponsors, this time emphasising the importance of the national identity and the indestructible link between these kids and their mother country, Turkey. Similar tournaments were organised throughout the year to commemorate other national and religious holidays of Turkey and the TRNC with similar ritualistic structures.

These events are only a few small snapshots of how the TCFF and the administrators of the clubs as well as the leagues are constantly trying to get the kids to learn who they are, where they come from, how to behave, and so on. Of course, while such events as the described ones are illustrative of these efforts, the actual process in which the young Turkish-speaking players are constantly invited and encouraged, if not forced, to embrace an approved version of Turkish identity is much more continuous and it takes place through daily relations and interactions.

***Fear of Losing the Youth*:** In their extensive review of Turkish-speaking community organisations in North London, Pattison and Tavsanoglu (2002) have identified one common concern that stood out in their tremendous diversity. One of their elderly (mid-60s) Cypriot respondents says:

> They (youth) are getting married to foreigners. They don't speak Turkish. They don't have any nationalistic stand. They don't know anything about Turkish culture, history and language. They have been assimilated, engulfed in the ocean. Their parents are working long hours. Children are left uncontrolled, running wild. Their parents don't bother to teach them their culture, history and language. Everybody thinks only of how to make money as easily and quickly as possible. (Pattison and Tavsanoglu 2002, 5)

In his lengthy ethnography on the Turkish-speaking community in London, Atay (2006) comes up with the same conclusion:

> The members of the Turkish-speaking community, divided in ethnic, political, ideological and religious lines, are united in the fear of 'losing their children'! From the mosques to the leftist-socialist associations and from the Turkish-nationalist unions to the exclusively Kurdish platforms, the most staggering and agonizing problem people talk about frequently is that, in Britain, their children are getting out of hand, and do not belong to them anymore (Atay 2006: 117).

My own observations confirm the same paternalistic concern over the Turkish-speaking youth. The underlying assumption is that young people, especially young men, cannot be allowed, or left alone, to 'run wild'. Not only do they need to be controlled and checked in a structured and disciplined manner, they also need to be 'taught' who they are. This very same concern is ever-present in the field of Turkish-speaking football. Any adult I have spoken to in the field, without a single exception, justified their involvement by referring to their concern for the wellbeing of the youth. Not all of them spoke explicitly about 'identity' or culture, *per se*. However, either by keeping the youth off the streets or by saving them from gangs or giving them a safe outlet to discharge their energies or by protecting them from drugs, sex, and degeneration, they all argued that football was a means for the wellbeing of young people.

This was, as I have described in detail earlier, one of the main declared objectives at the time of the TCFF's foundation in 1976. Its focus has, however, somewhat shifted over time. When organised Turkish community football started in the 1970s, the youth under question were the young adults who could play football well enough to get recruited in one of the teams in the league. In more recent decades, these clubs have taken on the role of football schools starting with summer football camps with youth teams established later. The dominant discourse of these attempts draws a parallel between football and life; they are not only teaching football but also discipline, struggle, and a worldview.

Today, there are three regular youth divisions in the TCFF league system for teams of Under 20, Under 16, and Under 14 years of age. In these leagues, the ambition is less

significant for success as the main objective appears to be the education of young children. The usual path for a young Turkish-speaking player in the TCFF league is as follows: his father who has/had either been personally involved in Turkish-speaking football in London himself or heard about these leagues brings him to a relevant club (see the different types of clubs described below), 'gives' him to one of the coaches who promises to look after and train the kid well. The father usually says something along the lines of the traditional Turkish expression '*eti senin, kemiği benim*' ('his meat is yours, his bones are mine'[29]) both for indicating his trust in the teacher and for showing the kid that he is being left alone with the teacher who is now to be respected at the highest possible level. This paternalistic and quite masculine discourse, which emphasises discipline, is also ever-present in the field of Turkish-speaking football. If the players have any problem with the trainers, they are instructed to take it 'like a man' and not complain about it like little babies. This is, in fact, an extension of the patriarchal social structure of the Turkish-speaking community on which I will elaborate further in the next chapter on gender and masculinity.

5.2.2 Construction and Reproduction of Identities Around Clubs

As already mentioned in the history section, the very idea of establishing a football federation was born out of the desire to mobilise the Turkish-Cypriot immigrants around a unified identity. However, as also reviewed above, the founders of the TCFF did not want to call the new Federation a Turkish-Cypriot one in a deliberate effort to symbolically include all other Turkish individuals in London. In other words, although it was a much smaller minority at the time, the founders of the TCFF wanted to include the Turks from

[29] I have actually personally witnessed this expression being used in more than one occasion and found it to be very interesting that it was literally the same thing my mother said to my first grade teacher a good 25 years ago when she took me to the school on my very first day.

Turkey in this organization, thereby aspiring to acquire the support of Turkey as well as to increase the size of the community.

In addition to providing the means for the creation and promotion of an all-inclusive ethnic identity that could unify and mobilise the whole Turkish-speaking community, football has continuously been an instrument for the representation and embodiment of various other identities, too. In other words, while it has symbolically enabled the Turkish-speaking community to unite under a common 'Turkish' identity, it has also created a public social space for the production, embodiment, and representation of other identities and collective attachments including local, religious, ethnic, and socio-economic ones.

In the field of Turkish-speaking football in London, the principal agents through which ethnic and cultural identities have been constructed and reproduced have been the **football clubs**. Initially, as described, the vast majority of the individuals within the Turkish community in London were of Turkish-Cypriot origins, and there was little diversity in terms of other ethnic, religious, or country-of-origin identities. Therefore, the teams were organised along the line of hometowns and were perceived to represent such local identities themselves.

> [Describing the founding football tournament in July 1976] After all the research and advertisement in the daily *Hürriyet*, four teams emerged. My team was 'Ulku Yurdu', it was from the Baf region of Cyprus. *Çetinkaya* was the team of Nicosia region; '*Türk Gücü*' was from Famagusta; and lastly *Gençlerbirliği* was the team of Iskele-Larnaka region (Interview with *Zico*, 31.01.2011).

Later, the significance of the field of football as a civil society organisation as well as the diversity within the Turkish-speaking community increased. Notably, the diversification of the identities represented and embodied in the field of Turkish-speaking football follows a very similar pattern as that of the diversification of the Turkish-speaking community in London itself. When organised football first came into existence, there was not much

diversity in terms of collective identities, except for the local identities of the neighbourhoods of origin. When the 1980s arrived, however, the growing number of Turkish immigrants from Turkey started to impact the Turkish community football league with the advent of the *Türkiyeli* teams. The 1990s were marked by further diversification and the growth of the Turkish-speaking community in London with the addition of the mostly asylum-seeking Kurds from Turkey. The newcomers were not only different ethnically and regarding their legal status in London, but they were also different with respect to religious affiliations, levels of political activism, and ideologies. This would shortly be felt within the TCFF leagues and the creation of an alternative Turkish and Kurdish Federation in 1992 was a manifestation of the desire to publicly represent the various Kurdish identities more freely and effectively, as much as it was a manifestation of the level of diversity that the Turkish-speaking community had reached. At the turn of the new millennium, in addition to the ethnic identities, the nature of the diversity within the Turkish-speaking community itself has changed as suggested by Vertovec's (2007) notion of super-diversity. This found its reflection, as summarised below, in the Turkish-speaking community football, too, with the emergence of an increasing number of institutions with more or less active agendas with respect to promoting, constructing or representing certain identities.

There are four general types of clubs in the field of Turkish-speaking football in London: (i) the hometown (neighbourhood-of-origin) clubs, (ii) the institutional clubs, (iii) the local neighbourhood clubs, and (iv) the professional football fan clubs (see Appendix 3 for a complete list of clubs which competed in the TCFF and TKFF leagues in the 2010-2011 Season).

The Hometown Clubs: This category includes the largest number of clubs in the field of Turkish- speaking football where almost 70% of all clubs in the TCFF and the TKFF leagues are named after a village, city, or region where the founders originally came from. This category also includes the clubs that are most ethnically homogeneous although there is no single ethnically uniform team in any of the Turkish or Kurdish leagues. These clubs usually aim at sustaining the links with a real or imagined 'home' and at transmitting this 'local' or rather 'diasporic' identity to the youth who have never been in those places. When asked, interestingly many of the young players who were born and lived all their lives in London say they are from this or that specific 'village' or 'town', in Cyprus or Turkey. This is a significant proof that playing football for such clubs that have a strong identification with a local identity carried over with migration does help younger generations to acquire that identity, if only at a discursive level (Baumann 1996). In many cases, this really is merely on the level of discourse as a majority of the second and third generation Turkish-Cypriots do not know much about what that identity entails, or even where that village actually is, as they have not been to the hometown of their parents or grandparents. They, significantly, still identify themselves with that village and refer to that village as their own. In some cases, however, the link established via football is much more real and direct as in the case of the Cyprus trips detailed in Chapter 3 and Chapter 7 when young players not only had the chance to visit their team's namesake villages, but also formed close personal relationships with many individuals from those villages during the friendly games and the feasts organised in their honour (see Figures 5.1 and 5.2).





Figures 5.1-5.2 Two players of *Akıncılar FC* of the London TCFF League pose on an agricultural tractor (above); while another player poses next to the village sign his club represents (below) during the second Cyprus trip described in Chapter 3.
[Photos by KOU]

Yeni Boğaziçi FC: *"*We don't care about championship so much," says the president of *Yeni Boğaziçi* FC, *G. Lineker*, "all of our players are the boys of our village, except for the non-Turkish ones, of course". One of the most successful and most esteemed clubs of the TCFF leagues, *Yeni Boğaziçi* FC is owned and run by the Turkish Cypriot Community Organization (TCCO) although it has become somewhat autonomous and relatively better institutionalised compared to most clubs with its own executive committee. The village to which the president refers is the Turkish village of Boğaziçi in North Cyprus. Today, the club has an adult team competing in the TCFF 1st division and two young teams in the U-16 and U-18 leagues, and it is best known for its success in gathering all the 'kids from this village' in their young teams.

The composition of the teams is quite noteworthy. There are four non-Turkish players[30], two to three players from Turkey and all the rest are children 'from the village'. It is even more striking in the youth teams where the teams are obliged to be all 'Turkish', a good 80 per cent of the kids are also 'from the village'. In fact, none but one of these youngsters was actually born in Boğaziçi village. Most of them were born and raised Londoners with parents or grandparents from the village. Therefore, the president of the club suggests, the team of the village still exists after 35 long years since its foundation although 'many of these kids have never seen it'. He goes on to explain that the *raison d'etre* of *Yeni Boğaziçi* FC is to keep this village identity alive. He lists the purposes of keeping the youth out of the streets and away from the drugs, and so on, but his emphasis is definitely on 'these boys learning where they come from and who they are'.

I am struck by the relaxed atmosphere at their training session on a Wednesday. The kids play football as if they are on their own at a park, there is a lot of laughing and joking

[30] A Turkish player is defined by the TCFF as someone who is Turkish or who has Turkish heritage. In practice, it is the Federation who decides whether a player is Turkish or not before the beginning of the season when handing out licenses for the players. This issue has come up when representatives from some clubs argued that it was arbitrary and there is discrimination against some Turkish groups. See the below section on negotiation of identities.

around. I approach the president *Lineker*, who is in his trainers like other coaches on the field, and ask how they have managed to recruit all these youngsters from the village and if they are running a selection scheme or trial system, he says 'there is no such thing as selection or trials or anything. Most of them are friends at school or their neighbourhoods. If they come to us and say they want to play, they are in the team. These teams exist for them, not for winning cups or anything." Apparently, though, there is no pressure on these kids to remain with the team. The talented players usually go to English teams and try their luck to get into professional football. "*Yeni Boğaziçi* FC is here for them as the first step. To learn football and to learn about the village, their roots."

How are they exactly learning about their village or 'the village culture', though? 'Are you sitting the kids all down and telling them stories about the village', I asked. 'Of course not', the president replied, 'the team is the village!'. "They come here three times a week, be a part of this family, speak Turkish, learn how to behave, learn to put friendship and gentlemanly behaviour above winning, they put on our shirt and represent the village." A middle-aged woman, *Mia Hamm*[31], intervenes at this point. She is the mother of one of the players, *Fabregas*, and she 'takes care' of the team, I am told. She is also working as an assistant teacher at a school and most kids know her. She washes the team shirts and socks and she is 'like a mother' to the kids. "Whenever they are fighting and they see me, they calm down and stop fighting."

Apparently, as is the case with many other clubs which focus on the youth and identity, *Yeni Boğaziçi* FC is trying to bring the kids together in as many social contexts as possible outside of the field of football, particularly including the premises of the TCCO. The annual balls organised by the well-established clubs, including *Yeni Boğaziçi* FC, are one of such

[31] Mia Hamm, an American former player, is one of the most famous and accomplished female footballer in the history of women's football.

contexts in which the players, their families, and all the people from their respective neighbourhood-of-origin, come together. I have attended *Yeni Boğaziçi* FC's ball on June





Figures 5.3-5.4 The Annual *Yeni Boğaziçi* FC Ball. The banquet hall is decorated with the Turkish and Turkish-Cypriot national flags as well as balloons in the club colours (above); The display of all the trophies and medals won throughout the season.
[Photos by KOU]

10th, 2011, which took place at Banquet Hall in Wood Green within walking distance from my house. The atmosphere was, as expected, festive. The hall was filled with balloons in the colours of the club as well as with the Turkish and Turkish-Cypriot national flags (see Figure 5.3). The overwhelming majority of the guests were Turkish-Cypriots, mainly from Boğaziçi village. The food served was completely from the traditional Turkish-Cypriot cuisine. There was one stand in the hall where all the medals and trophies won by the different teams of the club throughout the season were on display (see Photo 5.4). Then started the live music performance of the 'Cyprus Quartet' the lead singer of which was the president of the club, *Lineker*. They performed for about a couple of hours singing many traditional Turkish-Cypriot songs and tunes. After the dinner, people started dancing. If I didn't know where I was, I would have easily thought that I was at a traditional Turkish wedding. Up until this point, though, it seemed to me that it was the adults who were having more fun, occasionally dragging the players to the dance floor with them and joking around with their awkward attempts of doing the traditional Turkish dancing. The ones who were teased most were the three black players of the team, who seemed to be the least competent yet most willing dancers for the Turkish music. Then, the music stopped and the protocol started to make their speeches, starting with the club President, who had already been on the floor for several hours singing, continuing with the TCFF President, and ending with the Sponsors. Following the speeches the 'best players of the season' were announced and celebrated, with categories like the top goal scorer, the best defender, and so on. After this ceremony, the music and dancing started again, only this time with a DJ playing hit popular songs in English. The 'power relations' in the dance floor were suddenly transformed with the young players now teasing the awkward attempts at 'disco-dancing' of their coaches and administrators. The three black players too, I must add, were transformed into the most competent and still most willing dancers of the whole party.

***Institutional Clubs*:** This category includes teams that are owned and managed by various institutions. The majority of such institutions, which own a team competing in one of the Turkish-speaking leagues, are ethnic community associations. The majority of the clubs in the Kurdish leagues, specifically, are owned by Kurdish community organisations. As such, these clubs tend to be more politically involved and, at least discursively, they represent a resistance to discrimination, assimilation, and racism.

Some other institutions include religious institutions such as the Sunni Mosques and the *Alevi*[32] (Alawite) Cemevi. The fact that these institutions obtain football clubs following one another suggests a desire to be represented where the 'other' (perhaps, rival) religious institutions are represented.

Another common characteristic of such clubs owned by institutional actors is that they usually see football as an instrument to attract the youth to the institutions themselves. So two primary purposes of such clubs can be suggested: (i) to be represented in the leagues which are commonly followed by the wider community and (ii) to attract the attention of otherwise disinterested youth to either political, social, or religious activities of the institution in question. This is a bit different from the previous category, as in the former case the young people are already seen as natural members of that club and its respective identity; and they are just 'reminded' who they are and where they are from. In this latter case, however, there is an element of recruitment of otherwise disinterested and unaware youth, especially in the case of politically engaged community associations and religious institutions. As a result, these clubs manifest more ethnic diversity.

Anadolu FC: *Zidane*, who is at his mid-40s, is a small cafe owner in North London and a Kurdish refugee from Southeast Turkey. He had played amateur football back in Turkey before he came to London in the aftermath of violent clashes between

[32] *Alevi* literally means 'follower of Ali', one of the earlier leaders of the Islamic world and *Alevis* constitute a major sect of Shia Islam.

Turkish armed forces and Kurdish separatist groups. He was very politically active up until he got married. A member of the Turkish communist Workers' Party (*İşçi Partisi*), he was seriously involved in the activities of this party's youth branch. As a passionate football player, it was around this time that he started his attempts to found a football team. With a few friends from his political fraction, he established *Aydınlık FC* in late 1990s. *Aydınlık* (illumination) was the name of the periodical journal of his Marxist political fraction, and thus a deliberate choice of name for the team. As a group of Kurdish *Alevis*, they joined the TKFF league in 1992 under the Turkish Kurdish community organisation Day-Mer. In their first year, according to *Zidane*, they "won everything, like an unstoppable hurricane".

When asked why he wanted to establish an amateur football club instead of just joining an existing team or playing with friends regularly, he explains how there was a 'culture shock' amongst the Kurdish immigrant youth back then: "the kids were getting the English culture outside and the Turkey culture at home. They were not able to cope easily. We thought we could reach more youngsters through football as this was a common passion among all the people, no matter what political ideology they would have". He goes on to explain that the football team was not only about playing football. It was more about unity, being together, and providing mutual support. The team was also a way to 'help the youth learn some things' that they would not otherwise have been interested in, although he emphasised time and time again that there was no 'political agenda':

> We would gather up at the association in the morning on the match days. We would gather all our money to buy food for breakfast. No one of us was rich back then, we would eat what we could buy; cheese, jam, bread, whatever. They would come to the association building at other times to hang out and socialise with teammates. Of course, as we spent that much time in the association, we would talk about political matters. The kids would show great interest and they would become aware of many issues of the time. But we never imposed anything on anyone. We didn't even force them to read our own journal, you know. The journals would just sit on the tables, if the kids wanted to read, they could. Otherwise, no one would say anything. Once, we took them to Cardiff for a preparation camp for a few days. There were some political meetings, and conversations, if you will, there too. But no one ever forced anyone to take part. (Interview, 02.07.2010)

Although they were in the Kurdish league, he says there was never an issue of ethnicity or faith in his club, they had players from every city. “I consider a boy as a football player; he is either a good player or a mediocre one” he explains. Yet they started at the Kurdish league because the majority of the founders were Kurdish and they had closer contacts with a wider Kurdish network at the time. The glorious days of *Aydınlık FC* at the Kurdish league, however, were not to last very long. In their second year, *Aydınlık FC* was kicked out of the Kurdish league after a fight broke up in one of their important matches. *Zidane* thinks that was extremely unfair and, in fact, a biased decision taken with political motives:

> This is what happened back then; our opponent belonged to another fraction. And the referee was with them as well. Of course, whatever the reason, fighting is wrong. But he was so biased, so provocative, I was not able to hold the boys down anymore. And then after the fight, the (Kurdish) Federation gave us big penalties, many of my players were banned for six weeks, and they kicked us out of the league. After that, we went to the league of the Cypriots [TCFF]. (Interview, 02.07.2010).

With this move to the TCFF, or as it had been referred by him, the Cypriots’ league, they have also decided to change the name of the club to a much more politically neutral one, hence becoming *Anadolu FC* (Anatolia). When they made their application to join the league at the General Annual Meeting, all 23 existing clubs in the league but three have welcomed them. Although not as successful as they were at the Kurdish league in sporting terms, *Anadolu* FC has won the ‘best sportsmanship’ award for their successful performance.

Zidane’s adventure with Turkish-speaking amateur football ended some 15 years ago when he decided to move away from London to Oxford to open up a little cafe. However, the adventure of *Anadolu FC* is still going on today where they compete at the TCFF first division. Today, the club is managed by the London Turkish Cemevi, the religious

gathering place of the *Alevis* in London. The current Chairman of the 'England *Alevi* Cultural Centre and Cemevi', *Figo*, who is a former player of the team a decade ago, explains why they are competing in the TCFF league:

> As far as I can see, football is one of the common denominators we different Turkish communities can unite under a ***Türkiyeli* identity**. For instance, two groups who confront each other as Turkish and Kurdish outside, can unite at a Galatasaray match against the rival club from another country. In other words, although we create arbitrary divisions, **we fall in love with the same girls, like the same sort of food, come from the same culture**. The TCFF has a mission here. We have a team there, the associations with a leftist ideology has teams there, those who identify themselves as Kurdish have teams there. All these can unite under the same roof. They do not go to play to the Yugoslavian or Bosnian league. So it has this mission and ability to play a unifying and peaceful role. (interview on 23.09.2010)

His references to what the basis for a common *Türkiyeli* identity (similar taste in women, food, culture) and its masculinity, to the aspect of representation, to the unifying capacity of football are all very telling. The *Anadolu FC* deliberately puts a lot of emphasis on the youth and attracting them to Cemevi; they have four different teams for boys under the age of 16, 14, 12, and 10. This already implies a political agenda, but further into our conversation he spells this out much more explicitly:

> Of course, our real purpose here is to bring our children together. **We are looking for a way to attract them to the Cemevi and to our culture**. The kids in our teams get in contact with the Cemevi in one way or another. They meet here before and after the matches, for example. This is **so that we can protect the child from losing himself**, falling into that gear we call assimilation, **so that he can both protect who he is and learn what is out there and become a proper and competent individual to cope with everything out there**. Of course, keeping these two on a balance is not very easy. I mean to protect one's traditions and culture is difficult even in Turkey, in our own country. To protect them here is much more difficult. **Football, or another sport, is a medium around which to organise**. **It is difficult for us to put the Alevi philosophy into the head of the kid. That requires a process. So it is easier for us to bring the kid closer to us through football.**

Local Neighbourhood Clubs: These are even more diverse clubs that are named after localities in London such as White Hart Rapids or Edmonton Youth. The fact that they adopt a local name in London and that they are considerably more ethnically diverse seem

to suggest that they are 'better integrated' in terms of their cultural identities and sense of belonging. Moreover, there is not a single such club in the adult divisions of TCFF; all of these clubs are from the youth divisions which might further lend support for the above argument as the players in the youth leagues are 80-90% London-born. Some of these types of Turkish-speaking clubs have chosen to compete in other local London leagues instead of the Turkish-speaking ones.

***Fan Clubs*:** These are clubs that carry the names of the big Turkish professional clubs. The most institutionalised and successful of them at the moment is *Beşiktaş*, which has a team competing at every single league of the TCFF. Their Chairman, *Stoichkov*, has said that they are the official team of the actual Istanbul club and they have been paying a significant annual fee to remain so. The others, *Fenerbahçe* and *Galatasaray*, on the other hand are just teams organised by Fenerbahçe and Galatasaray fans living in London and do not have any official relationship with the respective professional clubs. As might be expected, these are also ethnically very diverse clubs. They are clearly not making any political statement or embodying any political project, these clubs just stand for the fan identities.

5.2.3 Negotiating and Contesting Identities

The TCFF has emerged as a representative of the 'Turkish Community' in London as a whole in 1976. However, it took less than five years until this claim was challenged. In the 1980-81 season, as a result of a political polarisation within the Federation, the first separation in the Turkish football in London took place. Although there could be an extensive range of reasons for polarisation within the Federation, arguably, the biggest

reason concerned what kind of a Turkish-Cypriot identity was to be projected and promoted by the TCFF. On the one side, there were individuals and clubs who identified themselves as having socialist or left-wing political views. This group was fiercely against, as they saw it, the rise of fascism back in Turkey and in Northern Cyprus. They wished to move away from a nationalist discourse of identity towards a cultural one:

> We are Cypriots, first. So, I wanted us to have good relations with the Greek Cypriots in London. The rightists declared me a traitor. Both the Turkish Cypriot delegation and the Turkish Embassy in London naturally supported them. They brought people from Turkey to stand against me at the General Meeting of the Federation. Can you believe it? But we won by a single vote anyway. And then, they left the federation and established a separate one. Those who voted for me, who wished to have a more inclusive, humane, leftist football federation remained with us (Interview with Yaşar İsmailoğlu, 12.03.2011).

This was essentially a conflict over the visions of a Turkish-Cypriot identity in London. Of course, this is not to argue that each club or individual at those clubs makes a selection out of a political calculation or assessment of the differing visions of these two federations. Many practical reasons, including the odds of achieving sporting success in each federation, the material benefits promised by the respective administrators, and personal relationships were also important. The contestation over the 'Turkish-Cypriot' identity and the vision for a common political agenda took place at a much higher level, amongst a handful of individuals. This contestation was resolved three years later with a compromise. One reason for this reconciliation was the changing political conjuncture; the 1980 *coup d'etat* in Turkey swept off all political activism in Turkey with a military strongly consolidating its power and starting a war against political polarisation. Another reason was the changing composition of the Turkish-speaking community in London itself. This was induced by the growing presence of the Turkish immigrants from Turkey, which in turn had a unifying effect on the Turkish-Cypriot identity. In other words, with political differences having lost their mobilising power and another ethnic community quickly

forming in close proximity, the Turkish-Cypriots found it easier and more profitable to unite again under one federation. It should be noted that, although the federations representing two competing visions for the Turkish-Cypriot identity could eventually come to terms with one another and got united, the very same contestation still goes on in different spaces of social life, including the field of football. The *Çınar Çetinkaya* FC, which is a predominantly Turkish-Cypriot club that used to compete in TCFF league for many years, left the TCFF league in 2006 and moved to KOPA. They explained this move in terms of the 'changing nature of the TCFF league, which was becoming more and more Turkish, and less and less Cypriot' (Interview with *Baresi*, 04.04.2011). So, they chose to move to the Greek-Cypriot league that welcomes all Cyprus-born immigrants as well as their descendants in their league.

While almost all Turkish-Cypriots in London consider Turkey's intervention at the time as justified and vital for their survival, there is a significant segment in this community suggesting that 'Turkey has gone too far' and the 'continued occupation' is not justified. *Çetinkaya*'s move from TCFF to KOPA is very important in this sense as it has a very significant symbolic meaning for the Cypriot communities in London, Turkish and Greek. *Çetinkaya* has justified their move by arguing that the Turkish league has lost its Cypriot identity with an increasing number of Turkey-origin teams in the league, and that they are doing this move to manifest their 'Cypriot' identity. 'They are first Cypriot and then Turk'. What is fascinating here is the way in which *Çetinkaya* is not only claiming to stand for a communal identity, but also how it is actively defining it and negotiating about its terms.

The second separation of federations, which took place over a couple of decades later, was also a good example of how competing identities led to institutional changes. This time it was the arrival and growing size of the Kurdish immigrants from Turkey that had led to a contestation over the teams in the TCFF leagues, as the Kurdish immigrants have

long manifested an overwhelming Turkish-Cypriot bias in the way the TCFF leagues are governed. These complaints about implicit and explicit cases of discrimination against the Kurds have culminated in the initiative of forming a Turkish Kurdish Football Federation. Very importantly, this federation identifies itself to be Turkish-Kurdish. While the organisation and administration of the federation is in the hands of politically active Kurdish community association, Day-Mer, which aims at 'reconstructing a Kurdish-identity that has been under siege by the assimilationist policies of Turkey' (Pattison and Tavsanoglu 2002: 7), the league itself does not seem to pursue such political purposes directly. Instead, it aims to give a message in protest against what they consider to be the discriminatory and exclusionary nature of the TCFF leagues by imposing a much more inclusive approach. In contrast to the rules on foreign player rules in the TCFF and KOPA leagues, TKFF does not impose any such limitation with respect to the identities of the players or clubs.

The Rules on 'Foreign Players'

There are different rules and definitions of who can play as a native player in different ethnic community leagues. I would argue that these rules on and definitions of 'foreign players' in ethnic community leagues are acts of reproducing and negotiating ethnic identities in a competitive diasporic context. In the following, I will substantiate this argument with ethnographic evidence from three major ethnic community leagues: the TCFF, the TKFF, and the KOPA.

Turkish Community Football Federation (TCFF): In the TCFF's rules, subsection H of Rule 8, which regulates the qualification of players, states that "the maximum number of players registered by a club should not exceed 17 per team at any time. The number of non-Turkish players should not exceed 3" (see Appendix 4 for the

complete rule book). The rule leaves it there with no further clarification about who would be considered Turkish and who would be considered non-Turkish. The next subsection, F, does state that "the Management Committee shall decide all registration disputes", which makes the rule quite flexible and open to discretion. The current administrators of the TCFF say that Turkish, in the context of this rule, means anybody 'who is Turkish or who has Turkish heritage'. Apart from being quite tautological, this explanation makes the definition even more flexible, if anything. In practice, naturally, there are many problems with such extensive and flexible definitions. Those with Turkish or Turkish-Cypriot official IDs such as passports, ID cards, or driving licenses are automatically qualified to play as Turkish players. Those with a Republic of Cyprus ID[33] are also qualified, provided that they have Turkish names. From here onwards it becomes increasingly more complicated. The children and grandchildren of first generation migrants with the Turkish of Turkish-Cypriot citizenship are also accepted even if they do not have Turkish or Turkish-Cypriot citizenship themselves, or they are unable to speak any Turkish. How about someone with a Turkish name who speaks perfect Turkish but who has a third country citizenship and who cannot provide any official ID from their parents or grandparents? This has been the case with some German-Turks who have moved to London to study or work and ended up in the TCFF leagues. As long as they had Turkish names on their German passports and spoke Turkish, they were also accepted.

Then there was the even more complicated case of some Bulgarian Turks. They only have Bulgarian IDs and worse still, Bulgarian names on those IDs. They spoke Turkish as their mother tongue, and they were claiming that their 'real' names were Turkish, and that their families were forced to not register because of the oppressive policies of the Bulgarian

[33] Following the accession of Cyprus in the European Union, many Turkish-Cypriots who were born in Cyprus requested a Cypriot passport to benefit from Cyprus' membership. Since the Republic of Cyprus became a member representing the whole island, most people were granted these passports provided that they have not arrived in Cyprus after the military intervention of Turkey.

governments in the 1970s and 1980s on the Turkish minority. This issue was raised passionately by a manager who had to register some of his players as non-Turkish:

> "The Cyprus Turks are Turkish, the Turkey Turks are Turkish, the London Turks are Turkish... Why aren't the Bulgarian Turks Turkish? Why is there this double standard just because in their passport there is a foreign name? Let me remind you that those names were forced on them by the oppressive Bulgarian governments in the 70s and 80s. **In reality, they are *much more Turkish* than most of the London-borns who cannot even speak any Turkish!**" (*Maldini* from a TCFF Union of Clubs meeting, 29.09.2010)

Apparently, in the current practice, the definition of a Turkish player remains quite wide and flexible. Largely, it is left to the discretion of the federation officials issuing the licenses. There is, however, a lively discussion not only on who is Turkish and who is not, but also on who is 'more' Turkish than whom. For a majority of the individuals who come from Turkey, whether first or second generation, the Turkish-Cypriot youth are getting less and less Turkish. Increasingly, their first language becomes English and they speak only broken Turkish, if at all.

Turkish and Kurdish Football Federation (TKFF): The TKFF, as previously discussed, is partly a result of the growing demand within the Turkish-Kurdish community as a result of their increasing number and partly an offshoot of and reaction to the TCFF leagues and their negative experience there. I have also discussed the fact that the TKFF was founded under a politically-active Turkish-Kurdish community organisation which declares its purposes to be to promote Turkish and Kurdish people's cultural, economic, social, and democratic rights; to strengthen solidarity among themselves as well as local people; and to help their integration into the society. As can be detected already, in the case of the Day-Mer and the TKFF, there seems to be a greater emphasis on interaction and integration as opposed to holding onto the community's roots. This is also a product of

a significant history of discrimination and oppression experienced both in Turkey and in London.

As a result, the TKFF has chosen to put no restrictions or regulations concerning the ethnic, cultural, political, or legal identities of the players or the clubs to participate in its competitions. The current president of the TKFF, *Eusebio*, suggests that their rationale is for everyone to get involved, get to know each other, and shatter all their prejudices. The TKFF leagues, expectedly, display the greatest degree of diversity with respect to ethnic and cultural identities compared to other ethnic community leagues. There are teams that identify themselves to be from different ethnic communities. One of the examples is the *Elbasani* FC, a team that was almost homogeneously composed of Albanian players which is also mentioned in Chapter 7 (see Figure 7.16 in that chapter).

In summary, the TKFF league does not fit perfectly in this section's discussion of the rules on 'foreign players' as a tool for negotiating the terms of identities. However, it does show that in the field of ethnic football, by not enforcing such a restriction in the league, the TKFF is also making a statement about the sort of identity as well as relations amongst individuals with different identities they are willing to encourage.

London Cypriot Football League (KOPA): The KOPA is one of the oldest community football federations having been established in 1975. Like the TCFF, the KOPA was also founded while the Cypriot conflict was at its international peak just one year after Turkey's military intervention in the island and therefore cannot be fully understood if this context is overlooked (see Chapter 3). Also like the Turkish-Cypriots, the Greek-Cypriot community arrived in London very early on due to the colonial links between Britain and Cyprus. In combination, the KOPA officials also desire to maintain strong links with Cyprus and actively attempt to 'teach' the younger generations 'who they are', particularly in

relation to the Cyprus conflict. Regulation concerning the foreign players in the KOPA should be considered with these in mind. In my interview with the current President of the KOPA, Markos Chrysostomou, I was not only pleasantly surprised about his extensive explanation of their policy on this issue, but actually stunned by how much consideration and discussion concerning the decision and its consequences they have put into making that regulation. In a rather long excerpt from this interview, a lot of the issues are put in perspective:

> We have a limitation of 3 non-Cypriots, **non-Cypriots** [strongly emphasised]. People want to see everything in black and white: you either are or you are not. But that is not the picture, is it? In reality, you are not anything. There's been an issue of trying to identify what constitutes a Cypriot and what doesn't. Now, the issue is if you adopt a too narrow classification, you are then lumbered with lots of problems. Because, the narrow view suggests that it would exclude automatically, say, 3rd generation youngsters born here. Right? You have to prove if you had a grandparent who is a Cypriot. Obviously it applies to your parents and yourself. You have to be born in Cyprus or up to your grandparent, someone. But that is almost impossible to do. Particularly when you got people spread all over the world, which you have with Cypriots.
>
> The other issue is Turkish Cypriots. Since 74 [date of Turkey's military intervention in Cyprus], you have an all new influx of people [to Cyprus] from Turkey. How could you say if they are Cypriots or not? Does the political description apply? if you're born there, you are Cypriot, even though your parents came from Turkey. **So we adopted, if you're born in Cyprus, it doesn't matter where you come from, it could be an Italian born in Cyprus, then you are Cypriot.** But prior to that we have a slightly looser classification. This has been in force only 3-4 years. **Prior to that, the looser classification was anyone with a Greek or Turkish name basically was eligible as a Cypriot. That included anyone from Greece, Turkey, all the people born in wherever in the globe, as long as they appear to be Greek or Turkish.**
>
> We changed that because it got to a point where in the junior division, we had a Kurdish junior team, which was entirely Kurdish. Then you can argue, **well they are not really Cypriot.** So the question came up, if you take anybody who speaks Turkish or has a Turkish name, how can you exclude a Kurdish team? To me it makes no difference. But to the community, it was like that doesn't sound right. Let's make the description a bit narrower. But we are more or less where we were even though we said '**even though you have a Turkish name, you still have to prove that you have some sort of a Cypriot connection.**' (Interview with Markos Chrysostomou, KOPA President, 28.01.2011)

This long quote shows, very elegantly I think, how much debate and negotiation would go into a seemingly rather easy question: who is a Cypriot player and who is a non-Cypriot player? Should definition be made on the basis of ethnicity, nationality, language, or

country of birth? What about the issue of 'next generations of immigrants'? Are third-generation Cypriots; i.e. who were born in London, whose parents were born in London, who have British and only British citizenship, who speak English as their first language and have a broken command, if at all, of Greek, in fact, Cypriots? As the KOPA President suggests, people usually want to see these categories in black and white, while in fact the reality is always more complicated than that.

Most evident is that the decision to be made, although eventually made by people with the relevant authority to make that decision, is not seen to belong to a person. We can see in the above quote repeatedly through the expressions such as 'there's been an issue of' and 'it got to a point where you can argue' that the process has been one of communal discussions and negotiations on who constitutes a Cypriot and who does not, as well as the procedural matters of considering individuals statuses.

At the end of the day, it is obvious that what is at stake is not a matter of procedural discussion on who can play and who cannot. People are aware at every level that what is being discussed is the meaning and boundaries of ethnic identities; effectively defining who is 'one of us' and who is not. As I made clear in the beginning of this chapter, this is always a process of social and political construction; the identity of the community is being reflected on and defined in the game:

> You are doing this only because you want to keep the cultural identity through communal organization. It is really not professional football, it has not really to do with the game. It's to do with the cultural activity as a community. **The game is just a reflection of the community. It is not the community being a reflection of the game.** (Interview with Markos Chrysostomou, KOPA President, 28.01.2011)

5.2.4 Representation and Manifestation of Identities

As I have suggested above, the diversification of the Turkish-speaking community brought with it a diversification within the field of Turkish-speaking football. Just like in the case of reproduction and transmission of identities, the football clubs are the primary and most important agents in the case of representation of various identities.

> The first mosque to have a football team in the league was the Aziziye mosque. The team was called '*Aziz Genclik*', they were a violent team, lots of fights broke out at their games. Then came *Mevlana* FC- we are the team of Mevlana mosque (which is established by the Fetullah Gülen movement). We are more concerned with educating the kids and keeping them away from the streets than football. But we have never forced any religious identity on the kids. We even have players with lots of tattoos. And lastly came the Alevis. I heard that before the Kurdish league was established, there were a couple of Kurdish teams in the league but they left and moved to the Kurdish league. The Alevi Cemevi bought *Anadolu* a couple of years ago to have one team in the league representing the Kurds and Alevis. (Interview with *Cannavaro*, 21.09.2010)

I have discussed the different type of clubs representing different types of collective identities above. Instead of repeating myself further, I would like to discuss the representation of identities via football on a higher level, i.e. that of leagues and community football federations.

The TCFF has represented a 'Turkish Community', as its name declares, since its foundation in 1976. In all practical purposes, it was a Turkish-Cypriot football federation for the first couple of decades. The number of *Türkiyeli* teams increasingly became significant from 1990s onwards. I have already discussed the process in which the founders of the TCFF decided to name the newly founded federation a 'Turkish' one instead of a 'Turkish-Cypriot' one out of a desire to unite and represent all Turkish-speaking immigrants in London. Also, the above discussion concerning the rule and its implementation on 'non-Turkish' players in the TCFF leagues also show this claim to represent all Turkish-speaking immigrants, and not just Turkish-Cypriots or ethnic Turks.



Figure 5.5 The official logo of the TCFF
[Scanned archival material by KOU]

To reiterate, it seems obvious that the identity that the TCFF has claimed to represent from the beginning has been a 'national' one, in the sense that it considers all Turkish-Cypriots and anybody from Turkey as Turkish. The official logo of the TCFF, which has undergone only slight changes since the 1970s, is a very good symbolic encapsulation of this claim, featuring a white crescent on a red background with a football placed instead of a white star, which would have completed the Turkish national flag (see Figure 5.5).

The TKFF was established in 1992 and from its beginning, too, one can see all the signs of strategic thinking concerning what and who to represent. Although TKFF has emerged out of mostly an ethnic Kurdish demand and was realised by Day-Mer a predominantly ethnic Kurdish community organisation, it has chosen to be called the Turkish and Kurdish Football Federation. This is, I would definitely argue, a carefully calculated self-declaration. This federation in Turkish is called *Türk Kürt Futbol Federasyonu* omitting the 'and' in

between Turkish and Kurdish in its English name. Therefore, at first I thought that this federation was a Turkish-Kurdish one, meaning the Kurds of Turkey or the Kurds from Turkey. In other words, when you omit the 'and', Turkish appears to have a mostly geographical meaning. However, I have later learnt that it was the 'Turkish and Kurdish' federation, which changed the whole meaning. For one thing, now the 'Turkish' and the 'Kurdish' are on equal footing. Whatever one may mean by one, the same thing is meant by the other, i.e. ethnic, national, geographical, etc. Secondly, it was surprising for me to see that 'Turkish' comes first in this configuration of the name. If it is not meant to geographically refer to the country Turkey, why doesn't it only follow Kurdish but come first? The same thing applies to the name of Day-Mer, which is the main association that established the TKFF. Day-Mer also calls itself as 'Turkish and Kurdish Community Centre' with its logo of a map of Turkey in the shape of two hands, one on the West and one on the East of Turkey, shaking[34] (see Figure 5.6).

This seems to suggest that both Day-Mer and TKFF have chosen to emphasise Turkey as their country-of-origin over their ethnic Kurdish identity. This same thing is evident in the logos of both Day-Mer and the TKFF. Not only have they chosen to emphasise Turkey as their country-of-origin, they have also chosen to give a reconciliatory message by the shaking of hands referring to the potential of football for bringing people together. This fits perfectly well with the discussion on the lack of any regulation in the TKFF leagues concerning the ethnic or cultural identities of individuals or clubs.

[34] The Eastern part of Turkey is geographically the part where the majority of Turkey's Kurdish population is concentrated. Therefore, the Eastern and the Western parts of the country shaking hands symbolically refers to peace and friendship between Kurds and Turks.





Figures 5.6-5.7 Official logos of the TKFF and Kurdish Community organisation Day-Mer, respectively
[Taken from http://www.daymer.org]

5.2.5 Shifting Across Different Identities

Indisputably, each individual has multiple identities including gender identities, ethnicity, religious affiliation, political ideology, sexual orientation, citizenship, and so on. People have also been documented to move across different identity discourses, either deliberately and strategically or not (Baumann 1996; Burdsey 2008; K. Hall 1995). Thus I have focused on the question of multiple and shifting identities in the field of Turkish-speaking football in London. Firstly, it is a perfect exemplification of how fluidly and dynamically immigrants shift across several collective and individual identities depending on their perception of the context. For instance, in the training sessions of individual clubs, the most prominent identities are those of individuals. I observed this most vividly during the training sessions of *Boğaziçi* FC and the London Turkish Masters FC. Both these teams are quite homogeneous with respect to their ethnic composition, both populated almost exclusively by Turkish-Cypriots. In the training sessions where no other dominant collective identity is significantly present, each individual's actions and relationships with

others appear to and are interpreted to reflect his own personality. I remember my first training session with the London Turkish Masters FC. I immediately recognised *Gascoigne* as the captain/leader of the team before anybody introduced him to me. He was collecting the monthly fees from each player, giving them instructions about the upcoming tournament in Antalya. Then, *Cantona* arrived in the locker room and the whole atmosphere lightened up. He started recounting a funny goal he scored against Anchovy, the mascot of the team, by imitating what Anchovy had done in an obviously exaggerated manner. His voice was so high and his laughs were so indifferent to the others in the locker room; *Van Basten*, who took me to the training session, turned to me, sighed and said, "Well, this is *Cantona*". During the training session everyone criticised the coach, Abdullah, for being too tough, though he himself admitted this was a necessary evil for the upcoming tournament. My observation about the prominence of personality and individual identities over any collective identification got stronger in the next training session the following week. This time, there was a guy from Turkey who asked to join in and was welcomed. Very quickly I started to hear things about how ambitious the *Türkiyelis* were and how much more fun it is to play football the 'Cypriot way'. Apparently, this guy's ambition and aggressive way of playing was not attributed to 'his personality' but to the fact that he was from Turkey. The Turkish- Cypriot v. *Türkiyeli* divide became evident in the presence of only one player.

This shift in the identity discourses was very evident depending on the matches. Whenever two Turkish-Cypriot teams play in the TCFF leagues, all the talk has to focus on the respective local identities these two teams are meant to be representing. Particularly when there is a preexisting history of rivalry and special competition between two teams that might or might not be stemming all the way from Cyprus, the identity discourse gets stronger. This was most vividly observable in the matches between the *Doğan Türk Birliği* (*DTB*) and *Iskele* in the TCFF 2nd Division, and *Akıncılar* and *Yalova* in the 1st Division.

While the rivalry between *DTB* and Iskele is a very old one that has been brought to London by the immigrants from Nicosia and Larnaka, the rivalry between *Akıncılar* and *Yalova* has emerged in London by the fact that these two club have won every single cup in London without exception for the past couple of years. No matter what creates this rivalry, though, during their matches one can easily sense the extra tension in the air. Also, in addition to the impact on the players, these games also see an unusual number of supporters from each village. It is also noteworthy that this prominence of the local identity during such games are lived and embodied by the team players who have nothing to do with those localities. *Ribery*, a Turkish player from Kayseri says: “it is very important for us (*Akıncılar*) to beat *Yalova*. This rivalry is the most important in the Turkish league now and we are the oldest community here. We need to protect our reputation”.



Figure 5.8 A highly unusual precaution: Before the highly anticipated DTB- Iskele match, the playing field is surrounded by a tape preventing people from interfering with the game. The match was going to determine the Champion of the TCFF 2nd Division.
[Photo by KOU]

The situation is quite similar with respect to games between Turkish-Cypriot teams and *Türkiyeli* teams. The very first time I went to watch a game, it was May 2010, before my field study had even started, during the TCFF Federation Cup final between *Beşiktaş* and *Akıncılar*. *Beşiktaş* is a *Türkiyeli* team which had finished the TCFF 2nd Division as the unbeaten champion that season and the club was run by Kurdish individuals. The 1st Division champion, *Akıncılar*, was leading 2-1 towards the end of the game when the fighting started, not only among the people in the football field, but also the supporters who quickly joined in. The game was called off and *Akıncılar* was announced as the winner later on. What was very striking to me was to observe that while the *Akıncılar* supporters interpreted the fight as an act of a classical *Türkiyeli* attitude of being a 'sore loser' and not accepting the defeat, the *Beşiktaş* supporters thought that it was because of the traditional Cypriot tricks against any *Türkiyeli* team that might be successful. The *Akıncılar* people thought the *Türkiyeli* immigrants needed more time to better 'integrate', while *Beşiktaş* side blamed both the TCFF and *Akıncılar* not only for discriminating against them but also for being 'racist' and 'anti-Kurdish'.

Another Kurdish team in the TCFF, *Gaziantepspor* FC, complain excessively about how the Cypriots hold them back and always discriminate against the *Türkiyeli* teams. However, when they played against *Karadeniz Genclik*, which is a quite nationalistic Turkish club, their coach tells me how their opponents never play as tough in the other games as they are playing against *Gaziantep*. Accordingly, it was because they are Kurdish that the Black Sea region team plays extra aggressively. So, the discourse has shifted once more from a Cypriot-*Türkiyeli* divide to one of Turkish-Kurdish divide.

The situation and locus of identification changes yet again when a TCFF team is playing against a 'foreign' team in one of LFA tournaments. For example, when *Yalova* FC played against the 'Enfield Crusaders' on 3 April 2011, in the Final of LFA's Sunday Junior Cup,

the coach motivated his team by saying “we are playing for the half-a-million Turkish people in London!”. This identification with the whole Turkish-speaking community is apparently different from representing the Turkish-Cypriots or Yalova villagers in London. Additionally, the support on the ground from those same people who complain about Turkish-Cypriot discrimination proves that the Turkish-speaking community also considers the teams playing against a ‘foreign’ team as representing the whole Turkish-speaking community. In this case, this situation was even strengthened by the fact that the opponent’s name included ‘crusaders’- which sparked an even stronger reference to and identification with the Turkish-Muslim identity. This form of stronger identification and easier unification under one identity is to be observed either when a Turkish-speaking club or the Turkish-Community mixed team is playing against a ‘quintessential opponent’. In London, these are the KOPA teams and to a lesser extent the Jewish Community’s Macabbi League representatives.

5.3 The Field of Ethnic Football: Hybrid, Diasporic Identities in a Publicly Owned Private Space

British Indians were asked in 1990 before a cricket game between India and England, to whom they were loyal (Burdsey 2007: 79). According to Conservative MP Norman Tebitt, there should not have been any doubt about this question:

> If you come to live in a country and take up the passport of that country, and you see your future and your family’s future in that country, it seems to me that is your country. You can’t just keep harking back” (Werbner 2001: 226)

What is later to be known as the ‘Tebitt test’ or the ‘cricket test’ suggested that supporting England against the diasporic homeland would be a clear indication of the loyalty of these

new citizens. Indians have failed that test as a vast majority of British Indians supported India against England (Burdsey 2007: 79). However, in one of these test games, something that may be surprising for Mr. Tebbit happened. While India and England were playing, and a big crowd of British Asians was supporting India, they learnt that England had just qualified for the Euro 96 semi-finals in football. The crowd cheered the news with joy and "it was clear that whilst they may have failed Norman Tebbit's 'cricket test', they would have passed a comparative 'football test' with flying colours" (Sarita 2002: 124). The lesson here is, obviously, not on sports but on contexts.

It seems to be abundantly clear now that it is just wrong to assume that British Indians in the above case, and immigrants and ethnic minorities in general, have to operate in a dichotomous model that purports such people "to be caught between two cultures" (Burdsey, 2007: 95). This is even though the immigrants themselves very often use the same terminology (Baumann 1996). In my study, I have heard so many times this dichotomous and mutually exclusive model of cultural identity myself. Caglar (1997: 170) suggests that to be able to focus on the "disjunct subjectivities of persons with multilocale and translocal attachments" a number of new concepts had to be used. 'Diasporic identities' was one of them (Caglar, 1997). The distinctive feature of these diasporic identities as well is their, by definition, hybridity: "diasporic experience ... is defined, not by essence or purity, but by recognition of a necessary heterogeneity and diversity; by a conception of 'identity' which lives with and through, not despite, difference; by hybridity" (S. Hall 1990: 235).

Hybrid, diasporic identities are what I have found in the field of Turkish-speaking football in London. As Baumann (1996) suggested almost two decades ago, although the immigrants themselves sometimes resort to essentialist and reified notions of their cultural and ethnic identities, the discourses shift and change in different contexts. I have attempted to

document the same thing in my own case above. My main intention in this chapter, however, has not been to focus on either the contents or the discourses of cultural and ethnic identities. In other words, I have not concerned myself in this chapter with questions like, 'What does it mean to be Turkish?', or 'Who is Kurdish?', or 'How does a Turkish-Cypriot behave?'. I will deal with some of these questions in the context of gender and masculinity in Chapter 6 while reviewing discourses of hegemonic masculinity. In this chapter, I have been mainly interested in how different notions of collective identities are produced and reproduced, negotiated and contested, transmitted and represented in the field of Turkish-speaking football. As with our close primate relatives, Bonobos, with which I started off this chapter, the desire to categorise the members of our species into groups of 'us' and 'them' is a universal fact for the human beings. In this chapter, I tried to look at some of the mechanisms and ways of defining 'us' and 'them', which is undoubtedly a process of social and cultural construction shaped and limited by the specific context of the field in which they operate.

I do not wish to repeat the effectiveness of football as a mechanism to attract people, especially young people, and to construct and embody identities. I will discuss these in the coming three chapters. There is, however, something else that can be further underlined here and it is the fact that the field of ethnic football constitutes a particularly useful platform for the construction and embodiment of identities. I do not refer to the characteristics of football but to the characteristics of the field itself as an inclusive public space, at least for male members of the community, which is managed mostly by the community itself. The space appears to be ideally situated in between the private sphere and the public sphere. The private sphere seems to be associated with the Turkish-speaking ethnic and cultural identities, the Turkish (and Kurdish) language, the authentic ethnic cuisines, Turkish satellite TV, a firm patriarchal leadership, and the strongest sense of belonging and acceptance. From the perspective of the individual immigrant, in other

words, the private sphere is that which belongs to him/her, where he/she can be 'him/herself' most safely and easily.

The public sphere, on the other hand, is quite different in the diaspora. Even in the absence of open and explicit discrimination, racism, and xenophobia, the public sphere never belongs to the immigrant in the same way that his/her home does. This may look like a dull point which is the same for everyone, whether they are an immigrant or not, but in truth it is not the same at all. The degree to which one feels safe and at ease on the street or in the park depends significantly on the strength of sense of belonging of the individual. The more closely regulated and strictly structured the public space is, the more likely it is that the immigrant will feel less 'at home'. If, on top of all this, there is exclusion and discrimination, the situation is much more adverse for an immigrant.

The field of Turkish-speaking football, I have found, constitutes a peculiar space. It is public in the sense that it is open to anyone and everyone (albeit with the some stated restrictions on numbers); most of the time you spend your time with a large number of diverse people in the parks; you play in a league that is registered to and operates under the authority of the London Football Association; you are involved in an activity which is a common passion for you, for other migrants, and for wider British society; you are at a place where you are not in close proximity to the members of your family; and you enjoy a significant degree of freedom.

However, it is also private in the sense that it is called the 'Turkish Community Football League' (or the 'Turkish and Kurdish Football League') and that you are a member of this community; you can speak, joke around, and swear in Turkish; you talk about similar issues and problems with your mates; when you win a match, you can dance the traditional dance of your town; everybody around you knows who you are; people accept and value you for who you are; although there is great diversity, you are sure that you are

surrounded by a lot of people who have experienced a lot of what you have experienced; and so, you enjoy a significant degree of security.

Therefore, especially for the younger players but also for the more senior members of this field, the ethnic community leagues are the most conveniently hybrid social spaces to form, experiment with, and express all the hybrid diasporic identities. The freedom and safety simultaneously enjoyed in the field of Turkish-speaking football, combined with the joys and lure of actually playing the 'beautiful game' makes it one of the most dynamic places to observe and experience diasporic identities. One important general conclusion of my fieldwork would be that while the clubs, leagues, social events, role models, and so on have been extremely successful in (re)producing, embodying, and representing collective identities in the sense that they do create an identification on the part of those who get involved in the field, the substantive content of that identity is inevitably and infinitely diverse and hybrid. In other words, the Turkish-speaking football leagues have definitely managed to make many kids who were born and bred in London, never having been in Cyprus, to call themselves *Boğaziçi köyünden* (from Boğaziçi village). However, to make them understand and feel as close to the same thing as possible when they say they are *Boğaziçi köyünden* as their coaches or administrators do, the field of football is extremely under-equipped. What it is abundantly equipped to do thanks to its nature as a competitive sport and its history in the Western World, is to create hegemonic masculinities and to interfuse the ethnic identities with these hegemonic notions of masculinity. I turn to this issue in the next chapter.

CHAPTER 6 Gendered Discourses and Construction of Masculine Ethnic Identities in the Field of Turkish-Speaking Football

6.1 Introduction

The field of Turkish-speaking football is advertised to be, and in many ways acts as, an open social space that welcomes everybody no matter what their ethnic, socio-economic, political, and religious background may be. One very significant exception, though, is obvious from the outset: the women. The field of Turkish-speaking football in London is almost exclusively a male site. While there are a few women who are involved with the clubs or come occasionally to watch some important games, overall their number is negligible. In this chapter, I will argue that in addition to being itself an implication of the patriarchal structure of the Turkish-speaking community and the constructed 'masculine nature' of football as a sport; the exclusion of women from the field of Turkish-speaking amateur football also has massively significant implications for the construction of masculine ethnic identities.

It has been suggested by many researchers that 'football is a site of controlled masculinity' (Burgess et al. 2003: 199) and involvement in it acts 'as a masculine rite of passage' (Leonard 1993: 253). In the following, I will attempt to show that the field of Turkish-speaking football in London is, indeed, a significant social space for the construction of gendered ethnic identities as well as for the production and reproduction of 'hegemonic masculinities' and culturally sanctioned gender orders. To this end, I will first

overview the historical development of modern competitive sports as social institutions that reflect the dominant social values and power relations in the Western context. This brief overview shall also show that, from the very beginning, sports were designed to be and utilised as mediums to socialise young individuals, particularly males, with a set of desired values and experiences.

Then, I will provide the ethnographic account on how the specific field of Turkish-speaking football has been utilised in the construction of masculine ethnic identities. In this part, I will exemplify and analyse the dominant discourses that contain and reproduce a hegemonic masculinity in the field. These include discourses of football not only as a 'men's game' but also as a 'manly game'; the ethnicised discourses of gender on how to be a 'proper Turkish (or Cypriot or Kurdish) man'; discourses that construct the hegemonic masculinity in stark contrast with femininity and homosexuality; and lastly discourses that define the proper Turkish men through relations of domination with the opposite sex.

Next, I will argue that although women are not physically present in the field in significant numbers, their presence as well as absence are crucial to the construction of Turkish masculinity. This is through the specific, and feminine, roles and responsibilities women assume in the field. There are also, however, growing challenges to the masculinity of the field as well as to the expected feminine roles assigned to women within it. These challenges are being mounted by women who are interested in and enjoy football and refuse to exist in the field only in prescribed roles. On the other hand, I will show that these challenges also work as part of the construction and reproduction of masculinity since the women seem to feel the need to act more masculine and 'less girlie' to get acceptance in the field.

Lastly, I will discuss whether the fear of losing the youth, as described in the previous chapter, can be seen as a manifestation of a 'crisis of masculinity' in a double sense. The

discussion will also attempt to shed more analytical light on the success of community organisation through football since the establishment period of the TCFF in the 1970s.

6.2 Football and Masculinity: A Brief Historical Overview

Today, there appears to be an obvious and immediate link between some competitive sports, certainly including football, and construction and reproduction of masculine identities. Before looking at my ethnographic case, I would like to give a brief account on the origins of modern sports, with particular references to the British and American contexts, to show that the medium of sport has, to a significant extent, been deliberately designed in such a way to be useful in conveying messages about hegemonic notions of masculinity. In other words, while the Gramscian concept of hegemony can be shown through the complex and dynamic power relations at play in any social aspect of life, sports have been one of the few perfectly suited fields to construct and reproduce hegemonic masculinities.

We should start by acknowledging that sport (as distinct from play) is not something that has been a natural part of human life (McKay 1991); rather, it is a constructed social institution that reflects dominant social values and power relations (Messner 1992). It has been persuasively argued that modern sport has originated from deliberate attempts by ruling-class hegemonies to control the character development of school-aged males in late-19th-century and early-20th-century Britain and America (Burgess et al. 2003; McKay 1991; Messner 1992). One of the most significant factors that acted as a catalyst for these attempts was a ‘crisis of masculinity’ (Messner 1992), which was experienced as a result of the large scale economic and social transformations amongst White, ruling-class males and culminated into fears that society was becoming ‘feminised’ (Burgess et al. 2003:

199). Hence the boys were in dire need of discipline and training in 'how to be a man' in the quickly changing social fabric of the time.

Burgess et al. (2003: 200) continue to explain how sports as a means and site of 'controlled masculinity' have emerged at schools:

> Some of the games of the Middle Ages were thus reconstituted and new ones devised so that **sport (or controlled masculinity)** could be taught to schoolboys in an organised and systematic manner. These sports incorporated **displays of strength, power and/or endurance,** and usually involved **physical violence between the participants,** thereby reinforcing notions of **male physical prowess**.
>
> Hence, headmasters in privileged schools in Britain instigated sport not for the mere pleasure of physical exercise, but for the **inculcation of ideological values**. Through sport, unruly males were taught social control and deference to authority. Through sport nationalism and social class status were reinforced. Most significantly, **through sport hegemonic definitions of what constituted an acceptable male were created**.
>
> Since sport was devised to produce a particular kind of masculinity and to demonstrate **the superiority of males over females, and because it was inherently violent, tough and strenuous, only boys and men were encouraged to participate.** By necessity, the prevailing logic dictated, **women were excluded**.
>
> **In Britain and across the Atlantic, sport became heralded as character building, as instilling moral virtues into boys and turning them into men**. Parents were counselled in advice, books suggested that sport was integral to a boy's appropriate development, and dire warnings became commonplace that **without sport boys would become 'womanlike, delicate and degenerate'**.
>
> **Sport is now indelibly connected to 'hegemonic masculinity'** (emphasis added).

The above account, albeit being somewhat simplistic in regarding the development of modern sports as part of an ideological project in a completely top-down manner, does capture the inherent connection that was established between football and masculinity. It is a testament to the suitability of football as a way to 'educate' boys, and particularly boys, and instill hegemonic notions of masculinity by design. That the rules and general nature of football as a sport are based on both competition and solidarity cannot be denied, both violence and respect for rules, both mental strength and physical prowess, both aspiration for success and acceptance of a hierarchy, and so on; has made it a perfect tool to attract the boys, keep them under control and discipline, and teach them how to be proper men.

As I will try to show in my own ethnographic case below, the 'proper' is constructed in a context-specific basis thereby fusing the masculine identity with other significant collective identities such as ethnicity, race, and nationality.

6.3 Gendered Discourses and Construction of Masculine Identities in the Field of Turkish-Speaking Football

I have repeatedly mentioned in previous chapters that the one unifying common concern that has acted as a significant catalyst for the establishment of and organisation around amateur football has been the fear of 'losing the youth'. The desire has been to keep them in check, to protect them from moral degeneration, to save them from the dangers of streets, sex, and drugs. Quite apparently, the youth in question are the young males. The adults (both men and women) want their boys to grow up into proper Turkish men. Therefore, looking at the establishment and evolution of the Turkish-speaking leagues, I would suggest that this 'crisis of identity' is essentially also a 'crisis of masculinity' similar to the one that has been discussed above in the British and American contexts which boosted the development of modern competitive sports. Only this time, I would argue, this crisis has an inherently ethnic and diasporic nature to it, too. I will elaborate on what I mean by a 'crisis of ethnic masculinity' in the last section of this chapter after having presented the ethnographic evidence.

A key point to keep in mind is that social identities are constructed in a very dynamic and complex manner. This does not only suggest that we cannot investigate racial, religious, ethnic identities as separate from the gender and class identities; more significantly, it also suggests that in many cases these identities are constructed in conjunction with one another. As Carrington (1998: 275) points out; 'if we are to fully appreciate how social

identities are constructed, we need to produce more critical theorisations of the intersections of race with gender, nation, and class'.

The field of Turkish-speaking football is undoubtedly one of the most significant spaces to investigate the intersection of ethnic and cultural identities with gender identities and relations. As such, the evidence presented below can be seen to concern a 'masculine ethnicity' as well as an 'ethnicised masculinity'. Messner (1992: 19) highlights this link when considering the resistance of subordinated groups via sports: "subordinated groups of men often used sport to resist racist, colonial, and class domination, and their resistance most often took the form of a claim to 'manhood"'.

In the following, I will provide ethnographic evidence on how a hegemonic masculinity has been constructed and reproduced in the field of Turkish-speaking football in London. As Connell (1990: 83-94) defined it, hegemonic masculinity is 'the culturally idealised form of masculine character' which emphasises 'the connecting of masculinity to toughness and competitiveness' as well as 'the subordination of women' and 'the marginalisation of gay men'. I broke the hegemonic masculinity into its various defining aspects, although it should not be taken as a static and uniformly accepted cultural end-product, but a dynamic and ongoing process of definition and contestation. I have defined six such aspects of the hegemonic Turkish masculinity that is constructed and reproduced in my field.

6.3.1 'Football is both a Men's Game and a Manly Game': Construction of Masculinity

The association of football with hegemonic masculinity is well documented and its history is briefly reviewed above. The discourse concerning the nature of football as a game in my field is not very different than upheld globally (Archetti 1994; Carrington 1998; Clayton and

Harris 2004; Spaaij 2008). It is a tough sport in which strength, stamina, endurance, and aggressiveness are the valued and desired features. With these and similar features also being constructed as masculine, football is firmly established as a manly game. This 'fact' is reminded to any player whenever he may start complaining about strictness of the training programme or the toughness of the opponent player: 'it is a men's game, bruv!' or 'if you don't like this, go and play tennis'. The reputation of football as a men's game and a manly game is constructed and constantly reproduced outside of the field as well. Not only boys who don't happen to like football invite skepticism about their 'boy-ness', the girls who like football are branded 'boyish'. Again, this is not peculiar either to the Turkish-speaking community or to the sport of football. Kimmel (1990: 55) quotes an American author, Zane Grey, saying; 'All boys love baseball. If they don't, they're not real boys'. Similar quotations and sentiments are easy to find in different cultural contexts with reference to different sports or activities. However, in the case of the Turkish-speaking community in London, it is definitely football.

The 'manliness' of the field is not merely limited to the actual playing of the sport or its formal rules. There is a whole masculine culture constructed around the sport. The captain of *Mevlana* FC, *Gerrard*, explains:

> It is a game of sacrifices. So, sometimes you have to do certain things besides playing football. For instance, if one of your mates is treated wrongly on the pitch, it is your duty to stand up for him, even if that might mean you have to fight and get sent off the field. The cost of deserting your friend in time of need is much bigger. ...
>
> I am not the captain because I am the best player of the team. I am the captain because I possess leadership qualities: endurance, aggressiveness, standing up for what I think is right and never running away from any opponent. If you are like this, you get respect. Not only from your teammates and friends, but also from your opponents and enemies. It is the same in life.

It is noteworthy that, as the above quote shows, the discourse of masculinity within the field of football is almost always constructed by drawing parallels with life outside of the field. The very same qualities that make one a proper man who is fit to play football and

deserves the esteem of his peers, make one also a proper Turkish man in life: strong, loyal, aggressive, reliable, tough, fair, fearless, honest, and so on.

As the above definition by Connell (1990) of hegemonic masculinity shows that connecting masculinity to idealised values of competition and toughness is only one part of the process. The very important other parts include 'domination of women' and 'marginalisation of homosexuals'. In fact, the construction of collective identities has been shown to be easier and more effective when they are situated against opposing or conflicting identities (Bandyopadhyay 2009; Baumann 1996; Bradley 2006; Burdsey 2007; Cronin and Mayall 1998). In addition, if the 'us' is constructed in the presence of and in reference to a 'them', it is stronger and more cohesive. In the field of ethnic community football, probably the most significant 'other' is women and femininity. Men are told not to 'act like little girls', 'be pussies', or 'whine like a bitch'. Acts that are considered inappropriate are usually associated with femininity to establish that they are not seen as acceptable behaviour.

The second major group of 'others' is the other, and inferior, men. For instance, the proper Turkish man is not to act like the 'English boy' or sometimes an 'English baby'[35]. So, the difference between a boy/baby and a man is enhanced with the ethnicity. In other words, just as the constructed masculinity is an ethnicised one, its counter-identity also needs to be so. Just as the constructed masculine identity needs to shift depending on the different contexts, so does the constructed counter-image. So, when a TCFF team plays against a representative from a local London league, the above reference can be easily heard. However, when the match is between a Turkish Mixed Team and a Cypriot League Mixed Team, the 'other's' identity also shifts. Its inferiority usually remains the same, though. So,

[35] I found it interesting to hear this expression quite commonly because whenever we talked about football and footballing cultures of different people, most of my informants praised the English game and English players for their physical toughness and stamina. Therefore, the 'English baby' that they refer to seems to be outside of the football pitch, perhaps the more polite and well-educated individuals from 'higher' classes.

the Greek-Cypriots, Jews, and clubs representing other ethnic identities are treated in the same way in different contexts. When it is the competition between a Turkish-Cypriot and *Türkiyeli* team, the coach of the latter motivates his players by underscoring the former team's long history in London and the fact that they don't even speak proper Turkish in a way to insinuate they are not as tough as the *Türkiyeli* team itself. In this context, it is possible to detect the often-voiced sentiment that the Cypriots have become assimilated and turning more into English boys than they are Turkish men.

The last major group of 'others' in whose expense and counter-image the hegemonic Turkish masculinity is constructed are homosexuals, who are literally nonexistent in the field, at least openly. The Turkish men also hear that they need to be as far away from being and acting like 'sissies, fags, or softies' as possible. The hegemonic Turkish masculinity is always a hetero-normative one that depicts homosexuality as immoral, sick, and degenerate. Although the negative image of homosexuality is so strong in the field of Turkish-speaking football, it is ever present in the daily life in a variety of ways and it does more than merely acting as a counter-image of normal manhood. In other words, it roams within the field of Turkish-speaking football as an active agent of construction and reproduction of masculinity. This issue is one that I turn to in the next section.

According to Messner (1992), 'all boys are to a greater or lesser extent, judged according to their ability, or lack of ability in competitive sports' (p. 163). Indeed, in the field of Turkish-speaking football all players constantly judge and are judged by each other. An ability to play football is certainly a very significant 'plus' in this constant assessment. The star players always have many friends, they are considered cool, and they have a headstart as the potential leaders of their teams. However, talent and ability in football is not the only thing about which the boys judge and are judged. There is also the ever present question of whether one 'talks like a man, walks like a man, and acts like a man'.

In so many significant ways this latter judgement is much more important than the ability in determining the social positions of individuals in the field. The awareness of this fact is so obvious in the way that players talk to each other and act when other players are around; and how different these are from the way they spoke or acted when alone with me during the interviews and other occasions. The social use of body and language to express the properly masculine Turkishness is a perfect example of how the habitus acts in the field. These codes of conduct, you can very easily tell, are not just masks strategically put on depending on the context. You feel the naturalness of the switches, 'it is just the way you act', when you know you are one of the primary owners and natural members of the field: 'Hey bruv, nice day to kick some ass, innit bruv?'

6.3.2 'Masculine Ethnicity' or 'Ethnicised Masculinity'

Although the field of Turkish-speaking football is apparently and thoroughly masculine, the women do enter the field in a number of contexts and a variety of roles. In most cases, as it will be further demonstrated in the next section, they are 'brought along' by men, instead of coming themselves. Once they are there, however, the expression of masculinity becomes so much more intense that it is impossible not to feel that women are around. *Cantona*, one of the veterans of the TCFF league and a current player of the London Turkish Masters FC, told me a very interesting memory of his after a training session.

> I brought my (now ex-) wife to watch one of my matches. During the game, one player kept swearing. I warned him, I said 'don't swear bro, *karımız-kızımız izliyor* [our wives and daughters are here watching]. Then the guy turned to me and said 'Fuck your wife and daughter!' I blacked out from anger and jumped on him. I first smashed his face and broke his nose. I would have probably killed him if it wasn't for my nephew who could barely hold and stop me, because I was continuously hitting him in the head. If I had a gun or a knife in my hand at that moment, I would have killed him.

After recounting this incident, which apparently took place many years ago, as pretty much a one-sided affair involving him beating up the other guy, he continues in a different tone:

> So, what happened after all? What did that idiot manage to do? We both had our faces and noses smashed, that's all. What did he achieve?

I immediately sensed that he was exaggerating the extent to which he dominated the fight he was telling me about so that he could look tough to me, another Turkish guy who, he must have thought, would think highly of him for dominating another guy. However, what is qualitatively very different here is the nature of the quarrel between the guy and *Cantona*, because for him, he was defending the honour of his woman as any Turkish man would have done in those circumstances. He was sure in his emphatic utterance of this heroic (or barbaric, depending on the perspective) act that I would understand and sympathise with his frustration and agree with his verdict. Yet, what is more interesting for the purposes of my research was what happened next:

> The referee reported this fight to the LFA which then gave me a very heavy punishment. They banned me from the league for a year. This was very tough on me so I appealed to the LFA and they invited me for a hearing. I went to them and explained to them that I was right to do what I did. I told them what that guy did was unacceptable **in my culture. This is a reason to kill someone for my race. You cannot say to a man** 'Fuck your wife!'

Clearly, he was not only feeling obligated to defend the honour of his wife as a man, he was feeling particularly appalled as a 'Turkish man'. The words he chose to explain the combination of ethnic and gender identities were fascinating. He first said that it was an unacceptable offense in 'his culture'. However he didn't stop there, he went on to defend what he did in the name of 'his race'. I am not certain what he meant by 'my race' in this context as the concept of race has a loose and common usage in the field of Turkish-speaking football. Apart from the more conventional use of 'Whites v. Blacks', which comes

up quite often concerning the African players in the league; the Kurds and Turks also use the term quite frequently to protest what they consider to be the Turkish-Cypriot discrimination against them. In this case, however, I feel safe to speculate that *Cantona* was talking about his Turkishness as his race. Once again, he felt that he could not just consider what happened and how to react as a man, he must have acted as a Turkish man, a man of his culture and his 'race'.

The importance of the context needs also to be considered. Following *Cantona*'s appeal and testimony, the LFA actually reduced the punishment from suspension for a year to just two weeks. To confirm this, I asked the TCFF president of the time whether this was true. He not only confirmed the reduction of the LFA punishment, but also said it was a significant success of the TCFF Committee of the time. Accordingly, they stood by *Cantona* and asked for additional care for the 'cultural sensitivity' of the case.

It appears that the hegemonic Turkish masculinity in the field of TCFF football found its way all the way to the LFA disciplinary offices and received acceptance. The message of the LFA was clear; 'we feel that this aggressive and physically abusive act has to be strictly punished, but we also acknowledge and accept that the player's said action has some justificatory ground in his culture.' As we are talking about the LFA and London in the late 1990s, it is not very difficult to imagine that this decision was, at least partly, a reflection of the dominant Multiculturalist framework. Would it have happened in exactly the same way in a hypothetical TCFF in Paris, France? It is impossible to know but not very difficult to guess the answer. I think this incident and the way LFA had handled it demonstrates that construction of a hegemonic ethnic masculinity was not significantly obstructed in the London context, if not actively helped.

How is this hegemonic Turkish masculinity constructed and reproduced? One obvious answer is that it is constructed and reproduced when *Cantona* attacks someone, who had

been swearing incessantly anyway, at the moment he swore at his wife; it is constructed and reproduced when he justifies his action on the basis not only of his gender but also of his 'culture' and 'race'; its hegemonic status was confirmed when the TCFF embraced his justification and asked for leniency on his case based on 'cultural sensitivities'; it is reproduced when LFA actually accepts this defense; and, it is reproduced when *Cantona* brags about smashing another guy's face all those years later to prove that he doesn't refrain from doing the right thing or from defending his honour as a Turkish man.

6.3.3 'Play like a Man, not a Sissy': Homophobia in the Field of Turkish-Speaking Ethnic Football

One common feature of the hegemonic masculinities in most sporting realms is their hetero-normativity and homophobia so that boys who do not possess the interest or ability to take part in such realms are very commonly treated as abnormal, and branded 'girls', 'sissies', 'sheilas', 'poofters', 'fags', 'gays', and 'queers' (Coakley 1994; McKay 1991; Messner 1992). The proper form of being a Turkish man is defined more often as the opposite of being a homosexual than as the opposite of being a woman. Being homosexual is frequently referred to in the field of Turkish-speaking football as being *kırık* (broken)*, yumuşak* (soft), *yuvarlak* (round), and *top* (a ball) is pretty much the worst thing any male can be. As such, it is a major insult. However, homosexuality is ever-present in the field of Turkish-speaking football as a laughing stock. The use of a term or an insinuation that could easily and quickly start a fight between two unfamiliar individuals is very often used as a friendly joking tool which indicates the closeness of the friends. Of course, it is also evident that by using it as a friendly insult individuals also declare openly that they are not homosexual, that they are 'normal men'.

Anchovy[36], who was born in Cyprus and moved to London as a teenager, is one of the most widely known figures in the TCFF leagues. I don't know his real name and I am not sure as to what exactly he does there. Probably he doesn't know either, but I saw him everywhere during my 1.5-year in the field: at the matches, the TCFF monthly meetings, Mixed Team training sessions, Masters FC training sessions, and at all three of my international research trips (see Figure 6.1). 'He is the league's mascot', I was often told. He talks to everyone in a quite rough tone, engages in mock verbal fights, humorously mimics coaches and player, teases people and gets teased back. Everybody seems to like him, nobody seems to take him seriously. He is also known to be a sworn enemy of one of the biggest Turkish football clubs, *Fenerbahçe* SK.



Figure 6.1 Anchovy, the mascot of the TCFF league is presenting the TCFF penant to another team mascot at the Antalya International veteran football tournament. [Photos by KOU]

[36] Anchovy, in fact, is a small fish common in Turkey's Black Sea region. This nickname, obviously, is given to him ironically in reference to his physique (see Figure 6.1).





Figures 6.2-6.3 *Anchovy*, one of the most popular mascots of TCFF football, wearing a t-shirt that says '*Fenerbahçeyi tutacağıma Fatih Ürek olayım*' (I would rather become Fatih Urek than support Fenerbahce') (above); Fatih Ürek on the cover of one of his older albums (below).
[Photo by KOU and one taken from http://www.itusozluk.com/gorseller/fatih+%FCrek/80170 , respectively]

So, when I saw him at Pymmes Park on a Sunday wearing a t-shirt with an anti-*Fenerbahçe* message, I was neither amused as a *Fenerbahçe* fan nor surprised. What was quite interesting was the way he chose to insult *Fenerbahçe*. The back of his t-shirt reads 'I would rather become Fatih Ürek than support *Fenerbahçe*' (see Figure 6.2). Fatih Ürek is an openly homosexual Turkish singer who is very famous in Turkey (see Figure 6.3). So, *Anchovy* is saying in a very public way that it would be a really terrible thing to 'become' Fatih Ürek, which should be read as 'gay', but it is even worse to support Fenerbahçe. The message also gives hints as to how homosexuality itself is perceived in the field of Turkish-speaking football. It is something you become. This is quite a common conception in the field. Many adults have expressed their concern about the danger the boys are facing and how some boys may 'turn' gay if their parents do not show sufficient care or give sufficient discipline to them. I have also heard some people suggesting that homosexuality is a disease and that it is wrong to hate or blame homosexuals, because it is not their fault, God gave them this sickness. However, it is best to be careful and vigilant so that boys learn to become proper men.

I found the use of homophobia and hetero-normativity to be very widespread in construction and reproduction of masculine identities in the field particularly among the adults who were born in Cyprus or Turkey and then migrated to London. At the end of one TCFF monthly meeting and after the majority of the attendants left, a group of eight to nine men stayed and started drinking a traditional Cypriot cognac and telling stories about Turkish-Cypriot football in London. I was invited to stay and join them, strongly feeling that some of the stories were told specifically because I was there. People were making quick eye contact with me in between telling their stories and trying to make sure that I was following them. I remember one particular conversation as very striking. The President of *Yalova* FC, a Turkish-Cypriot club in the TCFF First Division, told a story about a male homosexual singer who was apparently from the same town as the President of the TCFF.

He, then, concluded his story asking the TCFF President why it was that most '*ibneler'* (fags) in Cyprus always lived in that particular town. Everyone was laughing to this teasing joke that implied that the President himself might be gay as he was from that 'gay' town. So far, it was quite usual as I was accustomed to hear such teasing and joking about the masculinity of other men. However, the President's response to that question was remarkable:

> Do you know why most fags always live in my town? Because the best of men are there, that's why! The fags have the best taste in men so they come after the best men!

He overstressed the words 'best of men' by changing his voice while lifting his arm making a punch. This was followed by even a bigger round of laughter. Apparently, homosexuality was being utilised not only negatively; it was also being used to construct masculinity in a positive way, i.e. a man is someone who is found attractive by and who dominates homosexuals. What the TCFF President said reflected an understanding of homosexuality as passivity and submissiveness with heterosexuality understood as activeness and domination, which is not uncommon in the field of Turkish-speaking football. Accordingly, the sexual categories are determined according to one crucial sexual act: domination (which is usually constructed as penetration). The active partner, the one who is penetrating, does receive some shunning and ridicule as an *oğlancı* (a pederast), but not nearly close to the shame of the passive partner, the one who is penetrated, who is called *ibne* (faggot) *or göt veren* (the ass-giver). Of course, such a view on homosexuality is nothing new and it has a very long history both in the Western and Eastern contexts. All the way back to Ancient Greece, 'men were encouraged to use penetrative sex for domination and control of the submissive partner' (Mottier 2008: 5). The long history of this same view is also well documented in the Ottoman Empire (Bardakci 1993; Gokyay 1978; Kuru 2007).

6.3.4 ‘Fuck you!’: Gendered and sexualised Insults and swearing

That hegemonic masculinity does view sexual intercourse as an act of domination which inevitably involves power relations is much more obvious in the very widespread use of sexualised swearing and verbal insults. The use of a sexual discourse is ever-present in the form of references to sexual intercourse and ‘fucking’. There is, however, a very interesting distinction in the employment of this sexualised swearing tool. In certain contexts, it is used as a direct and provocative insult to individuals. When, for example, two guys are confronting each other in a moment of escalating tension, the use of phrases such as ‘fuck you’ or ‘I will fuck you up’ or ‘fucking shut up’ implies a claim to domination. It is, at the same time, an insult to the masculinity of the other accusing him of being a homosexual. Through insulting and swearing using sexualised expressions of domination, (i) masculinity is constructed in direct opposition and stark contrast with femininity and homosexuality; (ii) the one using the swearing publicly display his own masculinity; and (iii) this form of insulting others becomes established in the field as the code for showing, and indeed, proving your ‘masculinity’ (see, for instance, McDowell and Schaffner 2011: 548-551). You can, then, hear that calling someone an ‘idiot’ is really a ‘gay way’ of insulting someone. Calling them a ‘fucking idiot’, on the other hand, immediately ‘mans things up’. Apparently, through the establishment of such codes of how a man talks, a masculine way of insulting others is constructed. I will give some examples below on how this is used not only by men, but also by women who try to prove that they are not just guests in the field of football but that they deserve to be there by embracing what they consider to be the ‘culture of football’ with its swearing.

More interesting for my research was the use of swearing as part of the everyday language throughout the field. In other words, swearing is not only used during a fight to insult someone, but in a wide variety of contexts to tease others, brag about

achievements, spice up stories, and merely describe events. There is a long list of words used to describe winning a match. One is 'we fucked you, remember?' Even for the highly masculine and rough field of football, however, this is most of the time too vulgar. So, people use different verbs that refer to the same conception of sexual domination but in indirect ways such as *koymak* (to lay)*, saplamak* (to thrust)*,* and *sokmak* (to insert). This has been becoming so widespread that everybody I talked to was complaining about it. For instance, *Müller* was telling me to what extent swearing has increased around the football fields now compared to the past:

> I used to bring my girlfriends to my matches very often in the past. Nowadays, there is so much swearing and fighting that I do not bring any of my girlfriends with me. Nobody even cares that women are around anymore.

Of course, the question then becomes, if everyone is complaining about too much swearing and how terrible it is, who is swearing? In the very same conversation, *Müller* tells me why he is not married anymore:

> Women fuck your life. A woman ruined my life. She fucked the mother of my life![37] So, now I don't trust women. They are only good for fucking, you know. You give them more importance than they deserve, and you will pay for it!

It appears that hegemonic masculinity requires a good command of the swearing jargon so that you can use the right words in right contexts to prove your manhood as well as expression of distaste with swearing itself. *Müller*'s expectation, as inconsistent as it may be, seems to be that men know not to swear when there are women around.

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[37] This may not make a lot of sense when translated into English, but in Turkish 'fuck your mother' is a speacially heavy insult and in this sentence he said 'she fucked the mother of my life *(hayatımın anasını sikti)*', instead of 'she fucked my life' to show that what she did was so much worse. This is yet another indication of construction of masculinity through swearing; an insult to yourself is taken to be much lighter and acceptable than an insult to your mother, particularly when it contains sexuality!

6.3.5 A Real Turkish Man: Macho and 'Fast with Women'

The image of the ideal Turkish man that is promoted in the field of Turkish-speaking football has a lot to say about relations with women. The most important things are that a man is supposed to be the dominant one in his relationships with women. He has to have the wheel, he has to be the decision-maker, he has to have the final word. If he does not, he runs the risk of being called a *kılıbık* (henpecked) or *hanım köylü* (wife-towner)[38]. A common English expression that is popular with the younger generations is 'pussy-whipped'. All these expressions ridicule a man for being the controlled and dominated party of the relationship, instead of assuming his expected controlling and dominating role. As long as the women accept and act according to their role in the union, however, it is also expected of real men to respect women and treat them nicely. So the 'macho' men are expected to be perfect gentlemen to well-behaved women. Obviously, there is nothing original or unique about this 'macho' idealisation of hegemonic masculinity in the Turkish case, and it has been documented in many sporting contexts (Dunning and Birrell 1994; Keddie 2003).

The second major issue with respect to men's relations with women is how they are expected to treat and interact with 'other men's women'. In other words, there are certain codes of conduct that is being promoted for how men are expected to behave in the presence of women who are related to other men. These codes of conduct, as it must be already clear from the story of *Cantona*, are more about the men's respect to other men, than they are about men's respect to women.

Another very common expectation of men from other men concerns their relationship with women to whom they are not related. Men are expected to have sexual relationships with

[38] Also translatable as henpecked, this particular and common expression literally means 'one who is from his wife's village'. It refers to the tradition that when two individuals from different villages marry, the wife is expected to move to husband's village. By implying that in this case the husband moves to the wife's village, this expression suggests that the power lies with the woman in that particular union.

different women. The manifestation of manhood through relations with many women is expected even from married men, although being married could be seen as a legitimate excuse for 'not having an affair' to be not interpreted as lack of masculinity. In general, however, a real man is fast with women and sexual activity with a multiplicity of women is a sure indicator of manhood, whether a man is married or not.

I became fascinated with how common and internalised these views of masculinity were at my second international trip, in Antalya, Turkey. As I described the occasion in Chapter 3 and Chapter 4, I accompanied the London Turkish Masters FC to Antalya for an international tournament. The tournament was deliberately organised in the spring in the Turkish Riviera to make it a good excuse to have a holiday. It took place at a 5-star hotel, the WOW Kremlin Palace, and many of the players came with their families (see Figure 6.4-5). I later found out, however, that this decision had not been taken lightly, or unanimously. Apparently, there was quite a great deal of discussion on 'whether to bring the wives'. Some players objected to this notion as they had been expecting to establish warm relations with the predominantly Russian tourists that stay at the hotel and were concerned that the wives that were present might talk about their affairs back in London. In fact, almost all of the stories I heard during this tournament concerning the past two Masters tournaments in Antalya were about stories of flirting and sex, and almost none of them were about anything remotely related to football. So, those players who 'didn't bring their wives' in an effort to have a peace of mind and escape the 'woman nagging', accused those who did to be 'soft men' who couldn't properly handle their women.

The issue of licentiousness and how that should be kept among men never to be revealed to women is not an issue only arising during holidays, particularly among the more senior members of the field. In a Masters FC training session that I attended, I realised that *Charlton* was not around, after being away from their training sessions for a couple of





Figures 6.4-6.5 The London Turkish Masters FC players and their accompanying family members in front of the hotel (top);
The London Turkish Masters FC players by the swimming pool of the luxurious hotel (bottom)
[Photos by KOU]

months. Since he never used to miss a training session, I was curious about what happened to him. Looking at the way they started to talk about him, I was immediately sure that there was some sort of a fight that ended up with him not showing up at the trainings. Soon enough, they told me the big crime that he committed. Apparently, *Charlton* talked about another Master FC player's affair 'recklessly and openly'. There was a big reaction to this not only from the player whose affair was revealed, but from all the players. One player told me 'we are all married men, you know. You can't just talk about these things like this'. Obviously, the problem is not married men having affairs with other women, but someone talking about it in a way to make it possible for the wives (not necessarily only the wife of the particular man who is having an affair) to hear about it. In fact, extra-marital affairs are considered to be not only 'normal' and 'usual' but they are also expected of men to prove their masculinity by displaying sexual virility as well as being dominant in the marriage.

6.4 'Exclusion' of Women from the Field of Football?

One of the very first questions I have received whenever I made a presentation of this research has been the following: Where are the women? As I have already noted, although seemingly an inclusive social field, the field of organised amateur football does involve a significant form of exclusion being almost exclusively a male field. The history of exclusion of women from sport has been well documented (Blue 1987; Dyer 1982) and the reasons in the field of Turkish-speaking football are not very different. These reasons revolve around the construction of football as both as a 'men's' and 'manly' activity, which defines masculinity and manliness in striking opposition to femininity. Some of the major such discourses are described in detail above.

The answer also has a lot to do with the male-dominated patriarchal structure of the Turkish-speaking community. As a result of this structure, which depicts and reproduces the norm of bread-winning men and caretaker women, the public realm is disproportionately male, while the private realm mostly is female. While the socio-economic conditions of the community in London are in constant transformation, significantly challenging this structure through the education of girls and the upward social mobility of families, the patriarchal structure is still there.

The strikingly disproportionate presence of men in the public space is also a result of the migration experience. It is usually the men who migrate and find work and then bring their families. So when the women and children arrive, the man already has a job and a social life outside of the house.

The ethnographic account and analysis presented above in the previous section, moreover, suggests that they are also present in the field of football despite/through their absence. They are present in the field of football as their absence gives the men the opportunity to construct, reproduce, and embody their masculinities in a social space that is by definition a masculine and woman-free space. As I reviewed above, in this masculine space where their are no women, men engage in a negotiation of the masculine code of conduct concerning women; how to treat them, how to 'handle' them, how to dazzle them, and so on.

The women, however, are not completely absent from the field of football. They do appear occasionally as supporters, helpers, lucky charms, and sometimes even as club presidents, but overall their representation is negligible in the field of Turkish-speaking football in London. Women are also active and effective contributors of construction of hegemonic masculinity through their presence by the roles and responsibilities they assume in the field.

6.4.1 Role and Presence of Women

I have briefly mentioned a woman I met at a *Boğaziçi* FC training session, *Mia Hamm*, in the previous chapter. To reiterate, she is a middle-aged woman who is the mother of one of the players, *Fabregas*, and who 'takes care' of the team. She also works as an assistant teacher at a school and most kids know her. She washes the team shirts and socks and she is 'like a mother' to the kids. "Whenever they are fighting and they see me, they calm down and stop fighting" (see the next subsection). The roles and responsibilities assumed by the women involved in the field of football seem to be quite similar. They are there either to 'support' the boys or their men or 'take care' of their needs. They are very rarely, if ever, the primary owners of the field. Much more often, they are temporary guests who are 'brought along'. Such secondary and 'feminine' roles given to the women in the field of football are not only an illustration of the construction of football as the 'men's game', as discussed above, but also an active tool of reproducing it.



Figure 6.6 A newspaper clip on the welcome increasing presence of women in the TCFF Annual balls in the late 1970s, indicating that presence of women has long been a 'newsworthy' issue. [Scanned archival material by KOU]

In the beginning of the Turkish-speaking football leagues in London, there was a concern for actively involving women in the organisation and mobilisation of the Turkish-Cypriot community around this sport. In fact, this is evident in the organisation of the founding tournament itself. As it was a special occasion, all four participating teams were rewarded and one of the cups awarded was named the 'Union of Women Cup'. The Union of Women was part of the Turkish Cypriot Association and the naming of the cup must have been considered as a way of attracting the attention of women as well as expressing the support of women in this community-wide effort of mobilisation through football.



BÖYLE HAKEME CAN KURBAN

Dün Londra'nın Hackney Marsh sahasında oynanan Türk ligi ve diğer amatör küme maçları havanın çok soğuk olmasına rağmen büyük bir seyirci kitlesi tarafından izlendi. Sue Brell (25) adlı bir İngiliz dilberinin amatör küme maçında yan hakem olarak sahaya cıkması bir anda günün konusu oldu.

Soldaki fotografda güzel Sue vazife başında görülüyor.

Figure 6.7 A newspaper clip from 1982-83 (?) on a female referee who was assigned to a local league game which was played in the same park as the TCFF games. The headline reads *Böyle hakeme can kurban* (lit. 'Ready to die for such a referee', used to express, 'what a wonderful referee').
[Scanned archival material by KOU]

The presence of women in the field of football definitely does have significant effects on the men of the field. Yaşar İsmailoğlu, one of the founding fathers of the TCFF in 1976 who

I quoted many times, says “if women come, there would be no swearing, no fights. Women make their environment more beautiful just by their presence.”

This very same expectation is evident also in the statements of women. I quoted *Mia Hamm* above who doesn’t merely state it as an expectation, but as an observed experience. Accordingly, whenever she is there, boys stop fighting. My observations yield a more mixed picture, though. On one significant level, women’s presence make men more careful about acting ‘politically correct’. This mostly means no swearing, no sexual slurs, and no physical joking around or ‘horseplay’ among men. This applies both to the players and coaches on the pitch, and to the spectators who are watching the game around the pitch. I have been able to observe this ‘pacifying’ and ‘civilising’ effect of the presence of women on men in the field of football, I have also heard a lot of complaints about the increasingly disrespectful men swearing even in front of women. *Cantona*, whose fight with another player who swore at his wife and (non-existent) daughter I have described above, is one of those who complain about this. When I asked whether in the past there was no swearing and fights in any of the matches, he suggests that:

> of course football is a men’s sport, there is always competition and physical struggle, so it can always lead to some tensions and arguments on the field. But in the past people were more respectful to each other. They didn’t use to swear to each other this easily, **especially if there were women around**.

So, in addition to a nostalgic view of the field of football full of respect and solidarity, there is the view that in those good old days men would show greater respect to the code that you act carefully when there are women around.





Figures 6.8-6.9 Girlfriends and female relatives are present in Championship celebrations, but not during most of the season leading up to it (above); Akincilar-Yalova Championship game 1 May 2011, presence of women does bring a festival-like atmosphere, especially at final games such as this one (below).
[Photos by KOU]

On another level, however, I have also observed that presence of women might, and often does, have the opposite effect. When women are present, in the absence of swearing and sexual slurs, there seems to be a harder struggle and a harsher physical play on the football pitch. It appears to be the case that men try harder to prove their abilities and strength when women are watching. It is, in addition, not merely a subconscious masculine reaction to the presence of women. Men are aware that they perform differently when women are present. They joke around about each other saying things like 'if you want him to play his best, bring some young darlings to watch'. So, there is a dynamic interplay between the masculine code of acting more carefully and gently when women are around, which does appear to have a pacifying effect on men, and equally masculine feeling of enhanced competition to prove manhood in front of women, which in turn appears to increase the level of tension on and around the pitch.

It should be noted for the latter case that the effect of the presence of women does not exclusively, or even mostly, rely on the desire of impressing the opposite sex or the possibility of advancing a sexual relation. I would argue depending on my observations that it relies more significantly on the masculine code of dominating other men the importance of which is just multiplied by the presence of women. Therefore, even if there is no possibility whatsoever that the players will establish any further relations with the women watching the game, as in the case of the Cyprus trip games in the villages, men want to be the dominant males. It might be argued that this has more to do to prove their manhood to other men than to those women. The presence of women just qualifies the context in such a way to enhance this desire, to make each victory more glorious, and each defeat more shameful. This should be considered in combination with the fact that women mostly come to watch the important games and especially finals, at which the level of competition is already extremely heightened.



Figure 6.10 Families of the Champion *Boğaziçi* FC U16 team celebrating [Photo by KOU]

6.4.2 Football-loving Women?: Masculinity through Women

This secondary role of the women in the football field is increasingly being contested, though. This happens through increasing challenges to the patriarchal statements of 'boys like and play football, girls like and play with dolls'. There have been an increasing number of women who are interested in football in recent years. What is more, these women are increasingly assuming roles that are not quite like the feminine roles of supporting men that they are related to. Instead, they make it clear in an as obvious way as possible that they do know about football and they do enjoy it for themselves. There are also those who continue the patriarchal conception of 'feminine girlfriend who is there to support her man without knowing what offside means'. Strikingly, it is those football-loving women who make more fun of these women more than men do for being too feminine and 'girlie' for football. I will come back to this point below.

One of my most striking experiences with women around the football pitch took place at the *İskele* FC - *Doğan Türk Birliği* FC game on 13 March 2011. As well as being a 'title decider' for the TCFF Second Division for the season, the game also carried a significant degree of competition between the two long-established Cypriot clubs. There were about 20 or so women making up approximately a quarter of all the spectators, and it was immediately easy to divide the women who were present into two groups. The first group was composed of older women (30-45 years old), who appeared to be very well-versed in football terminology and were quite experienced. I remember being surprised to hear them shouting things like 'grab a man each' before a corner kick or 'clear it, boys' or 'one touch, bloody one touch!'

The other group of women, in turn, was composed of younger women, who appeared to be a bit over-dressed compared to the women in the first category. More importantly, they didn't look very much interested in the football as a game. Instead, they were cheering for particular players who, I inferred, were their boyfriends or perhaps friends. The most interesting scene of the match was when the *İskele* FC won a penalty kick. I was standing next to three women who would be categorised in the first group of experienced football-loving women. Upon hearing the referees whistle they immediately started discussing who would and should take the penalty and how he should use it. A few dozen meters from us the young women were trying to make sense what was happening on the pitch. As soon as they realised that a penalty kick was given against their team, they expressed surprise and anger in a quite naive and gentle way. Then they started holding the hands of each other and turned their back not to look at the penalty kick. One of the three women next to whom I was standing has seen the girls holding hands and turning their back and pointed them out to the other two women. They all laughed at these young women, not necessarily in a condescending manner, I think, but in a way that conveys their conviction that these

fancy-dressed young ladies do not belong to the football field in the way that they themselves do.

What I have termed as a challenge to the patriarchal insistence on keeping football as a male space, while only admitting women inside to assume a limited number of feminine roles, might also be interpreted differently. Do the women who appear to love, enjoy, and understand football have to act 'manly' to receive acceptance in the field of football? Do they feel the need to scream 'one touch, bloody one touch' as a proof that they actually know football terminology? Is there a degree of desire to appear less feminine in their making fun of other women who are acting in accordance with the 'traditionally feminine' code of conduct? If yes, and I think it is reasonable to suggest that these women are enforcing the construction of masculinity in the field of football by acting 'masculine' and by ridiculing and rejecting the existence of femininity as acceptable in the field of football. I am tempted to argue that there is a mixture of both of these processes going on in the field of Turkish speaking football. On the one hand, there is an increasing number of women who sincerely do enjoy and are interested in football. Football is being redefined as an acceptable form of entertainment, leisure time activity, and sport for women instead of something that only men do and love. On the other hand, these women still come under a significant degree of pressure in the remarkably masculine field of football. They feel that it is necessary for them to act 'more masculine' or at least 'less feminine' in this field to be accepted as natural members of this field, and not only as secondary guests.

The challenge of women in the face of the masculinity of football and masculinity through football also comes from another direction: women's football. In professional football, recent decades have seen the spread of women's leagues, which have been interpreted variably as an outcome of growing love for football among women; industrialization and commercialisation of the game; an active effort for generating gender equality; and so on

(Ratna 2011; Williams 2007). In the case of the Turkish-speaking community in London, there is not yet a Women's League. Nor has there been any significant demand for it. However, certain associations and clubs have established women's teams which have given those young women who are interested in playing the game the chance to join. *Alevi Cemevi*, for instance, is one such association. When I asked whether they founded this team to meet an existing demand or to create an option of sporting activity for the young female members of the association, the president said it was 'a little bit of both'. Apparently, there were some young women who were interested in playing and had been asking for such an opportunity.

> Then, we thought it would be a nice experience for the girls to be involved in this competitive sport. Many people in the community don't want their girls to grow up to be very weak and fragile. I don't mean just physically. Of course, they want their daughters to be physically strong too. But, they are more concerned with them learning to struggle, not to give up, to put on a fight, you know.

In this testament, which is not unfamiliar to many others about women's football teams that work more as football schools, it is obvious that for some fathers who are concerned about their daughters turning out to be 'too girlie' (weak and fragile), football as a sport is perceived to provide a medium through which physical and mental strength, determination, and sense of achievement can be instilled. In this equation, therefore, it appears obvious that femininity and masculinity are constructed in opposition to each other being represented by opposing qualities such as weakness versus strength and fragility versus endurance.



Figure 6.11 Two female sport journalists capturing images from a game.
[Photo by KOU]

6.5 'Crises of Masculinity' in Diaspora and Football: An Evaluation

I would argue that the common fear concerning the youth 'losing their identity' or 'degeneration' expressed by almost every adult in the Turkish-speaking community is, to a great extent, also a 'crisis of masculinity'. I would further argue that, just like the 'crisis of masculinity' that was detected to be influential in the emergence of competitive sports as primary and direct sites of construction of hegemonic masculinity in the late 19th and 20th centuries Britain and America, this 'crisis of masculinity' has also been a very significant catalyst for the emergence of the field of amateur football as a primary site of construction and reproduction of hegemonic masculinity for the Turkish-speaking community in London. As I have discussed in some detail in Chapter 3, the desire to teach the youth who they are was one of the primary reasons for the establishment of the TCFF in 1976. From the outset it is obvious then, that 'the youth' that the older generations are more concerned

with teaching and protecting were the young men, and not women. In other words, the sense of crisis of losing the children to assimilation was a crisis of masculinity. It should already be obvious from the above discussion that it is not merely a crisis of any masculinity, though, as it is a crisis of the hegemonic Turkish masculinity.

I would claim that this crisis worked on two main levels. On the level described in the previous paragraph, the crisis of masculinity involved a concern that the younger generation of Turkish boys would not grow up into proper Turkish men. I have suggested that this concern was ubiquitous, at least in the discourses of most adults and it was conceptualised as a duty, perhaps a sacred one, for the older generations. As such, it also illustrates and reproduces the patriarchal social structure of the community. Fathers are responsible for the upbringing of their children, more particularly their sons.

There was, however, a second level on which a crisis of masculinity would be detected which was closely related to this point. In the diasporic context of London, there was a crisis of masculinity for the adult men themselves stemming from the very significant, even radical, transformation of the social structure. In the more traditional patriarchal social structure identified above, adult men having the opportunity to teach younger generations what it means to be a proper Turkish man is itself a masculine need. In London, preoccupied with the necessities of making a decent living, Turkish men were increasingly losing this opportunity, which was itself feeding into the fears of 'losing the youth'. In other words, both levels of crisis of masculinity in the community were closely related and, in fact, feeding each other.

The crises of masculinity for the Turkish-speaking community were mostly a result of the diasporic context in London. While the men of late 19th century Britain had experienced significant social transformations in a fairly gradual way, Turkish-speaking men suddenly found themselves in a very different context upon immigration to London. This was the

case even for the Turkish-Cypriots who used to live in a British colony and had had a fair amount of cultural experience and affinity before migrating to London. I have found in the two contexts, the Turkish-speaking inside and British outside, the discourse is quite widespread regarding this issue as well. Accordingly, the patriarchal structure in which the father was the uncontested head of the family and household and as such the maker of the final decisions in everything had been brought into London intact in the Turkish-speaking homes. However, the British outside was marked by a rigorous effort to create a context of gender-equality through measures including rights for and protection of women and children from all sorts of abuse, including domestic abuse. This didn't create any significant problems insofar as the women and children remained at home, and the men were the sole breadwinners of the families outside. The sense of crisis started to emerge when, for economic and other reasons, women started taking up jobs and children started going to British schools. It can, therefore, be suggested that crises of masculinity arise as significant problems for the community not immediately upon migration but around the time the second generation or young children who were brought along started to go to school. This suggestion seems to be confirmed by the establishment of the TCFF in 1976, by the proliferation of clubs and a division of the TCFF into two competing federations which were forced by political reasons as well as the increasing significance of the Turkey Turks within the community in the early 1980s, and lastly, by the establishment of a separate Turkish Kurdish Football Federation in 1992, to give the Kurdish youth more space.

In such a context, the field of Turkish-speaking football is perceived to be a very useful and effective social space in which both crises could be addressed. On the one hand, as I have established and supported by the ethnographic evidence above, it was a perfectly effective social tool to construct and reproduce hegemonic masculinity and teach the boys what it means to be proper Turkish men. As an additional advantage on top of this effectiveness, it

was something very attractive for the young men and the adults, who didn't have to force the boys into this field. They were very easily lured in.

On the other hand, the field of football gave the adult men a golden opportunity to act as responsible father figures who could now pay their own fair share of debt for the community and the youth. It is also, in a way, an opportunity for the men who are missing their dominance in the public space to reproduce and embody their masculinity and superior status in the society, right in the public space and in the company of other men. In a sense, it was even easier for the adults to be involved as it didn't necessarily require talent in football, physical fitness, past experience, or any sort of formal qualifications. All they needed was a demonstrable love/interest for football and an equally demonstrable concern for the wellbeing of the youth. In other words, not everyone could be a player of one of the teams playing in the league, but everyone could be involved as coaches, sponsors, or at least supporters of any team. The case of *Cruyff*, which will be presented in detail in the next chapter, is illustrative. *Cruyff* used to work as a window-cleaner with his brother-in-law and he was entrusted with the responsibility of managing Mevlana FC upon convincing the relevant people of the Mevlana Mosque after having cleaned their windows. Neither he, nor his brother-in-law had any previous experience as players or coaches back in Turkey or in London, but they have been managing the team for the fourth consecutive season as these lines were being written.

Here, once again, we see the convenient position of the field of Turkish-speaking football which is situated in between, to use the same terminology, the Turkish-speaking private space which is marked with an uncompromising patriarchal structure, macho masculine identities, female submissiveness, etc. and the British public space which explicitly and vigorously set standards for female empowerment, gender equality, and gender-blind

individualistic identities[39]. As in the case of the discussion presented in the previous chapter, this peculiar position and structure of the field makes it an ideal space to address this crisis of identity and to construct the hegemonic masculinities to transmit them to younger generations.

6.6 Conclusion

In this chapter, I have attempted to examine the process in which a hegemonic Turkish masculinity is constructed and reproduced in the field of Turkish-speaking football in London. This chapter, then, needs to be considered in conjunction with the previous one that examined the construction and reproduction of various collective identities. As this chapter has attempted to show more explicitly, the collective identities that are constructed and reproduced in the field, whether ethnic, religious, linguistic, or cultural ones, are almost exclusively masculine. The politics of identity in Turkish-speaking diaspora football in London has mostly aimed at and addressed 'the boys' and was motivated by the desire to raise proper Turkish-speaking men.

In making this general argument, I have first shown the long-established link between certain modern competitive sports, football in particular, and the desire to instill and teach manhood to younger generation boys in the Western context. By now it is widely accepted that these sports have spread to other parts of the globe in time through colonialisation and globalisation (Armstrong and Mitchell 2008; Giulianotti and Robertson 2009). I have also highlighted the argument that a sense of 'crisis of masculinity' has been suggested to motivate and enhanced this very link to be established and has helped modern sports to be designed to respond to that crisis.

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[39] Having said these, it would be misleading to say that British society, or even Londoners, has been completely able to create such a structure of perfect gender-equality and a system of gender-blind individualistic identities in practice.

Then, I moved on to making the specific case in the Turkish-speaking community football in London. I have shown that the link between football and the reproduction of a hegemonic masculinity is very much present in this particular case. Indeed, the reputation of football as a 'men's and manly game' was almost as important in the process of establishment of the TCFF and communal mobilisation around football in the mid-1970s as its reputation as a common and unifying passion. Using the ethnographic findings of my fieldwork, I have described and analysed how the amateur leagues of the Turkish-speaking community have been central to construct and reproduce a hegemonic Turkish masculinity. Here, I have discussed (i) construction of football as a 'men's and manly' sport, (ii) the creation of an ethnic masculinity or masculine ethnicity through a special amalgamation of Turkish-speaking ethnicity and masculinity, (iii) use of homosexuality in the construction of hetero-normative and homophobic Turkish masculinity, (iv) the functions of verbal insults and gendered/sexualised swearing in constructing sex as an act of domination, and lastly, (v) the construction of Turkish manhood in reference to relations with the opposite sex, which is expected to be characterised by male dominance.

Construction of masculinity in the field of football does not merely operate through men. I tried to show that women, through their absence as well as presence in the field, are also active parts of the construction and reproduction of Turkish-masculinity. I have investigated the extent to which women are excluded from the field of football and what implications this exclusion has. After establishing that women are not completely excluded from the field and, indeed, welcome in the field to the extent that they are willing to assume certain roles and responsibilities; I have discussed that these roles of supporting females was an active way of construction of both masculinity and femininity in the field of football. Next, I have discussed some emerging anomalies to the traditional roles of women in the field of football and how these could be conceived of either as challenges to the construction of masculinity or as newly emerging ways of consolidating the masculinity of the field by

more women embodying traditionally ‘masculine’ attributes to receive acceptance in the field.

In the last part, I discussed how the experience of migration to a society with a much less patriarchal political, legal, and social culture seemed to have caused a dual ‘crisis of masculinity’ among the Turkish-speaking men. I defined these ‘crises of masculinity’ to operate on two different levels, one concerning the raising of the young boys and characterised by a widespread fear of ‘losing the next generation’, and the other concerning the adult men’s desire to assume the patriarchal role of acting as the dominant males who have the duty of teaching the young how to be proper Turkish men. I have concluded once more that the field of Turkish-speaking football with its specific position in between the private realm of the home and the public realm that is outside, provides a particularly effective way of addressing both crises of masculinity and as such it has been a significant factor motivating people to be involved in this field as well as encouraging their kids to take part in it.

PART IV

ETHNIC FOOTBALL AND INTEGRATION OR SEGREGATION

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In this last analytical part, I turn to questions of cultural integration where, without adopting a normative definition of cultural integration, I have considered the implications of involvement in ethnic community football in terms of belonging, social inclusion, marginalisation, and psychological development as well as the well-being of the individuals involved. The presented and analysed discussion rejects any automatic causal link between involvement in sports and integration or involvement in ethnic sporting organisations and segregation. Having reviewed a few exemplary organisations which used football for integration purposes and the nature of the ethnic community leagues, I have also argued in this part that the field of ethnic community football, due to its specific nature, structure, and position between the private and public spaces, offers a great potential to be engaged by the local and national governments in the service of integration policies.

In **Chapter 7** I begin considering the implications of active involvement in ethnic community football in terms of creating a secure ethnic identity, perception of social inclusion, creation of valuable forms of capital, psychological wellbeing, and prevention of social marginalisation for a range of individuals. In **Chapter 8**, I consider the implications of ethnic organisation in football for segregation before reviewing the potential of ethnic community football for integration policies and programmes in multicultural contexts.

CHAPTER 7 - Ethnic Community Football and Integration for the Turkish-Speaking Community in London

7.1 Introduction

Is engagement in organised amateur football good for integration? Does it help individual immigrants or members of minority communities to integrate in the society or does it hinder integration by leading to segregation and marginalisation in 'ethnic enclaves'? Does it create conditions conducive for intercultural communication or does it lead to inter-communal distancing? These questions, in addition to being extremely interesting and important, are also of a political nature, ultimately based on normative views on society at large. It is possible just as easily to find arguments supporting an almost automatic 'integrative (or assimilating?) effect' of involvement in organised sports (Burdsey 2004, 2007), as to find ones that caution the reader and policy-makers about the 'segregating' and 'marginalising' tendencies of such ethnic organisations (Halm 2006; Yalcin-Heckmann 1997)? Each line of argument looks persuasive and convincing when and if you subscribe to their understanding of what integration is. Therefore, in this chapter, I do not wish to provide a simple and straightforward answer to any of the questions above. The reality, as it always tends to be, is much more complex than such simple causal equations between engagement in sports and integration. Instead, I wish to present the findings of my fieldwork here concerning many factors that I believe to be relevant in the processes of integration.

This chapter aims to consider the various positive implications of active involvement in ethnic community football for the cultural integration of individual members of the Turkish-speaking community. Even if one does not adopt a specific definition of integration, particularly social and cultural integration, it is still possible to identify certain factors that can be argued to have potentially positive implications for integration. These factors include, for instance, protection from social isolation and cultural marginalisation, psychological wellbeing, and peaceful intercultural communication, among other things. Their relative importance might be different according to differing views on integration. However, it would be very difficult, if not impossible, to deny that these factors have at least potentially a positive influence on individual immigrants' integration processes. Below, I attempt to organise my ethnographic findings under such significant factors.

7.2 Turkish-speaking football in London and Integration

What does the field of Turkish-speaking football look like when considered in relation to its implications for (or against) integration? Which one of these two opposing arguments turns out to be stronger or more convincing in the London fieldwork? As I have already mentioned above, it is not my intention to defend one of the arguments or support it with evidence from the case at hand since this cannot be done without adopting a normative stance and a political definition of integration. In the following, I will present the ethnographic findings of my fieldwork. The specific and more general conclusions to be drawn from my account, naturally, also depend on the political vision of integration and context.

7.2.1 Football as a Familiar, Inclusive and Open Field for Newcomers

Turkish-speaking football constitutes a social field that is quite familiar, inclusive, and open for the newly arriving members of the community. Its familiarity not only derives from the commonality of the passion for football, but also from the commonality of the linguistic, cultural, and ethnic backgrounds of the people involved in it. It is inclusive and open in that no sub-ethnic, political, ideological, religious, or socio-economic differences significantly influence anyone's chance of involvement in this field. In fact, it has been suggested to me over and over again that football was the only social field in which everyone from all backgrounds feels free to be involved[40]. So, they suggest, football is the only medium that attracts the Turks, the Kurds, and the Cypriots; the *Sunnis* and the *Alevis*; the rich and the poor, and so on.

In fact, from the very beginning, Turkish football was meant to create such a social field that would bring people together and make them support each other. One of the former presidents of the TCFF makes this point very clearly:

> Of course, nobody had the mobile phones in those days [*i.e. 1970s*]. Very few people had phones in their homes. So it was very difficult to communicate, to come together... And although there were some people who knew some English, a majority didn't speak the language. And people didn't know their rights, they didn't know how the hospitals worked, how to pay taxes and so on. So we had to find a way to bring people together and help each other in solidarity. We had to become a community and not individual immigrants... (Interview with *Zico*, 31.01.2011)

This function and role of the field of Turkish-speaking football continues to be very important for the newcomers today. *Messi*'s example is a perfect case in point. *Messi* is a

[40] The discourse of inclusiveness and equal access to a social field does not always and necessarily reflect the reality. In the current case of Turkish-speaking football in London, for instance, one significant and obvious exception is gender (see Chapter 6). Although there is no formal obstacle preventing women from participating in this field, men almost completely dominate. Moreover, it is obvious that those individuals who are not working or have less demanding jobs are more easily involved in the field. However, the discourse seems to be in line with the reality in the point that any individual who has a strong passion for football is welcome in this field. I have come across many individuals who have proven this point.

Turkish-Kurdish former professional football player who used to move all around Turkey between clubs in the Turkish Second Division. He even played for *Kayserispor*, albeit for a very brief period, in the Turkish Super League. However, he was forced to retire from professional football when he was unable to recover from a serious knee injury. After a few years of struggling to get a job in Turkey, he arrived in London in late September in 2010 to look for a job and a better living. At that point he is a 29-year-old immigrant who doesn't have any significant qualifications and who barely speaks English. His adventure in London doesn't start brightly, either. He looks for jobs mostly in the Turkish-speaking neighbourhoods for a couple of months without any proper qualification, English fluency, or a working permit. He shares a room with two other Turkish-Kurdish immigrants who were informally employed by the Turkish-speaking businesses in North London. He comes into contact with the Turkish-speaking football league in London through *Puskas*, who is a Turkish football coach in London working with an amateur Turkish side called *White Hart Rapids* in a local London league's youth division. *Puskas*, having learnt that *Messi* used to play professional football and was now fit to play at an amateur level, contacts *Cruyff* of *Mevlana* FC. *Cruyff*, the unexperienced trainer of this TCFF Second Division club, welcomes the suggestion and agrees to meet with *Messi*. In fact, he is so excited about this prospect that he readily asks *Messi* to bring along an ID and two passport photos for the license to their very first meeting. *Messi*, in his own words, "was looking to get out of his miserable life even for a few hours a week and feel good about himself".

Messi starts to play for *Mevlana* FC in the Turkish league and immediately makes a difference. This relatively poor club, which is unwilling and unable to pay its players, starts looking for ways to keep him in the team. The coaches of the team call everyone they know in London, and in a short period of time, they find him a job. He also finds a better place to live. They even give him some money for his costs, after explaining all the other players, who are not being paid, that he was in dire need. No one objects to this. In fact,

some of the financially better off players offer to chip in. Apparently, his arrival is not only appreciated by the trainers, but also by his teammates.



Figure 7.1 Ergazi FC 1979 team. All of the players are Turkish immigrants themselves from Cyprus, and mostly from their namesake village Ergazi. [Scanned archival material by KOU]

When I got to learn about *Messi*'s interesting story, he was one of the 'hottest' and most sought-after players in the Turkish-speaking leagues with a decent job, a lot of friends, and imaginably a much more pleasant life compared to the one he had at the time when he first arrived in London. *Messi*'s life got turned around in a matter of few weeks partly because of his good manners, personal charm, and good fortune. The most important reason, however, seems to be clear: his talent and reputation in football. *Messi* was a former professional player who used his skills in the game as valuable human capital to turn it into both social and financial capital in this field. "The structure of the field, i.e. of the space of positions, is nothing other than the structure of the distribution of the **capital of**

specific properties which governs success in the field and the winning of the external or specific profits which are at stake in the field" (Bourdieu 1993, 30, emphasis mine).

Messi's story, as interesting as it is, is not peculiar to him. In fact, there are many people in the Turkish-speaking community who have similar experiences. *Cruyff*, for one, the trainer mentioned above who so enthusiastically signed *Messi* for his *Mevlana* FC team, is himself one such example. *Cruyff* moved to London some 5 years ago and started working as a window-cleaner with his brother-in-law who had moved to London a few years before him. One of the jobs these two took was the Mevlana mosque in Edmonton, Enfield. This is when, they recount, they got in contact with the administrators of the mosque foundation who mentioned that they were planning to establish a football team for the mosque to protect the youth from bad habits and to attract them to attend the mosque. The football-loving duo immediately volunteered to be the trainers of the team. For both of them, but particularly for *Cruyff* who did not have an extensive social network in London, football constituted an enjoyable hobby and a refuge from the difficulties and banality of the daily life. Football also gave them a new social field in which to make friends, create work contacts, and generally extend their social networks. *Cruyff* was only an enthusiast never having played professionally but he was also able to turn his passion for football into a chance to be involved in this league.

The example of three young Turkish referees is very striking. They arrived in London in the beginning of 2011 and they were referred to the TCFF by the Turkish Embassy in London. Using the contacts of the TCFF in London and their professional licenses from Turkey, they were able to register with the LFA quickly and started working in the TCFF leagues. This has meant that they earned enough money to sustain their lives in London while also improving their English and acquiring more experience, which were the reasons for their movement to London in the first place. At the end of one year of working in the LFA-

sanctioned TCFF leagues, two of these referees, who are aged 20 and 21, are in the process of applying for a working visa as professionals working in London, a right extended to Turkish citizens by the Ankara Treaty as part of Turkey's EU membership process. Without a sufficient amount of time of working and without sufficient professional credentials, they wouldn't have been able to apply for this visa scheme. Once again, the field of football enables newcomers with specific football-related capital to be involved in it and turn this capital into other forms of capital.

7.2.2 Field of Football as a Source of Belonging to a Recognised Ethnic Identity

The situation is quite different for the younger generations of Turkish-Cypriots and Turks and Kurds who were born in London. Unlike the immigrants who actually move from one cultural context into another; these individuals are either born and bred in London or move there at an early age. Therefore, these young individuals construct their identities in a different context. They speak English as their native language and get educated in London. Most of them become British citizens from a very young age, if not from birth. They, however, learn very quickly that they have to operate in multiple cultural contexts and codes at home, at school, in the mosque, at the music club, while with elders, and while with teachers. All the while their parents and relatives insist that they learn the proper Turkish culture and customs, and not forget 'who they really are'.

This concern about younger generations losing their identity is probably the most common sentiment voiced by the adults in the field of Turkish-speaking football. *Zidane*, who is a founder and a former coach of a Kurdish team, says:

> the children needed to learn. Otherwise you cannot settle them down. There is the English culture outside, and the Turkey culture in the home. They all go through a culture shock (Interview on 02.07.2010).

According to the president of the Federation, the reason for this was the following: “the families that come from Turkey cannot devote sufficient time and energy to their children’s education. They are focusing on financial issues”. This concern for a culture shock that stems from families focusing on working and being unable to give enough parenting seems to be concentrated mostly on the second-generation, which makes perfect sense. *Lineker*, the president of the Cypriot *Boğaziçi* FC, which is known to be the most successful club in the TCFF youth divisions, says “in the past everyone used to gather around the teams of their respective villages. But now, this local identity is strongest in the Kurds who have been arriving most recently. Our boys [i.e. the Cypriots] have become Anglicised. They don’t care about their language and forgot their culture” (Interview on 26.03.2011). A Kurdish barber in Haringey suggests that this is nothing but degeneration of identities and the biggest culprits are the schools in London. He says:

> it is the schools that degenerate the identities of our children. They go after drugs, gangs, and girls [it appears that his primary concern is also about the degeneration of the boys rather than girls]. I know of many people who do not send their children to school so that they do not get degenerated and forget who they are (From field-notes 25.10.2010)

It is possible to suggest that these are somewhat conservatively biased concerns of adults who consider themselves to be responsible, even obligated, to keep the cultural identity intact and transmit it to the next generations. The information gathered from the young people, however, seem largely to confirm the same concerns. First of all, the youth confirm that they had experienced ‘two different cultures, one at home and another outside’. Although, I must add, none of them describes this period in such a negative light as a

period of suffering and confusion as the adults usually do. *Kaka*, a player of *Beşiktaş* FC says:

> We came to London when I was 6 years old. I had already started primary school back in Samsun [in Turkey]. I had finished the first grade there. I started the primary school here right away. I had to start from the first grade again. I didn't speak the language. I didn't know anyone. I didn't have any friends. I remember that I didn't want to go to school the first couple of months at all. Even if you are in Turkey, you'd be afraid to start a new school. But you are in a different country. Mum and Dad don't speak the language. I was happier at home because we were living at Stoke Newington and there were many Turkish families there. I am talking about 1991-92. Nowadays, you can find Turkish families almost anywhere in London. In a couple of years, however, it got much better. I think it is easier if you are that young. You start speaking the language, make friends, make your own personal environment. Then, it was like, you have two different worlds.
>
> [Upon being asked about a 'culture shock'] No, I couldn't say it was very difficult for me. I was very comfortable at home and at school. I never found the customs and manners my mum and dad taught me at home to be in conflict with anything I learned at school. And the fact that my mum and dad didn't speak English meant that the two worlds remained quite separate for me. They trusted me to behave responsibly and sensibly outside, and I couldn't usually bring any of my friends from school to my home. So there wasn't any conflict or shock for me (Interview on 21.06.2011).

The second point mostly confirmed by the youth is the fact that the migrant parents focus on financial matters and are not around their children most of the time. This fact was mentioned by most of the young people with whom I have talked in the field. The tone, however, was almost never in the form of a complaint. What *Iniesta* (*Beşiktaş* FC player, born in London to immigrant parents from Kayseri, Turkey) says is quite representative of the general way the youngsters express this point:

> when I look at my English friends at school, their parents are always very much interested in their lives. They take their children everywhere themselves and spent a lot of time with them. My parents weren't like that. I mean I am not complaining in anyway. I mean I am very grateful to them for everything they have done. My dad does construction work, interior decoration and stuff. I am the oldest and I have two siblings. So my mum also had to start working. She is still doing sewing stuff at a factory. So they could not be around to take us to school or anything (Interview on 09.06.2011)

There are also those cases of young children who do not have a strong Turkish-speaking identity either because of a high degree of parental neglect or outside social actors at school or local neighbourhood. For many of the parents, despite the limited time and energy they are able or willing to commit to their children, this is disgraceful. They want their kids to speak Turkish and feel Turkish at least as strongly as they speak English and feel British. The President of the TCFF tells the very telling story of *C. Ronaldo*, which was briefly described in Chapter 4:

> *Ronaldo*'s father [who is an immigrant from Cyprus] came to me when *Ronaldo* was 12. The father is a musician who performs at Turkish weddings in London. *Ronaldo* was born in London and at that point didn't speak any Turkish. The father was not happy about this at all. He played in the TCFF Youth Division for 4 years until he was 15-16. Then for a couple more years he played at the TCFF adult divisions. In 2004-2005 season, I moved to Cyprus to become the coach of *Doğan Türk Birliği* FC [one of the oldest and most successful Turkish-Cypriot teams that competes in the professional league]. *Ronaldo* was about 17 years old then and he just graduated from his school in London. I took him to Cyprus to my team. But to be able to play as a native Turkish-Cypriot player, he needed to finish his obligatory military service. I took care of it.[41] At the same time, we registered him to a University in Cyprus to a Sports Management course. He moved to his home country, he learned Turkish, he got his university degree while playing football. His father later came to me and thanked me for saving one of his sons (Interview on 12.01.2011).

When I went to Cyprus with the TCFF delegation in January 2011, I had the chance to meet *Ronaldo* personally. He referred to TCFF President as 'his father' and said if it wasn't for him, he would have been 'lost' in London (see Figure 7.2). He is still playing in the Cypriot professional football league, having completed his university degree a few years ago. *Ronaldo* says he started 'feeling Cypriot' only after he began playing for his 'village team' in London when he was 12. His first experience of a sustained relationship with other Cypriots of his age around the common passion for football made him want to speak Turkish and learn about his Cypriot roots much more effectively than his father's insistence. By the time he moved to Cyprus and signed a contract with *Doğan Türk Birliği*

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[41] The citizens of Turkish Republic of Northern Cyprus (TRNC) who reside overseas can pay a certain amount of money instead of serving their mandatory military service. Those who do not undertake their military service or pay for it can be removed from citizenship.

FC, he was already at a point to call this move a ‘return to home’ although, apparently, this was his first ever time in Cyprus.



Figure 7.2 *Ronaldo* and Turgut Esendağlı together before the *Lapta* v. *Akıncılar* FC game in Cyprus
[Photo by KOU]

Ronaldo’s case is probably one of the most striking examples of how football can be used as a medium through which a young person can be encouraged and directed, if not forced, to learn about and internalise aspects of a community’s ethnic and cultural identity. The number of similar cases can be increased. In Chapter 3, for example, I described the two trips to Northern Cyprus in January 2011 and January 2012 in which the majority of the Turkish Cypriot players in the TCFF London Mixed team and the league champions *Akıncılar* FC visited Cyprus for the first time. Moreover, they were invited to several dinners organised in their honor during which they were told that they were the owners of the same motherland living in two different geographies (see Chapter 3).

One last note on this aspect of Turkish-speaking football is due here. As I began the chapter, I suggested that the influences or implications of football on integration necessarily depend on the definition of integration as it is most definitely the case here. As long as an individual's forming a secure and unchallenged sense of rootedness and belonging to an ethnic identity is seen as a factor shielding him/her from sense of marginalisation and isolation, this aspect of organised Turkish-speaking football needs to be considered as helpful for integration. Inasmuch as this insistence and strong emphasis on the ethnic identity and an original home country is seen as a factor preventing the younger generation of immigrants from forming a British identity that is based on the education and socialisation in the British context, the Turkish-speaking football leagues would be seen as harmful for integration.



Figure 7.3 Footballers celebrating their success. Players of Akincilar dancing with the cups they have won in the season at their annual ball.
[Photo by KOU]



Figure 7.4 Players and the coach of Yalova FC presenting the spoils of a wonderful season [Photo by KOU]

7.2.3 Personal and Psychological Development and Wellbeing of Turkish-speaking Individuals

I was caught right in the middle of the London Riots in the summer of 2011, which had erupted a few minutes bus ride away from my house in Haringey. The London Riots of 2011 have been immortalised not only in visual media but also in people's memories with sights of complete anarchy where young people in hoods and masks looted and damaged shops; set cars, busses, and buildings on fire; and displayed a complete disregard against the social rules and other individuals' rights (see Figures 7.5-7.6).





Figures 7.5-7.6 Scenes from the 'London Riots' of the 2011 Summer. A public bus is set on fire (above); young people in hoods looting an electronics store they broke into (below) [Taken from http://brotherswithnogame.com/blog/london-riots-2011-the-good-the-bad-and-the-ugly/ and http://davidhencke.wordpress.com/2011/08/11/smart-riots-need-smart-solutions/ , respectively]

The first thing I did was to call all the TCFF and club administrators to ask about their opinion and whether they think the Turkish-speaking youth were involved in the riots. They all told me that their boys (i.e. the players in their respective clubs and in the league in general) could not have possibly been involved in the disturbances. Some of them said they started calling their players one by one to make sure they are safe and away from trouble. One coach said “this is why there is the Turkish league: so that we can give our kids a sense of identity, a degree of discipline, and keep them away from such marginalised people”. They were very proud of the fact that most Turkish and Kurdish shop-keepers in North London got very quickly organised and mobilised to protect their shops from rioters against looting and damage. In the immediate aftermath of the riots, the Turkish and Kurdish communities became sort of ‘heroes’ in the eyes of the wider society in London for standing firm on their ground. ‘When the rioters came to attack the premises of Kurdish and Turkish businesses in Hackney's Stoke Newington High Street and Kingsland Road on Monday night, the owners were waiting for them’ reports The Guardian (2011). Daily Mail (2011) reports ‘In Dalston and Hackney, north-east London, Turkish shopkeepers and their families fought back against looting youths, before spending the night standing shoulder-to-shoulder in an attempt to deter further attacks. One man said: “This is Turkish Kurdish area. They come to our shops and we fight them with sticks”'.

In the ensuing debates and analyses in the UK in the following months, the most significant reason for the abrupt appearance of anarchy in the streets of London was suggested to be the marginalisation of the youth in London with no aspirations in life, no conception of authority or normative values, and no hopes concerning the future. The questions asked were how this can be prevented from happening in the future, how to give the youth a sense of belonging to a larger collectivity than their neighbourhood gangs, how to give them the idea of norms and order, how to give them role models to look after, and how to make them feel like integral parts of the society instead of marginalising them. The

independent panel established by the Prime Minister and the Leader of Opposition, the 'Riots Communities and Victims Panel', published a report that bluntly suggested that the rioters needed 'a stake in society' (Panel 2011).

Apparently, a big part of the question concerns the personal and psychological development of young individuals. In particular, it concerns their sense of self-esteem, self-confidence, discipline, rules, and future aspirations. It seems that the involvement of Turkish-speaking youth in amateur football does have some quite significant implications on their personal and psychological development. Some of the main positive implications of involvement in the social field of Turkish-speaking football can be listed as providing recognition and belonging; self-esteem and confidence; discipline and positive attitude towards rules and regulations; and future aspirations.

Recognition and Belonging: One of the most significant psychological needs is recognition. As I have already discussed in the chapter on identities, the subjective idea and sense of 'self' requires an 'other'. Particularly in a context of extreme diversity, such as the one in London, the need of recognition by others is heightened. This need of recognition in a minority context also goes hand in hand with a need for belonging. As early as in 1943, Maslow listed the need for belonging as the most important of all psychological needs, right after the fundamental human needs of physiological and psychological security in his 'pyramid of needs' (Maslow 1943).

Without repeating myself, I shall argue that football provides an inclusive and familiar social field in which Turkish-speaking men, and particularly the younger generations, satisfy both of these needs. This applies to the newcomers and London-born further generations, as evidenced by the previous two sections, respectively. The newcomers can use their talent in or passion for football as valued human capital and turn that into much

needed social and financial capital, thereby saving themselves from social isolation and marginalisation (such as the cases of *Messi* and *Cruyff* above). The London-born generations, on the other hand, are 'taught' about their cultural identities, where their parents and grandparents are from, and 'who they really are'.



Figure 7.7 A poster advertising a Football Spring Festival with Turkish food, music, and people
[Photo by KOU]

A player of *Akıncılar* FC, *Drogba*, tells me how his elders in the club describe Cyprus back in the old days:

> It was such a safe and friendly place that people never locked their doors. There were no thefts or crimes. My uncle told me how he never took his car keys back to home fearing to lose them. He always kept the keys in the car and never worried that someone could steal it (interview on 09.01.2011)

In both cases, football provides a ground for recognition in a very positive light and in an accepted social and public arena: as a good player, the captain of the team, or the best striker of the league. This recognition is not necessarily dependent on an individual's socio-economic position in the society.





Figures 7.8-7.9 TCFF London Mixed team visiting the TRNC Republican Parliament (left); two players are on an agricultural tractor for the first time (right)
[Photos by KOU]

Esteem and Confidence: Football definitely gives both the young males and the adult males who are involved in it a sense of achievement and self-esteem. Again, however, depending on the respective position of each individual in the field of Turkish-speaking football, esteem takes a number of very different shapes and forms. For the adults who are involved in administrative positions of the clubs or the federations, the most often cited reason for involvement and investment in Turkish-speaking football leagues is the desire to protect the children. This, in itself, appears to give a deep sense of satisfaction to these adult individuals most of whom are working or lower-middle class. Football is one social space in which they get out of their daily routines and have the chance to act as leaders. The pride in representing their birthplaces is stronger for them. Of course, there is also the satisfaction of 'winning'. I was often told that some club presidents are spending tens of thousands of pounds each year to compete for the championships. When I asked the reason, I was invariably told that this was mostly because of those individuals' personal ambitions and desire for prestige:

> all they want is to make their names known in the community. They only want to brag about 'making a team champions'. You know, I think they even don't want their village team to win any success when they are not involved. So, when they are involved, they can say 'hey, our team was unsuccessful until I got here'. Nobody thinks about the children or anything. They only have their ambitions to satisfy (*Ibrahimovic*,interview on 11.02.2011)[42]

Playing football is a great source of esteem for the young players, as well. In the same manner as in the case of adults, it is a source of esteem in the eyes of the other members of the community and the wider social environment as well as a source of self-esteem that arises from the sense of achievement on a week-to-week basis.

> I got picked up by the Arsenal's U14 team when I was 13 or so. Suddenly I was the hero of my family. They took football seriously for the first time, then. I was very popular with my friends as well. I remember after I got picked up by Arsenal, their attitude

[42] There are, in fact, several material benefits of being successful in the Turkish community leagues apart from any possible emotional satisfaction or personal ambitions for prestige. I discuss such benefits in the next chapter which is on diaspora politics.

> toward me also improved. Then, I became the captain of my school team. It was the greatest achievement of my life and for the first time in my life I had felt as the 'real boy' [*esas oğlan*- a term in Turkish used to refer to the leading actor in a movie] and not one of his friends (Interview with *Kaka*, 21.06.2011)

Young and promising players would soon get in contact with the Turkish-speaking leagues, usually through friends who are already involved in the leagues. Most of such players keep playing for a semi-professional team which plays either on Saturdays or a weekday even after they start playing for a Turkish-speaking team on Sundays. They are invited to play in the Turkish-speaking leagues in a strong discourse of duty and identity. However, when the players choose a team in the Turkish-speaking leagues to play for, there appear to be two very important factors. The first one is their contacts. The first team of almost all players was the team for which most of their friends in the league were playing. The second, however, is the extent to which the coach or the president of that team convinced them of their ambitions for success in the league. This fact, that players prefer teams that are more competitive and ambitious, shows in itself that they are usually very competitive, that they are not only playing football for the sake of playing, and that sense of achievement is one of the most significant motivators for them. *Iniesta*'s testimony is a very good example of the point:

> I had never played in the Turkish league before I was 15. I played for several semi-professional leagues. Then, Turgut Esendağlı came to me and told me about his project of forming a youth team consisting of only Turkish players to compete in an English league. It was a huge challenge. We did great in that first year. We won the league without conceding any goals. I was the youngest in that team! Then, I went to Turkey for a while and trained for professional 2nd division clubs. I came back to London a year later. This time *Zoff* had come to me and told me that they were forming a Turkish team that would win the TCFF league for the first time in 35 years. It has always been Cypriot teams. I was not thinking of coming back to the Turkish league in London. But this was also a big challenge, so I accepted (Interview with *Iniesta*, 09.06.2011).[43]

[43] *Beşiktaş* FC could not win the league that year, nor could any other Turkish team yet in the TCFF first division, though they did get very close in 2010-2011 when they carried their chance of winning the title up until the last couple of weeks of the season.

Discipline, Norms, and Role Models: Football means a certain lifestyle for the agents involved in it. This includes accepting a set of rules and norms and the specific structure in the field that they establish, as well as accepting a certain degree of hierarchy. There is also a degree of discipline imposed by these rules in addition to the physical discipline it takes to attend the training sessions, preparation camps, and football matches. *Torres*, the captain of *Yeni Boğaziçi* FC and one of the most experienced players in the league, puts it in the following way:

> These boys come here at very young ages. Here they find a sense of community, the sense of becoming a part of a larger unity. They also understand that there are rules of being in this larger unity and that there are leaders in this community they need to listen to. For example, our president is like a father to all our players. We talk to him about our problems and we listen to the advice he gives. I am their *abi* [as the team captain], older brother. They never disrespect me and I never use their respect in a negative way (Interview on 24.05.2011).

Most coaches and presidents also refer to football's function of imposing discipline on the youth and providing a healthy platform to direct their physical energy. *Romario*, the president of *Karadeniz Genclik* FC, says:

> We make every sacrifice to provide our kids with the opportunity to play football. Because if they play football, if they use their energy here, they cannot spend it doing bad habits like drugs, streets, and sex.

When I asked about why he thought the Turkish-speaking youth didn't participate in the London Riots in large numbers, the President of TCFF explained that:

> The youth that have done all those stuff didn't have anything to lose and they didn't have any respect for any rules. Our kids have discipline and respect for norms. Because they are trained in a culture of discipline and respect for norms. They know to be a good sportsman requires one to work hard and have self-discipline. Also, the moment these events were on the TV, all the coaches started calling their players.

Is it really the case, though? Do the young players who are involved in the field of Turkish-speaking football (or any other sports for this matter) really acquire a constructive sense of

discipline and positive attitudes towards rules and norms? If so, how does it work? As for the former question, my impression from the fieldwork is that being involved in the Turkish-speaking football leagues really does help to give the youth a significant degree of discipline and appreciation of a fairly structured social space governed by formal and informal rules and norms. The answer for the latter question, i.e. how this is achieved, seems to have a lot to do with the personal relationships the players establish within the field. Here, there are three types of relationships I would like to highlight. First, there are the hierarchical relationships of the players with the club administrators, coaches, federation officials, and administrators from other clubs. In fact, there is usually a 'double hierarchical' nature of the relationships: on the one hand, there is the quasi-professional relationship between the players and the administrators of teams; and, on the other hand, there is the patriarchal hierarchy based on age.

In other words, the administrators in the teams usually enjoy both the 'legal-rational' and the 'traditional' authority over the players. I use the term quasi-professional, as in most cases there is a contract listing the mutual responsibilities of the parties. However, when there is a conflict between them, neither the players nor the administrators refer to the contractual obligations. Instead, they use a discourse of 'loyalty', 'honour' and 'word of a man'. The only exceptions are the cases where a club signs a player of another without its consent, in which case the latter club would go to the TCFF to revoke the player's license and call for the inviting club to be punished. In any case, this double authority is very rarely challenged by the players and it is through these administrators that the discipline is consolidated.



Figures 7.10-7.11 On the team bus of BJK, the coach *Zoff* is making players come up for a performance (singing, telling a joke, acting out an imitation, etc). *Zoff* is seen as an older brother, a mate, and a strict coach all at the same time (above); The BJK U16 team on the training camp; theoretical and tactical lessons; and conversation sessions everyday.
[Photos by KOU]



The second type of personal relationship I would like to highlight is the one that exists between players and usually one or two key individuals that have been decisive in their choices within the football field. These individuals are seen as guides and guardians and so they are respected greatly. In many cases it is the first coach the individual has met as an inexperienced kid who showed him the right way. I have already quoted above how *Ronaldo* refers to Esendağlı as a father for taking him to his team first in London and then in Cyprus while also advising him to attend a university and get his degree. In *Kaka*'s case it was someone outside of the field of Turkish-speaking football:

> I was playing for the school team of my secondary school. One of my teachers there, Mr Hayfield, who is now working with West Ham, told me that my parents should take care of me as I loved football and I was good at it. I was 12-13 at the time. He asked me if I had any plans for the future. That was the first time I even thought this was an option. My teacher told me to keep working and that an opportunity would finally come up. Then, Arsenal came to our school and organised a try out. I got picked up by Arsenal's Under 14 team with the help of Mr Hayfield's good references. I trained with that team for a whole summer. Mr Hayfield kept being interested in me and always asking how I was doing. Then, they offered me to play for Kentish Town, which was Arsenal's pilot team, for a time and then I could return to Arsenal. I consulted Mr Hayfield and upon his recommendation, I took the offer. I played there 3-4 years (Interview with *Kaka*, 21.06.2011)

Kaka has kept his contact with Mr Hayfield even at present and always consulted him before every significant decision. He reports how his 'pearls of wisdom' concerning working very hard, respecting the game, and never putting 'winning' before his integrity have been crucial in making *Kaka* who he is. *Xavi*'s testament also shows how significant such key persons are on the personal development of young individuals:

> It was mainly because of *Cantona hoca*[44]. I have worked with him in the two teams I previously played for. One of them was Potter's Bar and the other was Wingate. So, when *Akıncılar* wanted to meet me, I met them. There was their president and *Cantona hoca*, there. The president does not know anything about football. All he cared about is to be able to say I made them champions. But, I know *Cantona hoca* and I trust him. So, when he said I should join the team, I didn't even think about it. It has been 8 years that I have known *Cantona hoca* and I cannot thank him enough for everything I have

[44] *Hoca* means teacher and it is usually how players refer to their coaches.

> learnt from him. I couldn't be here today if it weren't for him. And I couldn't be the person I am today either. (Interview with *Xavi*,16.03.2011)

The third and last type of personal relationship that is crucial for the personal development of young players in the field of Turkish-speaking football is the most abstract one: the relationship between young players and their role models. In some cases, the role models are the same key persons from whom the players seek guidance. The role models are the individuals to whom the players look up. They not only seek advice and guidance from them, they want to *be* them:

> Well, definitely Kazım Richards![45] He is from a poor family in London who made it to *Fenerbahçe* and Turkish National Team. But apart from the success, and the crazy money that comes with it, I admire Kazim because he has never given up who he is. He was kicked out from a lot of teams for this but he never changed. That is the kind of person I am and the kind of player I would like to be. (Interview with *Drogba*, 09.01.2011)

While most young players do have such professional role models, many of them also have local role models that they look up to. What also makes Kazım's case more interesting is the fact that many youngsters in the Turkish-speaking community find him relatable because of the similarity of his personal background. In a similar manner, many of the successful players in the teams, who usually stay in the Turkish-speaking football as coaches and administrators, become role models for the younger children who newly enter the field. In this way, knowingly or not, they obtain a significant degree of influence over these kids who try to imitate them. These role models, in addition to giving the youth a form of road map to become what they would like to be, also give them aspirations for the future that also help their personal and psychological development.

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[45] Colin Kazım Richards (see Figure7.12) is a London-born (Leytonstone in 1986) professional player who play for the Turkish national team. Kazim is the first black player to play for the Turkish national team. Son of Turkish-Cypriot mother and Antiguan father, he took Turkish nationality. He played for major Turkish football clubs such as Fenerbahce and Galatasaray, and he is currently playing for Bursaspor in Turkish Super League after a season in the Premier League with Blackburn Rovers.



Figure 7.12 Colin Kazım Richards at an international game with the Turkish shirt. His recruitment in the national team has been often criticised on the grounds that he doesn't speak Turkish and 'he is more English than he is Turkish'. Consistently cited as a role model or hero by the Turkish-speaking youth in London, he is a very good example of the hybrid diasporic identities.
[Taken from http://www.thesun.co.uk/sol/homepage/sport/football/1335942/Colin-Kazim-Richards-gets-mobbed-in-Istanbul.html]

Future Aspirations: So far, I have reviewed how football helps save the youth from marginalisation and social isolation by giving them a sense of rootedness in the past; and a significant degree of esteem, personal discipline and respect for the norms in the present. The last aspect I would like to highlight is the implications of football concerning the future. This point has in fact surfaced quite a few times already in the evidence provided so far. To reiterate, involvement in the field of Turkish-speaking football seems to help formation of dreams and aspirations for future.

In some cases professional football constitutes The dream for future. In such cases, today's suffering of any sort is just the due the person needs to pay in order to deserve their dream. Working hard and not complaining about the difficulties that one may

encounter are seen as just indicators of the commitment and motivation of him to succeed. “Because in the end, it is all gonna be worth it. I will have money that is enough for my whole family for our lifetime. And, I will be making a comfortable life doing something I love” (from field-notes).

The dream of becoming a famous professional player playing in the English Premier League or the Turkish Super League is not the only aspiration for future, nor even the most common one. The more common aspiration for the future, to my surprise, was the dream of working as a coach in Turkish professional football. Many of the players I have interviewed told me that they wanted to work with the youth teams of big clubs after getting a certificate in London. I believe this quite widespread aspiration for future has a lot to do with the trend in Turkey of hiring people with a football background in Europe, but also has much to do with the fact that there is a transnational field of football emerging between Turkey and millions of Turkey-origin immigrants in Europe. In a 2009 interview, the current coach of Turkish national team said that the number of licensed football players of Turkish-descent is larger than the number of licensed players in the entire country of Turkey. There is a growing admiration for and appreciation of more structured and vigorous football education at young ages in Europe. In combination, all these developments seem to suggest to the young players that there is going to be a demand for their qualifications in the future. This, in turn, has several important implications in the present. For one thing, the players that manifest an interest in working in the larger transnational field of football (most of them stated that they would seek a job here in England first, and if they can’t find one here, seek one in elsewhere in Europe. Then, they would seek a job in Turkey. In the worst case scenario they would work within the Turkish-speaking leagues in London) take football much more seriously in their lives. Also, they look for ways that would increase their employability such as finishing a degree in sports management and so on.

7.2.4 Encountering the 'Others' in the Field of Football- Social Mixing using a common language and around a common passion

Although ethnic football leagues are sometimes criticised for leading to ethnic and cultural segregation as I shall be discussing below, the ones in London have a function of bringing together people from very different backgrounds to the very opposite effect. Even when we only consider the Turkish-speaking community, what makes the medium of football so effective in mobilising the whole community and creating the social field around, has been its perceived inclusiveness. I have heard many times that football is a common passion alike for the rich and poor, the educated and the ignorant, the religious and the atheist. I have also been told several times that this is why football is the only medium that could simultaneously attract the Cypriots, the Turks, and the Kurds in London.



Figure 7.13 Yalova FC Under-8s with West Ham United Under-8s. Football is a platform for the Turkish-speaking children to meet children with diverse background at a very early age.
[Taken from https://www.facebook.com/photo.php?fbid=10150517031792055&set=t.1414300591&type=3&theater]

The remarkable degree of ethnic diversity within the Turkish-speaking community and the fact that there is a significant deal of tension amongst some segments of it give Turkish-speaking football an important role of social mixing. In addition to this, there is a significant degree of involvement by individuals from other ethnic backgrounds in London most commonly including the Africans and Eastern Europeans. Lastly, through regular attendance to the London-wide tournaments that are organised by the LFA, the people in the Turkish-speaking leagues also encounter their counterparts by playing football in other local London leagues including individuals from every ethnic community in London.

The encounters with different 'others' in the field of football and the social interactions involved in them can be considered under two separate headings: (i) the encounter with the ethnic, religious, and socio-economic diversity in one's own community, and (ii) the encounter with individuals from other ethnic communities within Turkish-speaking football.

***The encounter with the ethnic, religious, and socio-economic diversity in one's own community*:** As discussed in the chapter on identities, the bylaws of the TCFF allow a maximum of four non-Turkish players in the adult divisions and define 'Turkish players' as any individuals who are born in Turkey or the TRNC, or individuals who have a parent or grandparent from these countries. In the Turkish-Kurdish leagues there is no such limitation concerning the ethnicity of players. However in both the TCFF and the TKFF adult divisions, the great majority of players and other individuals involved are members of the Turkish-speaking community. In the youth divisions, no non-Turkish players are allowed.



Figure 7.14 Socialization does not end on the football field: players of *Anadolu* FC at a shisha cafe having shisha and playing backgammon with their coach. [Photo by KOU]

It is obvious that many of the clubs carry claims of representation for certain local identities. However, there is not a single club in any of the Turkish-speaking football leagues that is composed only of individuals from a single common town of origin. I discuss the implications of this on constructing and transmitting identities in Chapter 7. Here, I shall look at the implications on social interactions amongst individuals of diverse backgrounds within the same major ethnic community, and how these interactions actually contribute to their feeling like the members of that same community.

For most of the individuals involved in this field, football constitutes a platform where they move away from their usual social environment and interact with many different individuals. Here, football is utilised both as a common language and an area of interest that enables meaningful and dense interaction, and as an alternative common identity that derives from certain specific human capitals in the field. As *Zidane* puts it:

> There were people in my team from every city. We didn't have anything like 'this is Kurdish, that is Turkish or that is Alevi and this is Sunni'. If you play well, you are a good player and that is it.

These field-related, more salient identities make it easier for individuals to interact with others within the field. This is particularly the case when there is limited previous contact with certain identities or a set of biased assumptions about them. *Drogba*, a Turkish-Cypriot player who is born in London, says he didn't have any Kurdish friends before he started playing football in the TCFF leagues. Moreover, his family used to advise him to stay away from the Kurds who were mostly asylum-seekers. After he made not only many Kurdish, but also Turkish friends from asylum-seeking families, his opinions changed.

Not all examples are as positive, however. Some of the Turkish and Kurdish players have expressed their antipathy towards the Cypriots as a result of their relations with them within the field. According to them, and as discussed in the previous chapter, there is a widespread complaint amongst the Turkish and Kurdish teams in the TCFF leagues that the Cypriots, who are the majority in the league as well as the holders of most of the positions of strength, discriminate against the Turkey-origin teams. They even use the term racist by the Turkish-Cypriots against mostly Kurds.

***People from different ethnic communities within the Turkish-speaking football*:** As mentioned the Turkish-speaking leagues are by no means ethnically homogeneous. There are at least a few non-Turkish players in each team. There is a strong relationship between the ethnic composition of a team and their language use. My interviewees usually explained it in the language of collective level of integration: the Cypriot individuals arrived very early on, therefore they are better integrated, therefore they speak better English, and therefore they speak English most of the time; while the Turkish and Kurdish individuals arrived later, therefore they are not as well integrated,

therefore they do not speak English as well, and therefore they speak Turkish most of the time.

Another and not an unrelated way of explaining it is with the number of non-Turkish players in each team: The greater the number of non-Turkish players in a team, the more they use English as the language of communication, in and out of the playing field. Both explanations have their merits, and as mentioned, they are closely related. As time passes, every single team starts acquiring more non-Turkish players. So the passing time explains both the level of language fluency and the number of players from other ethnic backgrounds.

In addition to the language aspect, the regular social contact within the familiar context of Turkish-speaking football with individuals from different ethnic communities is also helpful in increasing the amount of information about these ethnicities, their cultures and customs, and so on.

> Of course, football was not everything. How can I say, we were like a family. Before the season started, we were staying with *Zoff abi* for weeks. Everyday there were parties and a lot of fun. We were talking about everything... Not only about football at all... (Interview with *Iniesta*, 09.06.2011)

The increasing ethnic diversity of the Turkish-speaking leagues is outstanding. There are altogether non-Turkish teams in the Kurdish leagues where there is no limitation on the ethnicity of the players at all. In the TCFF leagues where the number of non-Turkish players is limited to four for each team, there are players from 14 different African countries, in addition to players from a wide range of countries including Bulgaria, Australia, Poland, Romania, Iran, Italy, and Britain itself.

A big majority of the players of all ethnicities are born in London and therefore being from London seems to be a common and binding identity besides the common denominator of football. The way the non-Turkish players are recruited by the Turkish-speaking teams is

not entirely different than that of Turkish-speaking players. Social networks appear to be the most important factor in bringing new non-Turkish players into the leagues. A growing number of non-Turkish players is also invited to play in the Turkish-speaking leagues from various local London leagues by the team administrators.





Figures 7.15-7.16 One of the most diverse teams, *Yeni Boğaziçi* FC, with their Federation Cup (above); The Albanian team FC Elbasani in the Turkish Kurdish League (below)
[Photos by KOU]

7.3 Conclusion: Ethnic Community Football Leagues for Integration

The ethnographic account presented in this chapter confirms that ethnically organised amateur sports could be beneficial for integration, because: (i) They provide a familiar, inclusive, and open social field where talent in, knowledge of, and even a mere passion for football can be valued human capital, which in turn can be used to generate social and financial capital both within and outside of the field. (ii) They help the youth acquire a sense of rootedness and belonging which would help save them from isolation. They would, in the same manner, also provide the older generations with an effective instrument to transmit their cultural identity forward to their children, thereby relieving them of the psychological strain of the fear of assimilation. (iii) They help develop young individuals personally and psychologically by giving them esteem and confidence, discipline and an appreciation of a system based on norms, key persons to respect and consult with, and future aspirations that would be the driving force in the present. Lastly, (iv) they would constitute a wide and diverse social space where football is the common language and football-related, field-specific identities become more salient than most others, and in which individuals can establish and sustain regular relationships with other individuals from a wide range of backgrounds.

It appears, then, that football did and still does provide an alternative social space where the young individuals feel and nurture a sense of belonging. This is particularly the case for the children of first-generation immigrants who are struggling with the new system and language while being highly motivated to make a comfortable living plus some savings if possible. What is particularly remarkable is that this social space is placed quite conveniently in between the other two cultural worlds: the Turkish home and the British/ Londoner outside. Football is a Turkish site in the public which is also shared with all sorts of non-Turkish others, a site where it is all right to speak either Turkish or English, or even,

a personalised mixture of both. In addition to the often observed sentences starting in Turkish and finishing in English, the players switch across languages strategically. The language of complaining about the non-Turkish referee for unpopular decisions, which usually takes the form of curses and swears, is mostly Turkish, for instance. On the other hand, the in-team pep-talks are in English. The same strategic language switching observations can be made in other contexts. I have observed this most vividly in the context of the first annual visit to Cyprus in January 2011. This time, the use of English was preferred to express the dissatisfaction with the decisions of the referee or the extra rough play of the opponents, while the use of Turkish was extraordinarily increased seemingly in an effort to show their Turkish identity.

For the majority of Turkish-speaking individuals in the younger generation, the Turkish-speaking football leagues provide this space that is based on an unchallenged ethnic identity, which not only constitutes a safe third dimension of belonging, but also nurtures their hybrid and multiple identities.

CHAPTER 8 Ethnic Community Football, Segregation, and Integration Policy

8.1 Introduction

In his study on Turkish immigrants in German amateur football, Dirk Halm (2006: 75) investigates what he calls the 'integrative effect of immigrant sports' in Germany. In particular, he suggests that this almost automatically assumed integrative effect should be problematised and any implication of immigrant sports should also take account of the inevitable potential to 'retreat into the "parallel society" or "ethnic niche"', whether voluntarily or involuntarily (Halm 2006: 74). Therefore, having described and analysed the potential positive implications of involvement in Turkish-speaking ethnic community football in London in the previous chapter, I would like to turn to the other side of the coin considering the potential risks of ethnic community football leagues for ethnic, cultural, and gender segregation, which are considered to be detrimental for integration.

I will, first, overview the potential challenges of organisation around and involvement in ethnic community football leagues. Here, I will present ethnographic evidence on four different types of segregating potential ethnic community football: (i) ethnic segregation, (ii) gender segregation, (iii) segregation of the constructed ethnic identity, and (iv) the effects of intercultural rivalry and implied conflict.

Then, I will overview how football has been and could be used for integration as a common passion and popular leisure activity. I will, next, underline its potential as a teaching tool that has been ever-present since the emergence of modern competitive sports in the Western context (see Chapter 6 for a more extensive discussion of this point). Lastly, I will

consider various projects and programmes that aim to use football to bring people together with different cultural backgrounds and help their integration into multicultural cities. I will present an international example from Amsterdam before I overview the various programmes that have been adopted in the British context. The section will close with a discussion of how autonomous ethnic community leagues fit in this general picture of using football for the integration of immigrants and minorities. I will argue that organised amateur football provides a fertile space to target these potentially marginalised and disfranchised communities, brings them together, teaches them about the life in the multicultural city and each other, and gives them a sense of empowerment, mobilisation, and representation.

8.2 Potential Challenges for Integration and Risks of Segregation

The above, indeed, is a justified call for caution as 'immigrant' or 'ethnic' sports necessarily produce a degree of segregation by their very nature and definition. A similar degree of caution is also needed, however, against an assumption that any 'ethnic' social space will be automatically detrimental to integration and lead to further social segregation and marginalisation (Yalcin-Heckmann 1997). More particularly, the suggestion that 'own ethnicity organisation' in amateur football is equal to and a sure indicator of ethnic segregation (Halm 2006: 79) is grossly simplifying as well as being fallacious as demonstrated by the ethnographic account provided in the previous chapters.

With these in mind, I will discuss some of the segregative effects of organised amateur football in London. In providing ethnographic and other evidence on the flip side of the same coin of integration, I will start by considering the segregative potential of involvement in ethnic community football. I will first review the ethnic segregation aspect. Next, I will consider whether the terms and nature of the dominant collective identities created and sustained within the field would be conducive for segregation. Lastly, I will consider the

effects of gender segregation, which has been extensively discussed in Chapter 5, for integration.

8.2.1 Ethnic Segregation

One question that I asked to many of my informants in the field was whether they would consider bringing their son or a member of their family to the Turkish-speaking football leagues to play football. In contrary to what I expected to hear, a majority of the respondents answered negatively. When I asked about the reason, they said that they wouldn't want to limit the social environment of their kids and force them to construct all their lives within the Turkish community. Even though the number of non-Turkish players is significantly rising, the major argument went:

> they are still the minority. And in any case, **the governing logic within the field is decidedly Turkish**. It applies to everything from how the football is played on the field to how the relations between the clubs are structured... **It's all Turkish**... It is mainly because, even if there is an increasing number of non-Turkish players, **all the coaches, club administrators, and federation officials are still all Turkish**. And I don't think they will ever allow any change there... Just go to an Annual General Meeting and you will understand what I mean. (*Stoichkov*, interview on 17.02.2011)

There are also quite a few people who think that the Turkish-speaking leagues and teams have fulfilled their purposes and are no longer necessary in the modern age. They are particularly unhappy about the limitation on the number of non-Turkish players:

> The exclusion of non-Turks from the league is a big disgrace! **You came to a man's country and you are excluding him from your league. If I were England, I would never allow such a racist discrimination directed toward my own citizens.** And from a Turkish point of view, it is also unnecessary. I mean **maybe it was necessary 35 years ago when nobody spoke English** and they couldn't come together or whatever. But **this is not the case anymore**. **Why is there still a Turkish league? If you want to play football, nobody prevents you**. If you want to establish a Turkish NGO, nobody prevents you. Why would you want to play only with Turks? What the fuck is the point of a Turkish football federation? (*Puskas*, trainer of a Turkish-majority club in a local English league, from field-notes)

My surprise in getting these answers was mainly because the people giving them were all involved in Turkish-speaking football at some point as players and/or administrators. When I further asked if they were negatively affected by this segregation and ethnic limitation, an even larger majority said ‘yes and no’. In terms of social contacts, they said they had so many friends from outside of the Turkish-speaking community anyway. Therefore, it seems that being regularly involved in the field of Turkish-speaking football does not lead to significant social segregation, or at least, it does not necessarily. On the negative side, playing in the Turkish-speaking leagues was bad for their football careers, they reported. A big majority said they would have been much better off had they started playing football elsewhere.

It seems quite safe to argue that every ethnic community organisation by definition contains and creates a degree of ethnic segregation. This is certainly the case in the ethnic football leagues in London. Despite the existence of a growing degree of inter-community as well as intra-community diversity, each of these leagues identifies itself with a single ethnicity, the scope and definition of which being varied as I have shown in detail in Chapter 5. The bylaws of the Turkish Community Football Federation still state that the “purpose [of the TCFF] is to make our existence, unity and sportsmanship known in a manner best fit to our nation”. In practice, this identification with an ethnic community brings a limitation on who can be involved in the field depending on ethnic identity. Moreover, notwithstanding growing diversity at every other level, there is a much further degree of homogeneity in the ethnicity of the club and federation administrators in the TCFF. They are all Turkish-Cypriot or *Türkiyeli*.

Even if we cannot claim that there is a high degree of ethnic homogeneity within the Turkish-speaking football leagues, particularly among the ranks of players; we can safely claim that there is an ethnic concentration. In addition, the dominant discourses and the

respected codes of conduct within the field are markedly Turkish. In other words, each individual appears to be 'presenting a Turkish-speaking self' as soon as they step in the social field of Turkish-speaking football (Goffman 1959). I have discussed this more extensively in the part on identities in Chapter 5 and Chapter 6. Therefore, it suffices here to remember that when they are within the social field of football, the individuals not only feel themselves to be more at ease, more empowered, and more at home; but they also try to act more properly "Turkish", i.e. more masculine, tougher, more 'honourable', more 'trustworthy', and so on as each of these are defined within the field. What is more important to note here is that there is necessarily the creation of an ethnic social space in which the proper codes of conduct are dominantly ethnically defined. Again, this defining process is not quite centralised or straightforward but is a process involving contestation. However, the dominance of the ethnic discourse and the strength of the ethnic identity makes it a fairly secluded social space.

8.2.2 Gender Segregation

While the degree or the nature of ethnic segregation is more open to discussion, the gender segregation within the field of Turkish-speaking football in London is immediately obvious. Whether or not involvement in amateur ethnic football leagues has an integrative effect, 'it is primarily de-integration that one observes in the general non-participation of immigrant women and seniors' (Halm 2006: 75). Notably, the exclusion of women from the field of football is not peculiar to the Turkish-speaking community in London. To the contrary, it has been a part of the development of modern competitive sports as a means through which a 'hegemonic masculinity' is constructed. In their account on the history of the modern sports in the Western context, Burgess *et al.* (2003: 200) suggest that this necessarily required the exclusion of women:

> Since sport was devised to produce a particular kind of masculinity and to demonstrate the superiority of males over females, and because it was inherently violent, tough and strenuous, only boys and men were encouraged to participate. By necessity, the prevailing logic dictated, women were excluded.

An immediate implication of the gender segregation in the field is that young girls do not enjoy the positive effects and implications of involvement in Turkish-speaking leagues in London that were discussed in the previous chapter. For a newly arriving woman, for instance, football does not constitute an open and inclusive social field in which to turn her human capital into social capital. In the same way, involvement in this field could have given young girls, as it has been giving to young boys, a sense of uncontested belonging to a recognised ethnic community, if they could be involved in it to the same extent as boys. The number of examples is easy to increase. The important point to be emphasised here, of course, is that other social sites and fields could have similar positive implications for integration for girls that the gender segregated nature of the field of football fails to accomplish. However, it seems that such a social site does not exist. The reason seems to be a patriarchal assumption and expectation that women do not belong in the public space, anyway.

It appears, in other words, that while the necessity was felt and effort was made to teach the young males 'who they really were' and to protect them from the perils of cultural assimilation as well as cultural degeneration, the same concern was never present for young girls. That is why a comparable field for girls and women has never been created. This is clearly a reflection of the patriarchal structure of the Turkish-speaking community where the appropriate place for women and young girls is their home. In other words, they are not to be in the public sphere and subject to the same dangers of cultural assimilation and cultural degradation as the boys inevitably will be. Creating a safe space for the girls to direct their energies hasn't yet been considered necessary, whereas it has been repeatedly suggested to me that if the boys can not find a safe outlet, like football fields, to

spend their excess energies, they will be drawn to harmful things like gangs, drugs, and sex. There is no such danger for girls. They are to be at home, speaking Turkish, and learning who they are from their families anyway.

The implications of the exclusion of women from the field of Turkish-speaking football include the construction of a masculine ethnic identity (or an ethnicised masculinity) and the reproduction of patriarchal gender relations in the absence of women (see Chapter 6 for a fuller discussion of these processes). Another implication of the dominant patriarchal structure and segregation of women from the Turkish-speaking public space in London is confinement of women in their homes and to a very narrow social environment which, again, reproduces this dominant relations of power through a lower level of educational and occupational achievement amongst women compared to men, which in turn help make them dependent on their fathers and husbands throughout their lives.

Although I haven't been able to conduct a large-scale survey that could adequately assess this situation, my observation from the field is that this situation has been changing rather significantly in the past few years. There are more and more girls who attend higher level schools and universities as well as a transformation of the perspective on economically independent women within the community. As a result, more women have been present in many social fields in the London public space. Even in the almost exclusively male field of football changes have been noticeable. The *Alevi* Cemevi, for example, has started a football team for girls since 2010 that does not compete in any formal league competition yet but manifests a growing level of interest, enthusiasm, and presence of women even in the masculine field of football (see Chapter 6).

8.2.3 Creation of a closed and marginalised ethnic identity

I have discussed in the previous chapter how football could be instrumental for young people especially when they are constructing their ethnic and cultural identity. I argued that, to the extent that this identity gives youth a sense of rootedness and belonging, it could have positive effects in preventing social isolation and marginalisation. However, how about the terms of this identity? What if the constructed collective identity is a closed and inward-looking one that prohibits cultural integration into a wider cultural framework?

Remember, the ultimate purpose of many adults who invest time, energy, and money in the Turkish-speaking football is to teach youth 'who they really are' (see Chapters 5-6-7). The ethnic and cultural identity that they wish to transmit to youth, therefore, tends to be quite traditional and authentic as well as nostalgically constructed and outdated. As a result of the widespread fear of assimilation and the younger generations' possible loss of Turkishness, many elements of the ethnic and cultural identity are even taught in direct opposition to some aspects of other cultures and ethnicities equally reified and essentialised. The young individuals play for 'their village', they are surrounded by co-ethnics, they are usually addressed in Turkish, and are constantly instructed to act as a Turk.

To put in another way, as I discussed in detail in the chapter on collective identities, the process of constructing collective identities and the general discourses used in such processes tend to be excluding and singling out; i.e. the collective ego requires a collective alter ego. Therefore, the young players are so often reminded not to be 'too weak like an English boy', instead of just not to be weak. An important point to note here is that this 'other' identities against which to construct one's own collective identity are also quite diverse. In other words, it is not merely a duality, and at times mutual exclusivity, of two collective identities: i.e. Turkish identity v. English/British identity. Instead, even within

Turkish-speaking community itself there are a multiplicity of identities that are used as 'the other' to each other, the main ethnic ones of Turkish, Kurdish, and Cypriot being the most prominent ones. While the Cypriots usually use a discourse of 'Turks and Kurds' who are less integrated, more brutal, and more prone to cheating; the Turks tell their kids not to brag too much about themselves like the Cypriots.

The case of Kurds and Kurdish identity is also very interesting. As the newest-comers in London and mostly asylum-seekers, the Kurds appear to be experiencing the hardest time in constructing a secure collective identity in London. Arguably, this is the reason why the Turkish Kurds were the first ones from Turkish-speaking community to establish their own ethnic league and why the remaining Kurdish clubs and individuals within the TCFF leagues very often complain about anti-Kurdish discrimination, or 'racism' as they call it (see Chapters 4 and 5). It is apparent, then, that the collective identity projects within the Turkish-speaking community can be so narrow as to exclude each one of the three main ethnic groups within. This, in turn, would be expected to be counter-productive in terms of cultural integration of these immigrants as it would encourage intra-ethnic relations and interactions at the expense of inter-ethnic and inter-cultural ones. Also, the discourse of the other could potentially easily be full of stereotypes and prejudices that serve to provoke inter-cultural distancing and potential of conflict.

8.2.4 Implications of Fierce Rivalry

The intensity of competition can also lead to conflict. This is, in my experience, especially the case when it is between two single-ethnicity teams. In his 'Contact Hypothesis in Ethnic Relations', Amir (1969) suggests that 'competition in the contact situation' does not help for useful intercultural communication and 'convergence' of the cultures that come

into contact, to the contrary it leads to intercultural 'distancing' (cited in Halm 2006: 84). As I touched upon above and discussed at length in the chapter on identities, the nature of football as a competitive sport that is based on physical struggle has a potentially significant influence on the collective identities. In a nutshell, football is a game where there are very rarely any 'win-win' situations. More often, there is only one winner, or none in case of a draw[46]. In other words, winning or success in football is, generally speaking, at the expense of opponents. It goes without saying that the bond of belonging and representation is most immediate and strongest between a team and its individual players. Therefore, the rivalry and competition between teams could directly translate into a rivalry between individual players.

The very terminology used within the field of football illustrates, as well as reproduces, this fact. The most common Turkish-Cypriot expression for losing a game is '*dayak yemek*' (being beaten up, i.e. physically, as in a fight). The first time I asked the score of a game to which I arrived late, the person said '*1-0 dayak yeriz'* (we are being beaten up 1-0). I thought probably he was referring to the fact that the opponents were playing too rough. I later learned that it was the regular expression. The Turkish-Cypriots very rarely, if at all, say 'we are losing'. Their preferred and common expression is 'we are being beaten up' or alternatively, '*dayak atıyoruz*' (we are beating them up) to express that they are ahead in the score. This discourse clearly manifests the physical nature of the sport as internalised by the language as well as how it is constructed as a confrontation between two fighting parties. Even the changes during the game are expressed as in a boxing match where one boxer starts to dominate the fight and then becomes physically dominated by his opponent.

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[46] In 'league football', where each team plays all the other teams in the league, a win awards the winner team three points while the loser gets none. In case of a draw, in turn, each team is awarded one point, which is more often seen as 'losing two points' by the more ambitious teams that target titles. In 'elimination football', where teams are paired at each level and only one makes it to higher levels, there can be by definition only one winner.

Therefore, while Turkish-speaking football leagues and clubs mean sustained, regularised, and supervised contact with 'the others' on a frequent basis; the fact that this contact has a fiercely competitive, physical, and sometimes even hostile nature makes its implications on football more complicated. On one hand, I have spoken to many young players who have said that they learned to respect the others and also obtained knowledge about them mainly through their contact with players in the opponent teams. On the other hand, however, I have come across a significant degree of prejudiced and discriminatory discourse particularly about the rival clubs and those they are perceived to represent. 'They cheat, the Kurds' says one Turkish-Cypriot respondent of mine, recounting his experiences with the Kurdish players on the pitch as his encounter with 'the Kurds'.

8.3 Using Football for Integration: Implications for Integration Policies

Having presented the ethnographic account on the potentially positive implications of involvement in football in the last chapter and potential risks for segregation above, I would like to evaluate the potential of football for being used as a part of local or wider level integration policies. Football has, indeed, been used in community outreach programmes and integration measures, implicitly or explicitly, for a number of years both in Britain and in other countries. In the discussion below I will also refer to some of these schemes and programmes. Overall, I argue that football constitutes a fertile social field and an effective tool for a wide variety of programmes to be devised for mobilising and educating minority communities, and therefore could be utilised as part of effective integration measures. The ethnographic account provided in the previous chapter and above should be considered to indicate the fact that football provides a potential that needs to be carefully planned and managed.

8.3.1 The Popularity of Football: Football as a Common Passion

Depending on an extensive data collection conducted on their behalf, FIFA (2011) reports that the global following of football is at historical heights and growing:

> the 2010 World Cup in South Africa was **shown in every single country and territory on Earth, including Antarctica and the Arctic Circle**, generating record-breaking viewing figures in many TV markets around the world. The in-home television coverage of the competition **reached over 3.2 billion people around the world, or 46.4 per cent of the global population,** based on viewers watching a minimum of over one minute of coverage. This represents an eight per cent rise on the number of viewers recorded during the 2006 FIFA World Cup Germany.

There is no need to discuss the global nature of football anymore, which is abundantly documented and analysed (Blain and O'Donnel 1994; Giulianotti and Williams 1994; Giulianotti and Robertson 2009). The popularity of football in Britain, in general, and amongst the Turkish-speaking community, in particular, is also incontestable. The same holds for Turkey and Cyprus. That is why, in the previous chapter, I have described the field of Turkish-speaking football as a familiar and open social field. As documented there, by merely being interested and willing, if not necessarily talented and able, to be involved in the field, one feels welcome and not simply as a secondary guest, but as a primary member. That is, one feels welcome if that person is male.

In a list that could be constructed by asking the individual members of the community what the defining characteristics of Turkish-speaking men are, an interest and love for football would definitely find a place. It can be argued that some of it might be due to the reproduction of the hegemonic masculine discourses of football as a men's game. In other words, displaying an interest and love for football might be a strategic tool for some people for proving and embodying their masculine identities for some people. However, I would safely claim that for the vast majority of people who are indeed involved in this field, the love for football is very much real and sincere. I cannot suggest a percentage of the

Turkish-speaking community in London who are interested and/or involved in football, as this would have required a much more comprehensive surveying of the whole population, whereas my research has been mainly confined to people within the field. In many occasions when I have gone to Turkish coffeehouses or restaurants to watch important Turkish Super League games, however, I have witnessed the large number of people who may not be involved in the amateur football leagues in London, but very active and involved in Turkish football. I have also documented in the previous chapter that all local Turkish-speaking newspapers include many pages of reporting on football in London, Turkey, the TRNC, and the English Premier League.

It is also important to note that this global and globalising passion takes on very diverse local forms and shapes that are affected by the local cultures through a process which could be best described by the concept of 'glocalization' (Robertson 1992, 1995). In their study on the Scottish football fans in North America, Giulianotti and Robertson (2006) analyse immigrant cultures and construction of cultural identities through sports to document processes of 'glocalization' instead of a simplifying understanding of a homogenising globalisation. In discussing the effects of the local culture on the first and later generation immigrants, they suggest:

> we find communities of first-generation migrants who bring reggae, ska and 'calypso cricket teams' to England from the Caribbean, but whose children may turn to English football and North American hip-hop and R&B to ground their identities culturally. Or in North America, we find first-generation migrants from Asia's subcontinent who establish cricket teams, but whose children are drawn to the international marketing of the NBA [National Basketball League], the NFL [National Football League], the NHL [National Hockey League] or football (soccer) (Giulianotti and Robertson 2006: 174)

It is very significant to note the continued popularity of football among the latest generation of Turkish-speaking individuals in London. This is, of course, largely due to the fact that football has also been immensely popular in Britain and British national culture. Therefore,

it can be suggested that the commonality of the passion and interest for football in the Turkish-speaking immigrant communities and in the British host society has made football an even more convenient site to attract individuals from many different generations. This also makes it easier for policy-making circles and government bodies to use this common passion as a common language and a common denominator through which strong relations and rapport can be established. Also, this commonality of the passion for and popularity of football makes the field a perfect tool for communication with a large number of individuals from various communities. As the Chairman of the LFA puts it:

> There are some 300 different communities in the capital, which is one of the nicest bits of the job. Because when people come to England they don't necessarily like tennis, they don't necessarily like rugby, they don't necessarily like hockey or cricket... Well some do, especially the Asians are infinitely better at it than the English, so they love it. But **everybody wants to play football**. So we realise that that's strength of us **being able to communicate with those communities** (Interview with David Hawkes on 09.06.2011)

Similarly, 'Football Unites, Racism Divides' (FURD) which is a Sheffield-based NGO that organises local and national projects through football justifies their interest in the sport in the following way:

> We aim to combat racism and increase understanding between different communities. Fundamental to these aims has been a belief that football, as **the world's most popular sport**, can help **break down barriers** created by ignorance or prejudice and **bring together people from different backgrounds** to play, watch and enjoy the game. (Stone 2013: 8, emphasis added)

8.3.2 Football as a 'teaching tool'

As I have reviewed in Chapter 1, the functionalist perspectives on sports in general, and football in particular, emphasise their social functions as valuable and effective teaching tools. To briefly reiterate, I have shown that in the literature sport has been analysed as a social institution that transmits values to participants. 'The rules of sports are, for example,

widely agreed and this is perceived to both reinforce and reflect the notion of consensus in society; it reflects existing cultural values (e.g. fair play and achievement striving); it aids in pattern maintenance and tension management' (Jarvie and Maguire 1994: 9-10). Going even further, it has been suggested that sport teaches people the basic values and norms of the society in which they live and performs a useful socioemotional function (Coakley 1990: 23).

The review of the history of the development or re-invention of modern competitive sports in the British and American contexts, furthermore, shows that sports are designed in such a way to be an effective teaching tool for young males (see Chapter 6). Again, to briefly recap this point, let us remember how Burgess *et al.* (2003: 200) summarise this process:

> Some of the games of the Middle Ages were thus reconstituted and new ones devised so that sport (or controlled masculinity) could be **taught to schoolboys** in an organised and systematic manner.
>
> Hence, headmasters in privileged schools in Britain instigated sport not for the mere pleasure of physical exercise, but for the **inculcation of ideological values**. Through sport, unruly males **were taught** social control and deference to authority. Through sport nationalism and social class status were reinforced.
>
> In Britain and across the Atlantic, sport became heralded as character building, as **instilling moral virtues** into boys and turning them into men (emphases added).

My fieldwork manifests that this understanding of football as an effective teaching tool has been consolidated both among the local government institutions and the community itself. The LFA Chairman, whom I have quoted as acknowledging the popularity of football and the ability of the LFA to communicate to different ethnic communities through it, also acknowledges the value of football as a teaching tool for educating various ethnic communities who come to England in 'just how you run things here' .

The communities themselves also bought in this perspective of football as an effective tool for teaching young boys values about life and their ethnic and cultural identities. This is

apparent in the ethnographic accounts provided in the chapters on identities, masculinity, and in the previous chapter on integration. People (usually the fathers, but occasionally other family members including mothers) bring their kids to the Turkish-speaking football clubs so that they 'learn' certain values like hard-work, competition, companionship and loyalty, self-discipline, toughness and persistence in the face of hardships, and so on, as well as learning their language and culture. The former set of values is usually emphasised as being the same necessary ones in life. So, through football, the dominant logic goes, the kids learn how to be successful in life. As I have extensively discussed in the chapter on masculinity, this is usually done as a claim for an ethnically customised manhood:

> I brought my son to the Turkish league not so that he could learn how to play football or so that one day he could become a star player who earns millions. No, if I wanted that, I would have brought him to English clubs. I brought him to the Turkish league so that he could learn how to become a man! You know, a man like a man (*adam gibi adam*)! So that he learns respecting his elders and superiors, he fights for himself but also for his teammates, the value of friendship and loyalty (from field-notes).

8.3.3 Integration through Football: A Selective Review of Football Tournaments, Festivals, and Programmes

Neither the popularity of football as a common passion for large masses with a wide range of backgrounds, nor the effectiveness of using it to instill certain dominant values has remained unnoticed. I have reviewed in some detail the long established role of football in various nationalist agendas in Chapter 1. I have also reviewed in various parts in the same chapter and in Chapters 5 and 6 how football has been instrumental in (re)producing various dominant identities and masculinity. Here, I would like to present a selective review of some projects that specifically target immigrant, refugee, and other minority communities with an agenda of fighting racism and helping these communities' integration.

Before presenting an overview of the various tournaments, festivals, and programmes in the British case, I would like to start with an international example where football has been used as a tool for bringing together different immigrant communities in a cosmopolitan European city to get them to engage in inter-communal interaction and help integration into a multicultural context. Then, I will very briefly review the British examples of 'the Unity Cup' for refugees and asylum-seekers, 'All Nations Football Festival', and London Communities League.

Amsterdam World Cup

A noteworthy international example is the Amsterdam World Cup (WK Amsterdam), which is a tournament that has been organised for immigrant communities in Amsterdam since 2001. Analogous to the FIFA World Cup, each team represents a 'nation', so the names of the teams are Turkey, Afghanistan, Brazil, and so on. Burdsey (2008) describes the tournament in the following way:

> WK Amsterdam was originally conceived during the 2000 men's European Championships when a group of friends in Amsterdam joked that, due to its ethnic diversity, a multinational competition could actually be held in the city itself. ... Among the 32 'nations' that attend the tournament African, Middle Eastern, South Asian and Caribbean nations are much more prominent, representing established migrants from former Dutch colonies, more recent 'guest-workers' and new groups of displaced communities. The tournament is predominantly for amateurs, with players selected from local minority ethnic clubs or leagues, yet it is not unheard of for professional players to represent some of the stronger nations. The tournament's organisation is overseen by a committee of volunteers, under the lead of René Blom, the general producer. Each competing team must pay 200 Euros, but entrance is free for supporters. A small amount of funding is provided by sponsors and the municipal authorities (pp: 260)

The tournament, then, is not organised *by* the municipality or any other local or national government institution, but is supported by them. What is the point of such a tournament? The tournament's 'business plan' states that:

> Historically soccer has been THE instrument to **connect different cultures**. Through the love for the ball, many **nationalities living in the Netherlands are brought together** on the Amsterdam World Cup .... **While retaining their own identity, visitors and participants of the Amsterdam World Cup gain understanding and respect for other countries** (cited in Burdsey 2008: 270, emphases added)

Through a discourse that is very much a reflection of the dominant understanding of 'multicultural integration' of the Netherlands, the organisers of the tournament seem to aim to bring different communities together to aid their integration. It is important to note here that the very definition of a specific understanding of integration is advanced through this statement, i.e. integration is defined as coming together, understanding, and respecting other national identities, while not losing their own identity.

Therefore, from an analytic point of view, the WK Amsterdam appears to aim at two things. Firstly, it aims to create a social space for communal mobilisation for the diverse diasporic communities living side by side in Amsterdam and for the articulation of a large number of diasporic and masculine identities. Secondly, making it a politically more valuable endeavor from a Dutch perspective, it aims to create a public platform on which different ethnic groups can engage in meaningful social interactions and learn about one another.

Does it work? Assessing the degree to which it achieves its first goal, i.e. communal mobilisation and articulation of identities, is quite easy. One needs only to attend a tournament or, almost equally effective, read an article describing and analysing one. In this first goal it appears to be perfectly successful. People waving the national flags of their respective diasporic home countries, dressing in a way to represent their national culture, performing music and dance shows, as well as selling and consuming 'ethnic food' are all testaments to this (Burdsey 2008: 260). In this example, the effectiveness of football as a social space and mechanism for communal mobilisation and production, embodiment, and representation of identities that have been documented in the previous chapters in the Turkish-speaking community in London is manifested once more in another context.

The question of social interaction and multicultural integration, it has been reported, is another matter. Although apparently they 'come together';

> Nevertheless, for the majority of participants at WK Amsterdam, the on-pitch exchanges are the nearest they come to any semblance of cultural interaction.The sheer scale of the venue allows, and arguably encourages, teams to spread out and keep themselves separate (Burdsey 2008: 270).

According to this analysis, then, most communities do not come to WK Amsterdam to learn about others but to tell others about themselves, which has been considered to be segregating by the author in the above analysis. However, I would definitely argue partially based on my own fieldwork and experiences, even if the stated objective of the participants does not involve a willingness to learn about others or engage in cultural interaction with them, once they enter into this social space, they are subjected to other cultures anyway. Therefore, no matter how limited the conscious, direct, and deliberate cultural exchanges outside of the football pitches may be, there is the acknowledgement of the others and a constant flow of knowledge about them.

The Unity Cup Festival

The Unity Cup is an annual 7-a-side football tournament that aims to engage mainly refugees and asylum seekers across Britain, and is organised by the 'Kick It Out', an NGO fighting racism in and through football that was established in 1993 and has been funded by the governing bodies of football. The stated target of the Unity Cup is to 'overcome exclusion, build confidence and address overt racism at refugee societies'. The peculiar aspect of this tournament is that, since 'it is not geared towards the best footballing talent', the main prize of the tournament is a Fair Play Award that goes to the team with the best sportsmanship spirits. In other words, the main prize of the tournament is given not to the

team that beats most opponents or scores the most goals, but to the one that establishes the friendliest relations and plays in the most 'gentlemanly fashion'[47]. This peculiar practice can be interpreted as an effort to counter the potentially adverse implications of intense physical competition that is reviewed above. As such, it stands as a valuable measure to consider in organising such tournaments and sporting festivals.

All Nations Football Festival

The All Nations Football Festival, as mentioned above in the quote by the LFA Chairman, has been organised through a cooperation between the LFA, Home Office, Refugee Council, and an NGO, the London Playing Field Association (LPFF). The LPFF, a foundation formed in 1890 to protect the open spaces of London from rapid urbanisation and was granted a Royal Charter in 1925, initiated this project for the first time in 2001. The project involved a one-day tournament plus an eight-week Summer League in London aiming to engage 'refugees and other disenfranchised groups in London'. This project has immediately received praise as well as support from the LFA, the Home Office, and the Refugee Council. The success of this project has further encouraged the organisers and paved the way for a more comprehensive project. While the festival has continued to be organised every summer annually until 2009, the organisers have channelled more ambitious teams who wish to play regular competitive football to the London Communities League, which was established in 2004 (see below). In the six years between 2000 and 2006, it is reported that '**155 adult male teams** drawn from **87 community groups**

[47] All information is taken from the official website of the project, accessible at http://www.kickitout.org/221.php

participated in the project'. After 2009, all interested teams were encouraged to establish community teams and compete in that league directly.[48]

London Communities League

Another significant football event that has been organised in London since 2004 with similar concerns in mind is the London Communities League. The teams that are involved in this league can be named after various communities such as the *Real Kurds Sport Association*, *Asianos* FC, or the *Ummah United*; or after certain localities where the organisers of the team live such as *North London United*, *Eastside Rangers*, or *East London Leisure Trust* (see Appendix 5 for a list of the teams that have competed in this league since 2004).

Again, two goals appear behind the establishment of this league. The first is related to the popularity of football and its effectiveness as a teaching tool:

> We work with the Home Office on a slightly separate scheme on what is called the London Communities League or the All nations Football festival in the summer. The organizers are LFA, London Playing Field Association, the Home Office, and the Refugee Council. What this does is gather people from disadvantaged groups, so you get Somalis, Congolese, typically the parts of the world that are in conflict. And you can tease them in, get them to form themselves into a team, **try to educate them in just how you run things** (Interview with LFA Chairman, David Hawkes on 09.06.2011).

According to the website of the LPFF, the initial project of the 'All Nations Football Festival' began "as a means of using sport to help refugee communities to **assimilate into life in the capital**" (emphasis added). The other goal behind establishing such a league as this one seems to be concerned with creation of a controllable social space in which different community members could easily get involved to represent their communities.

[48] All information is taken from the official website of the project, accessible at http://lpff.org.uk/About/Case-Studies/All-National-Football-Festival. Also see, http://www.kickitout.org/845.php.

This league provides a more ‘controllable’ platform because the organisers have the ability to directly govern it through the LFA. In other words, while the other community leagues such as the TCFF or the KOPA also have to be sanctioned by the LFA and as such are under its authority, they remain relatively autonomous in their actual operation as described in earlier chapters. In the London Communities League, however, control is directly and totally in the hands of the LFA and its partners.

A review of the clubs that have competed in this league, however, seems to suggest that participation in this league is much more discontinuous. There is a large number of teams that compete in the league one year and then disappear in the next. This suggests that while it may help different communities to mobilise and represent their identities in an LFA league on a temporary basis, the London Communities League does not help significantly in longer-term communal mobilisation and organisation. When we look at the community leagues, this distinction becomes even clearer. The community leagues allow communal mobilisation, and articulation and representation of identities on a much longer basis through their institutionalisation, which gives the ownership of the league to the members of the community. In the London Communities League, however, the teams are participants and competitors in the league, not its owners.

From another perspective, the autonomous community leagues and the LFA-organised and -managed London Communities League could be seen to represent different views on integration. While the ethnic leagues can be seen to represent a more multiculturalist alternative, the London Communities League can be seen to provide a cohesion and integration alternative where different communities are expected to come together and engage in meaningful social and cultural integration. Football, in this case, provides the common denominator and the shared value around which these communities should come together.

The Autonomous Community Leagues

What then is the role of the autonomous community leagues such as those that have been the subject of this dissertation? A good starting point would be to consider how the policy-makers and local governing bodies of football consider the effects of these leagues in terms of integration. It is possible to see policy-makers and various governing bodies struggling with the two opposing views on ethnic community football and integration. To reiterate, on the one hand, there are the arguments, more implicit and commonsensical than their counterparts on the other side, that engagement in organised sports is a form of active participation in the society and as such, automatically and necessarily, offers a bundle of positive implications for the integration of an individual including psychological relief, intensified cultural interaction, and protection against social marginalisation. On the other hand, there are the arguments that suggest that the nature of activity and participation is more important. Such arguments suggest that, if and as long as the activity takes place only in a single ethnicity social field, then it is not possible to expect that it would help integration. To the contrary, since they are excluding the participation of individuals from other ethnic and cultural groups and leading to ethnic segregation, these leagues, if anything, are counter-productive for integration.

The London Football Association (LFA), for example, first welcomed the establishment of ethnic community leagues, then tried to destroy them, and finally decided to accommodate these ethnic (or 'cultural') leagues in London. It is possible to see the change in the LFA's attitude as motivated, and perhaps conditioned, by the transformations of the dominant discourses on diversity and its management from 'good race relations' to 'multiculturalism' and to the most recent 'integration and cohesion'.

The LFA is a vast organisation that was established in 1882. Its authority stretches over 31 of the 33 London boroughs and its activities cover leagues, clubs, referees, coaching

courses, development programmes, and so on. Therefore, all the major ethnic leagues in London, including the TCFF, the TKFF, the KOPA, and Maccabi Jewish League are registered and sanctioned by the LFA. Therefore, there has been a long and direct relationship between these leagues and the LFA ever since they were established. As stated earlier, the Greek-Cypriot and Turkish-Cypriot communities established their football organisations, the KOPA in 1975 and the TCFF in 1976, respectively. The LFA seems to have welcomed both initiatives at the time. The current and former administrators of either league never mentioned any difficulty they had experienced. It is also noteworthy that the mid-70s were a time when multiculturalist policies had started to gain prominence and it became increasingly easier for minority communities to establish and manage their own cultural institutions. In this view, these leagues were granted permission to manage their own affairs and regulate their leagues as long as they abided by the general rules and sanctions of the LFA. The limit on the number of players from different ethnicities has been one of the most significant examples of this autonomy.

Although this permissive approach has had its ebbs and flows through time, the LFA has never exerted any significant degree of pressure on these leagues to change their rules. A few years ago, the situation has changed. Some members of the LFA Council expressed their dismay about these ethnic leagues in London. The current CEO of LFA, David Hawkes, explains why:

> The members of the Council have read the FA's equality guide on how everything has to be inclusive, and said we've got to stop these ethnic leagues. Because legally we have to. Because they are not inclusive. They should not be allowed to exclude other individuals from participating based on their ethnic or cultural identity (David Hawkes, interview on 09.06.2011).

To be sure, neither the illegality of excluding individuals based on ethnic identity, nor the fact that these leagues have been routinely imposing such exclusion was a recent

discovery. What's changed must have to do with the political debates over integration and cohesion, and the demanded changes to the dominant multiculturalist framework in Britain. I have reviewed this process in some detail in Chapter 2, but to reiterate here; the Commission on Integration and Cohesion was announced in 2006 and published their final report in 2007. This report called for a heightened emphasis on the need for a sense of 'shared futures' as well as mutual respect and civility (CIC 2007). The LFA's suggestion to lift all ethnic restrictions on participation is dated from 2008. The pressure has made a significant effect on the field of community football in London and some of the smaller and less-established community leagues were closed down. However, it also created a fierce opposition and resistance and as such, the bigger leagues fought back. These ethnic leagues, their arguments went on, were in fact greatly helping integration:

> ...take the LFA for example last few years. They have been saying 'no, we don't agree there are cultural leagues. We don't accept that. You don't have the right the restrict the number of non-Italians or non-Turks or non-Cypriots'. And that was a rule that was trying to be brought in 3 years ago. We fought it. In fact, I wrote in to the LFA, I said you are going to close down a lot of leagues which are doing a very worthwhile job of getting youth involved. So lots of different leagues were closed down. The Italian league was closed. There is now the Turkish, Cypriot, Jewish league. All the rest are based on smaller places and not on communities. And we've been struggling to maintain that for the last few years. (Interview with KOPA President, Markos Chrysostomou, on 28.01.2011)

This determination and commitment on the part of the administrators of the community leagues seemed to have caused the LFA to reconsider their position. They had to have a closer look at what was going on in these leagues and whether they were in fact helpful or harmful in terms of integration. The current administration of the LFA seems to have come around. Their CEO explains their revised perspective on these leagues:

> Well, the starting point is these leagues are created for the community they serve. And the strength of it is that they all know each other. And especially with the TCFF league. They have a tendency to replicate the league in Turkey- so you have Fenerbahce, Galatasaray and Besiktas here in London. I think that is a tremendous boost to the community to belong to what is understood to be a worldwide club. But you are doing it in your own environment in England. And the players thrive in that environment. When

> you look at the list of winners, they are all there. And I am sure this is because they believe they are representing their country. Most of the kids are born in London but it connects them, doesn't it, to their roots. (interview with David Hawkes on 09.06.2011)

Overall, it appears that the local governing body of football in London considers the ethnic community leagues as secure spaces for their respective communities where they are brought together with their co-ethnics in a structured way under rules and regulations which are sanctioned by the LFA, get empowered by having a connection to 'their roots', identify with possibly a global identity, and very importantly, do so in their own environment. The communal empowerment is significantly encoded in the autonomy of the leagues. Although the LFA and other local and national governing bodies have their own specific authorities concerning different aspects of the community leagues, their executive committees remain largely in control of regulating what happens inside. When I asked to what extent the LFA has the right and/or inclination to intervene in the day-to-day governing of these leagues, the LFA Chairman says the autonomy is very strong and he is often required to remind individuals or clubs from the community leagues of this when they ask them to intervene in their cases:

> Whenever there is a complaint or appeal, we try to assess it on the evidence put forward. The league would have a reason why they did what they did. The player and the club have a reason to want what they want. But even in those cases, as I often say at the Board of Appeals, **if the rules say Christmas can be in July, it is not for us to say it's got to be in December**. If the rules say it can be in July then... **It is their rules** a**nd it's their Christmas.**

8.4 A Convenient Space for Controlled Communal Mobilisation & Representation, Empowerment, and Intercultural Contact: A Discussion

A recent report published by the Department for Communities and Local Government, which was established in 2006 under the UK Government, suggests that there are five key factors which contribute to integration: tackling extremism and intolerance; a common

ground; a sense responsibility; participation and empowerment; and, social mobility (CLG 2012: 4, see Figure 8.1 below).

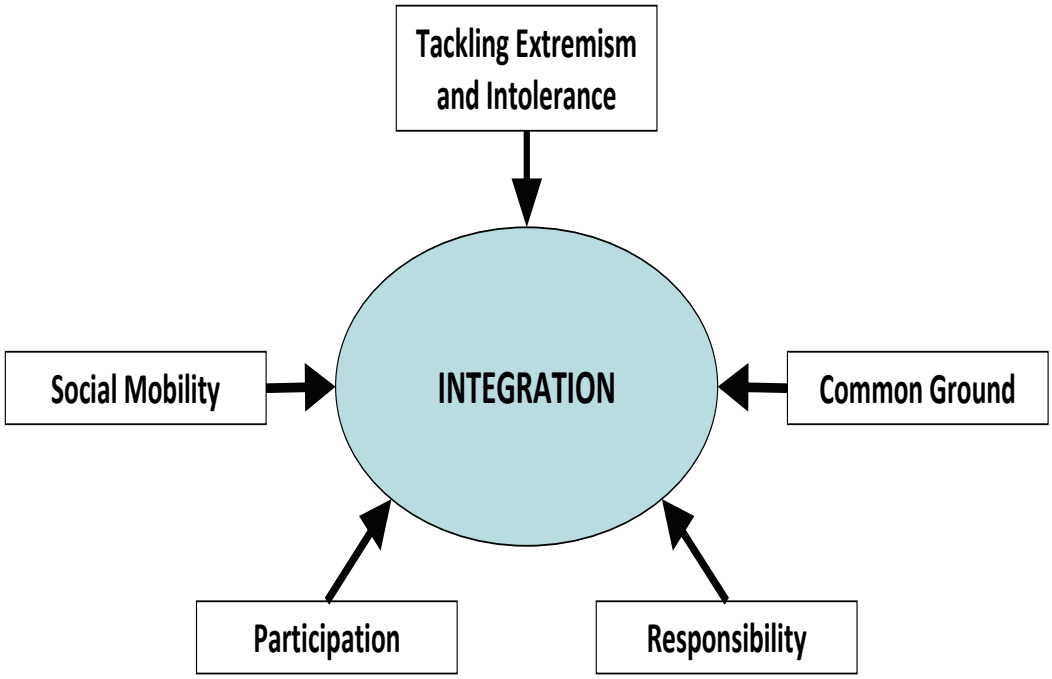


Figure 8.1 The five key factors suggested to be contributing to integration by the CLG report (2012: 4)

The last chapter has presented an ethnographic account that has argued ethnic community football as a field brings a significant number of implications that prevent social marginalisation which is a strong way of tackling extremism and perception of intolerance. It has also been argued and evidenced in the last chapter that involvement in ethnic football has an empowering function through enabling individuals to participate in the communal life, have a sense of achievement and esteem as well as future aspirations. It has also been proposed that the field of football offers a number of opportunities for social mobility, either through accumulating new forms of human and social capital that would be useful in other fields of the social life or through upward mobility from one position to another within the field itself. Lastly, I have presented the case that involvement in football

helped individuals get a sense of personal discipline and appreciation for the norms and rules of social life.

Perhaps the most significant contribution football could bring into the integration policies and programmes is its status of being an uncontested common ground. Football provides for a common passion that serves as an effective channel for communication. Overall, the analysis and evidence provided in this and the previous chapters suggest that ethnic community leagues provide a convenient social space that could be used to help integration through (i) communal mobilisation and representation, (ii) empowerment of communities as well as individuals, and (iii) intercultural contact and dialogue.

I have shown particularly in the last chapter that ethnic community leagues are extremely effective fields in which communal mobilisation can be achieved whereby individual members of communities could come together in solidarity and help each other deal with the difficulties of living in the diaspora. What is more, through involvement in ethnic amateur football, immigrants could have a sense of rootedness and belonging to a recognised ethnic identity. And lastly, ethnic community leagues provide a perfect public space for the representation of various collective identities which contribute in the sense of security these communities have.

Organised amateur football could offer empowerment to individuals as well as communities. I have presented ethnographic evidence on how ethnic football provides a sense of achievement and aspirations for the individual immigrants. For the communities, too, it provides a space that belongs to themselves and that can be regulated autonomously. To use the analogy offered by the LFA Chairman, the ability to self-determine when the community's 'Christmas' will take place is a significantly empowering experience. The final report of the FURD research project on the role of football in the lives

of refugees and asylum seekers also highlights the empowering function of football for such communities:

> Belonging is about the **ownership of and right of access to certain spaces**. Asylum seekers and refugees are able to claim the same **right to a footballing space** more easily than other places which may be symbolic of belonging: the neighbourhood, your own home, place of work, meeting places such as pubs, cafés and other leisure facilities. There should be spaces beyond the boundaries of the pitch that are similar sources of sanctuary, to socialise after playing or for watching football in **a comfortably communal atmosphere** (Stone 2013: 74, emphasis added)

Football, as a common and cross-cultural passion, also offers a perfect social space to bring together different cultures and engage them in a meaningful interaction and dialogue. As argued throughout the last two chapters, though, the nature of the intercultural contact is of immense significance. It could as easily serve conflict and intercultural distancing as it can serve intercultural convergence (Halm 200). The case presented in Chapter 7 shows how football has enabled individuals from different cultural backgrounds to encounter their respective 'others' and communicate with them using the common language of football. Similarly, the discussion presented above concerning the implications of intense rivalry as well as the analysis of WK Amsterdam, shows that intercultural contact might indeed lead to distancing and conflict.

PART V

CONCLUSIONS

CONCLUSION

Diaspora Politics in a ‘Publicly Owned Private Space’

Focusing on a diasporic community in London within a specific transnational field, this thesis has been an exercise in examining (i) how they engage in everyday relations of power and interest by mobilising their diasporic connections, defined at large as diaspora politics; (ii) how they (re)produce, maintain, and transmit their ethnic and cultural identities in a diasporic context; and (iii) what implications there are for cultural integration within this field. My aim was to make a contribution to the discussions that centre around the questions of diasporic politics and identities; everyday transnationalism of the immigrants’ lives; how to manage ethnic and cultural diversity in a Western liberal democractic context; how to consider different ethnic groups’ place and position within the society at large; how to approach the ‘moral panic’ that has been arising in Western societies mostly out of the concerns that their cultural identities have been under threat of this diversity; and how we can conceptualise cultural integration as a neutral process of identity transformation in which immigrants develop a subjective sense of belonging.

These themes as well as the academic and public debates surrounding them emerged in my mind to be very important ones at the end of my two years in Oxford as a student at the MPhil programme in Migration Studies and having written an MPhil thesis entitled ‘An anthropological contribution: a critical approach to the scholarly and political discourses over "integration of immigrants” in the UK’ which had argued that integration discourses in the UK were suffering from a quantitative-macro level bias stemming from a politically-loaded understanding of integration. I have also suggested that any attempt for understanding the dynamics of diasporic politics and issues of integration and belonging,

one has to devise specific methodologies that pay sufficient attention to the subjective and qualitative aspects of these issues.

I have chosen to focus on the Turkish-speaking community mostly out of practical and logistical concerns as a native Turkish-speaker who is familiar with Turkish culture as well as the history of Turkish migration to Europe. London was selected out of practical as well as analytical concerns. The geographic proximity, linguistic competence, and the absence of any extra requirements for a research permit, to give some examples, were important advantages on the practical side. On the analytical side, as I discussed in Chapter 1, the Turkish-speaking community in London has been characterised as an 'invisible' ethnic group which has been significantly understudied. This was in stark contrast to some Western countries including Germany, Netherlands, and France, which had more sizable Turkish and Kurdish immigrant minorities and where a significant degree of academic interest on them has existed. The remarkable degree of ethnic, cultural, and religious diversity as well as diversity with respect to migration histories, legal statuses, and socio-economic conditions within this community and the noted 'ambivalence' with respect to identities in the literature also made this community analytically attractive. More specifically, the prominent place of the Turkish-Cypriots in London made this community 'unique' in many respects, as also discussed in Chapter 1.

The next challenge was to construct a field in which this community could be engaged and studied. One common approach in anthropology has been to select a locality such as a town, a village, or a suburb of a city. Considering the fact that the Turkish-speaking community has been concentrated in the Northern boroughs of London such as Haringey, Hackney, and Enfield (see Table 1.3), this approach looked suitable enough for the research, even though younger generations of Turkish-Cypriots have dispersed throughout London.

However, looking at a locality in a big metropolis without a thematic or methodological focus doesn't necessarily enable a researcher to have a comprehensive ethnographic gaze in which to locate and observe the sets of meaningful relationships s/he wishes to investigate. I have chosen to define my field, therefore, in a non-geographical and dynamic way to be consisting of agents occupying specific positions and engaging in relationships around ethnic community football, as discussed in the introduction chapter and Chapter 1, to have a holistic perspective. This Bourdieuian perspective, in effect, excluded some segments of the community who do not get involved within this field, most notably including a vast majority of Turkish-speaking women but also those who have either no interest or no capability to be involved. However, it gave me a chance to situate myself easily in the field as an agent with respect to other agents occupying their respective positions and to get deeper insights as to the structure of the field and nature of the relationships that exist within it. This also enabled me to follow the relationships that frequently extended outside of London to Cyprus, Turkey, Germany and beyond, thereby acquiring a better sense of the transnationalism which is a defining feature of this field as well as the community that I was conducting my research on.

In one of our final supervision meetings, my advisor used a very useful analogy. He said that the process of analysis and writing-up this dissertation is the final stage of a 'circular journey'; I started in the library where I reviewed the literature, thought about my research questions, considered possible methodologies to devise my own, and contextualised my research interests with respect to prominent academic and public debates. Then I moved to my field with all of this background reading and contemplation in my mind, trying to find answers to my questions and to gain insights that would contribute in the major issues. In the last stage of this journey, I traveled back to the library with all the new information I collected throughout my fieldwork.

After more than two years of research and the transcription, organisation, and encoding of the data collected from this research, I returned to the library. In many ways, the debates in which I wanted to contribute remained as important, although there have been some significant changes in their general contexts. For example, today in 2013 the question of integration of immigrants still occupies a prominent place in the respective political agendas of many Western democracies. However, the tone in the years from 2007 to 2009 when I was thinking about my questions and reviewing the literatures seems to have been more security-oriented in the aftermath of the terrorist bombings in London and Madrid, which rekindled many of the security debates witnessed in the aftermath of the September 11 atrocities in the US. In the few years that passed, the debate has somewhat got distanced from 'you are either with us or with the terrorists' (Aksoy 2006), but it still is exploited by the far-right political movements using anti-immigrant and xenophobic messages.

The time that passed from 2007 also seems to show signs of a growing acceptance of the reality of irreversible diversity and the hybridity of identities, although it would still be too optimistic to suggest that identity politics are completely getting away from essentialising discourses of reified identities. Racism is, without a doubt, still with us. There has been, however, a 'normalization of mobility', (Jeffery and Murison 2011) and a growing acceptance of diasporas and the reality of everyday transnationalism in the lives of numerous diasporic communities (Baumann 2010). I believe that this thesis will constitute a contribution in this trend of growing acceptance and acknowledgement of the 'normal-ness' of the lives of diasporic communities throughout the world by showing that the complexity of transnational diaspora politics in specific social fields with the advent of the digital age and ever more globalised world can best be understood as a field of potentials, instead of inherently harmful, morally wrong, or threatening of national identity and

sovereignty. To the contrary, these fields of potentials could very well be utilised for worthy political purposes, including cultural integration and harmonious multicultural cohabitation.

This thesis has presented and analysed an ethnographic account, also informed from a historical perspective, on the Turkish-speaking community in London. Therefore, it is an account to further the knowledge we have on this specific and increasingly significant group, contributing in their increasing 'visibility'. The presented detailed ethnographic account is also meant to describe the specific nature and position of the field of ethnic community football. One of the biggest contributions that this thesis has been attempting to make is to apply the Bourdieuian understanding of a 'field' to the study of a diasporic community and to suggest that this conceptualisation allows for a more flexible, dynamic, and holistic perspective.

Turkish-Speaking Ethnic Community Football as a Transnational Social Field 'both Private and Public'

The cross-cutting theme throughout the thesis has revolved around the fact that Turkish-speaking football has been deliberately designed to be and ever since functioning as a transnational social space, which has been perceived to be positioned between the Turkish-speaking private sphere and the British/Londoner public sphere, in and through which significant political, social, economic, and cultural relationships are forged and sustained. I have referred to the field as a 'publicly owned private space' in Chapter 5. This social space has been shown to be a central site of 'diaspora politics' that is defined in a much wider sense than the term 'politics' conventionally connotes. While it is possible to find other fields or significant social spaces that would host diaspora politics, there are certain factors that seem to give this field a unique position that has significant implications.

In Chapter 3, I have shown that the *raison d'être* of the Turkish-speaking football was to make a nationalist political statement in the 'London public space'. 'We wanted to let them know' was the expression I heard from many different informants recounting the foundation years. This obvious recognition that the ethnic community football leagues in London are in the public space is, of course, factual. All the games as well as most of the training sessions are held in public parks in North London. The leagues, and indirectly all the clubs which compete in these leagues, are registered to and sanctioned by the London Football Association (LFA). As such, they are eligible to compete in London-wide tournaments as Turkish-speaking ethnic community clubs representing whatever identity the club is established around or as the mixed team of their respective ethnic community league representing the community as a whole. Although there are limitations on their numbers, there is an increasing number of players and people from other ethnic communities making it increasingly more necessary to adopt a bi-lingual atmosphere.

This division of the ethnic/diasporic private sphere and the national/British/Londoner public sphere is not one that I drew in the library, but was one very popularly expressed in the field. In Chapter 5 and Chapter 7, for instance, I have shown how people talk about a 'culture shock' that the young people were supposedly suffering from because of the differences between and the incompatibility of the 'Turkish-speaking home' and the 'English outside'.

That is one of the most important findings and arguments of this research: the field of Turkish-speaking football seems to be considered 'out' of this duality. Seen as a part of the public space, as mentioned above, it is also a part of the Turkish-speaking private sphere. The sentiment of the community seems to view the field as belonging to 'us' but placed in the public and sanctioned by 'them'. In Chapter 8, I have quoted the LFA Chairman as saying 'if they want to have Christmas in July, they have it in July. It is their

rules, and it is their Christmas'. Indeed, this statement feels like the same sentiment in the Turkish-speaking leagues.

Apart from the more formal aspect of 'who can decide when the Christmas will be' through rules and regulations, there are the cultural aspects which also defy the public/private duality in the diaspora. I have shared so many photographs that illustrate that the representation of the Turkish-speaking cultures within the field is ever-present. If you go through a few of those figures, you will realise that the scenery is almost always full of Turkish or Turkish-Cypriot flags, people wearing jerseys of their favorite Turkish professional football club, culture-specific holidays are commemorated with banners and folkloric dance shows, and victories are celebrated with the traditional Turkish musical duo of the *davul* and *zurna* (see Chapter 2).

There is also always room for the inclusion and representation of other cultures. Although it was mostly for mocking purposes, I have seen *vuvuzelas* being played in many matches that were seen to symbolise the first FIFA World Cup in the African continent in 2010 in South Africa. There were as many Chelsea, Arsenal, and West Ham jerseys being worn as there were those of *Fenerbahçe*, *Galatasaray*, and *Beşiktaş* around the football fields, indicating that the English Premier League was also popularly followed. I described in Chapter 4 how many Turkish-speaking people watching the games were using terminology that is not being used in Turkish football such as 'Come on Blues' which is something they have obviously adopted in London. Also, I expressed my surprise in Chapter 6 upon hearing women around the field shouting things like "grab a man each' before a corner kick or 'clear it, boys'. The field of football allows, or perhaps forces, a mutual cohabitation and simultaneous representation of the Turkish-speaking diasporic culture and the many different cultures that exist in the London context and beyond, being merged in a globalising language of football.

There are many significant implications of this unique position of the field of ethnic community football simultaneously in between and out of the 'Turkish private v. British/ Londoner public' duality. One significant set of implications concerns the sense of security and ownership that the individuals from the Turkish-speaking community appear to have within the field. In Chapter 7 I have shown how this might assist first-generation immigrants in particular who might have little contact in London to get into an open, welcoming, familiar social space where they can acquire valuable social capital. Feeling a sense of ownership and having the sense of security within the field certainly applies to everyone from the community who would identify themselves with the Turkish-speaking community.

A significant implication of this specific positioning of the field of ethnic community football concerns **different identity projects**. I have shown in Chapter 5 that there has been a strong 'identity crisis' in the form of a common fear of 'losing the youth'. This common diasporic concern has been a major factor in the creation of this field and it still keeps motivating large numbers of adult members of the community to get involved in order to protect youth, save them from assimilation, and keep them from degradation. Different identity projects, as also discussed in Chapter 5 and formed as a result of communal negotiation, are reflections of the diverging visions for how to respond to this crisis. In Chapter 6, the same identity crisis is characterised as a 'crisis of masculinity', in at least a double sense, which has found its manifestation in being organised around an almost exclusively male site, where hegemonic ethnic masculinities are negotiated and produced. I have also argued that the structure and position of the field of Turkish-speaking football, which is conveniently situated in the Turkish-speaking private and the British/Londoner public, has been an essential factor accounting for the effectiveness of this field for (re)producing, maintaining, transmitting, and representing the hybrid masculine ethnic

identities. This has been documented particularly in relation to the representation of identities in the London public space since the establishment of this field.

Another important implication is that, due to this convenient position in between the Turkish and non-Turkish or between the Turkish and the British, the field has a remarkable potential for serving as a common denominator for different cultures and ethnic groups to come together and engage in positive and meaningful communication. In Chapter 8, I have suggested that a variety of different tournaments and programmes utilising football that could very well serve the opposite function of segregation and inter-communal distancing due to the inherent ethnic potential and presence of intense competition which could result in conflict. However, particularly in ethnic community leagues where the community members at large could identify themselves securely with the community and the league, the intercultural communication would be easier to establish.

This doesn't only apply to the community leaders or individual members of the ethnic community who run the league in question. To the contrary, I would argue, it is a particularly open social space for third parties to become involved to reach out to the Turkish-speaking community. For example, it is definitely a social space that could be used by the local and national governments to engage the Turkish-speaking community on 'its own turf', as they would see it, and communicate messages concerning integration and welfare programmes. In addition, apart from the above discussed potential of being deliberately and strategically used by interested parties, the field also provides a meeting place for different cultures with its dual public and private feel. Again, the feeling that getting to know these other cultures, or being exposed to them, on their own turf and on their own terms makes it easier not to consider them as threats to their own culture.

Another main theme and argument developed through the analytical chapters of this thesis is the complex political-economy characterising the respective personal or institutional

reasons for involvement as well as the agendas pursued within the field. In Chapter 3, I have defined diaspora politics to be inclusive of a much broader spectrum of political relationships than the concept is traditionally taken to mean, where politics is defined essentially as power; the ability to achieve a desired outcome, through whatever means" (Heywood 2000, 10). I have to stress my analytical intention for using this conceptualisation once again.

I have, in effect, defined the field of Turkish-speaking football, which is a transnational space for diaspora politics, as the totality of these political relationships. Within this field, as it is true for all fields, what constitutes 'power or the ability to achieve a desired outcome' takes on a context-based, specific meaning. Therefore, it has been argued throughout this dissertation that all of the relationships within the field can be characterised as part of diasporic politics where different forms of capital translate into different degrees of power. The Chapter 4 proves that traditionally important capitals, such as financial capital, are definitely important in the field. However it also demonstrates, that field-specific capitals such as talent in football as human capital, contacts with professional scouts or club managers as networking or social capital, making a team champion or 'holding up the village name' as symbolic capitals take on tremendous amount of political power within the field.

The case has also been made that different forms of capital within the field are essentially convertible to other forms in this complex space of political relations. In Chapter 7, for instance, I presented the case of a Turkish-Kurdish immigrant, *Messi*, who upon arrival used his talent in football to get contacts, find a job, and even make a decent income out of it without speaking any English or knowing anyone in London before his arrival. In Chapter 4, where I considered the ambitions of *Pele* to become elected as the TCFF President to be able to help his wife's political prospects, I have also considered how the

TCFF executive committee seized an opportunity to meet with a delegation from the Turkish National Parliament and brought together Turkish-speaking businessmen who are involved in the ethnic community football league with the Members of Parliament, thus also testifying to the transnational character of the whole concept of diaspora politics.

Turkish-speaking Ethnic Community Football in London: A Brief Summary of the Research and Dissertation

The research conducted for this dissertation was composed of a year and a half of ethnographic fieldwork in London between July 2010 and January 2012. The London fieldwork was complemented by three short international trips to Turkey and Cyprus. Although I would not wish to call the research a 'multi-sited ethnography' on account of the brevity of the incursions, the international contacts, many of whom were acquired during these visits, certainly helped for a better understanding of the transnational set of relations as well as the dynamic nature of the field. Also complementary to my participant observation of community football and reliance on informants' accounts, I have made extensive use of secondary sources of information including local and transnational media products and personal archives of documents and photos.

The analysis and writing-up process of the dissertation took almost exactly two years in Oxford and Izmir, Turkey. I have made occasional visits to the field and contact with many individuals in the field remained strong mainly via the Internet. In fact, I have conducted a significant number of follow-up interviews via Skype for clarification of the already acquired information or for obtaining new information.

This dissertation is organised in four main parts. In the first part, which included three chapters, I have tried to introduce the research and used methodologies to the reader as

well as to give an analytical and theoretical background for the analysis conducted. Particularly, following the brief Introduction chapter, in **Chapter 1** I have defined and justified how the term 'Turkish-speaking community' has been used in the framework of this research as well as to discuss the terms and implications of such a definition around a common language. In the same chapter, I have presented the theoretical perspective adopted in this study which has relied significantly on the Bourdieuian terminology, after having reviewed and discussed the two major theoretical perspectives dominant in the social science literatures on sport, i.e. functionalism and conflict theory. Lastly, I have presented a contextualisation exercise in which I tried to place the main research themes of diaspora transnationalism, (re)production of diasporic identities, and cultural integration, into the larger social science literatures.

In **Chapter 2,** I have introduced and discussed my methodology. In particular, in addition to providing a full account of all the methodological tools used throughout the research process, I tried to convey a sense of the ethnographic experience through presenting sample photographs, field-notes, and archival documents. Since the research has employed a mixed methodology and, hence, collected a diverse set of data from each method, I have also discussed the ontological and epistemological bases of these different sorts of data collected and analysed in the process.

The following three main parts were organised around the three main research themes. In Part II, I have presented two chapters that are largely focused on questions of diaspora transnationalism and particularly how diaspora politics have been dominant in the field ever since it was created. In **Chapter 3**, I have presented a set of historical as well as contemporary ethnographic data, which together helped historically and politically contextualise the field of Turkish-speaking football as it stands today into a larger transnational political framework. Particularly, I have reviewed the international conjuncture

created by the Cyprus conflict, which had peaked in 1974, and its implications for the Cypriot diasporic communities, both Turkish and Greek, in London. The chapter has shown how the ethnic community football has been created to serve as a bridge in that context and it still does after more than 35 years.

In **Chapter 4**, I turned my focus toward the centre of the field in London and have suggested that there is compelling evidence to redefine the term of 'diaspora politics' in an enlarged and much more transnational, instead of international, way. I suggested through the presentation of ethnographic evidence that the number of agents/actors has increased as immensely as their nature has diversified. This enlarged transnational space for diaspora politics has also been facilitated by the development of the IT technologies, bringing forth digital diasporas.

In Part III, I presented two chapters on the identity theme. In **Chapter 5**, I presented evidence on the fact that the most significant common factor unifying the Turkish-speaking community has been an ostensible 'fear of losing the youth' to assimilation and/or bad habits. Against this fear, ethnic community football has been seen to provide an effective tool for constructing an identity, transmitting certain values to the younger generations, and thus, teaching them 'who they really are'.

Next, in **Chapter 6**, the very same fear of losing the youth has been re-conceptualised as to be seen as a significant component of 'crises of masculinity' that was argued to exist in several forms in the heavily patriarchal Turkish-speaking communities. In this context, the construction of a hegemonic masculinity and reproduction of dominant gender relations through and within the field of ethnic community football has been explored.

In Part IV, the last analytical research theme of cultural integration was explored. **Chapter 7** did not propose or adopt a specific and substantive definition of cultural integration, and instead, it attempted to review the implications of involvement within the field for a diverse

set of individuals. Although no specific definition was adopted, it was conceded in the chapter that certain implications could easily be seen to be potentially positive for cultural integration through, for instance, preventing social exclusion and marginalisation, and providing personal and psychological benefits for individuals.

Chapter 8, in turn, has presented the case for a problematisation of the 'automatic integrative effect' of involvement in ethnic community football and considered the potential for ethnic and cultural segregation, which can safely be assumed to be harmful for any definition of integration, inherent in ethnic organisation. In that last analytical chapter, it was suggested that involvement in football as well as intercultural football encounters, as reviewed in the chapter, could bear extremely great potential for integration with football being a vastly popular common passion and a teaching tool, the effectiveness of which has been historically proven.

The thesis came to a close with this concluding chapter that started with a first section of critical reflection on and compact reconstruction of the main arguments that are explicitly and implicitly made in all the analytical chapters. This present section presented a very brief summary of the research process and the dissertation. The next section will reflect on the limitations of the research and dissertation that could have been improved and could be seen as suggested directions for future research.

Limitations of the Research and Thesis

There are inevitably areas in the research process and in the presented analysis in this dissertation that suffered from certain limitations. The areas that could have been improved or enhanced include, but are not limited to, the following: inclusion of more quantitative data and analysis; a more comprehensive and diverse sample for in-depth

interviews, including individuals who used to be involved in the field but are not anymore and those who have never been involved in it; and, a deeper understanding and analysis of places and institutions that exist within the field but lie outside of London.

This thesis has not aimed at presenting a descriptive account of the Turkish-speaking community in London as to its demographic, socio-economic, or cultural characteristics. Therefore, the scope of analysis has been limited to the specific institutions and individuals who are identified as being involved within the field. The ultimately and decidedly qualitative nature of the research could have benefited from more quantitative data to complement its findings and help create a deeper analysis. Statistical indicators concerning the levels and sectors of employment, for instance, would have been helpful in contextualising individuals and groups who are actually involved in the field of football within wider Turkish-speaking communities. Such quantitative data and insights would have also helped to contribute in closing the knowledge gap on the Turkish-speaking community in London and made it 'less invisible' (see Chapter 1).

In-depth interviews have been extremely helpful in complementing the participant-observation of events and data collected from a large number of informants within the field. They also helped deepen an understanding of issues raised during the fieldwork by acquiring more detailed narratives from key individuals. Considering the scope of the present research and its analytical purposes, conducting in-depth interviews with a total number of 72 individuals selected to represent diversity of people involved within the field appears to be sufficient. However, the fact that all the individuals who have been interviewed for this research were people who, in one way or another, are involved in this field can be considered to be a limitation. This factor certainly limits any effort to understand the perception of these ethnic leagues by wider segments of the Turkish-speaking communities as well as their attitudes towards them. Also it would have been

helpful to conduct in-depth interviews with people who used to be involved in the field for some time and later left it. There was a small number of individuals who fit this description, such as the founding President of the Turkish Community Football Federation (TCFF), Yaşar İsmailoğlu, who is no longer involved in Turkish-speaking football leagues, yet insights from a larger number such people would have been illuminating. Lastly, conducting a higher number of in-depth interviews with women, who are categorically largely excluded from and marginalised within the field, would have been helpful in better understanding the patriarchal structure of the Turkish-speaking communities and its implications for the research questions at hand.

Finally, it would have been very helpful if a higher number of excursions, if not more lengthy research trips, were conducted to different geographical and cultural contexts within the field of Turkish-speaking football as defined in this research. The three international trips made to Northern Cyprus and Turkey, which were described in detail in chapters 3, 4 and 7, have been extremely useful for having an insight into the transnational nature of the field as well as into an understanding of how diaspora politics, as defined in Chapter 4, works within the field. A trip to Germany to meet with some of the Turkish clubs there, which are in contact with the London TCFF, for instance, would have considerably strengthened the argument about the transnationalism of and within the field. Similarly, a further trip accompanying the London Turkish Masters FC to Spain to attend an international veteran football tournament organised by a Spanish football organisation, for which I had actually received an invitation but had to regretfully decline due to financial and logistical reasons, would have similarly contributed in advancing the understanding of the transnational points of contact within and through this field.

APPENDICES

APPENDIX1 Sample Interview Questionnaire

(The following 'pro forma consent form' has been presented and read out to each respondent before the interviews either in English or Turkish)

Greetings and introduction

Hello. Thank you for agreeing to talk with me and spending your time. My name is Onur Unutulmaz and I am a doctoral student at the University of Oxford conducting a research project on the overall place of football in the lives of Turkish-speaking immigrants in London.

This is my University business card containing my contact information, you can use it if you want to contact me in the future concerning this interview or any other matter.

Background information

The purpose of this research is to understand the ways in which football plays a role in the identity construction processes of individuals as well as how identities are presented and acted upon around the football pitch. The reason I would like to speak with you specifically is your role as a president of an amateur football club (a sport journalist/ a related NGO worker, and so on).

If you are willing to participate then I would ask you some questions. The interview should last approximately 60 to 75 minutes.

Risks and benefits

There are no benefits to participating in this study other than contributing to developing a better understanding of the lives and identities of Turkish-speaking immigrants in London. If you do choose to participate, I cannot offer any material compensation.

There are no anticipated risks associated with participation in this study.

Confidentiality

If you do choose to participate, the records of this research will be kept private. In any publications based on this and other interviews that I may publish in the future, I will not include any information that will make it possible to identify any participants (unless you/

participants agree that I can use your/their name/s and title/s openly). Research records will be kept in a locked file, and only I will have access.

Participation is voluntary

If you do agree to participate in this research, your participation is completely voluntary. I want to assure you that if you decide not to answer a particular question or wish to discontinue the interview altogether at any point then that is completely fine.

Questions and contacts

Do you have any questions about what I have mentioned thus far?

If you have any questions about the study in the future, following the interview, please feel free to contact me. All of my information is on the card I have given you.

Do you agree to participate?

If the participant agrees: Would you mind if I record our conversation? Again any information recorded would be kept entirely confidential. If you would like, I could offer you a printed transcript of the interview when I have it ready. The transcript is for you to keep.

Sample Interview Questions

The in-depth interviews have been deliberately designed in a semi-structured form to allow for flexibility in collecting data while ensuring a certain degree of standard in the scope and degree of data to be collected. Therefore, not every single one of sub-questions has been asked in every case while different questions from the ones below being used in different interviews. These questions simply mean to be illustrative of the types of questions most commonly used in the interviews.

A. History of migration to London of the respondent and his/her family

- The migration experience in London?
  - Migration motives, legal status, administrative experiences?
  - Place of living?
  - Economic experiences?
  - Any experience of discrimination, racism, alienation?
  - Experiences of living within the Turkish-speaking community in London?

B. Life in London

- Current daily life experiences?
  - Place of living?
  - Economic experiences? Any mobility in socio-economic or legal status? - Social interactions?
  - General views about life in London as a Turkish-speaking individual?

C. Football History

- History of involvement in football?
  - History of involvement in Turkish-speaking football in London?
  - Why football in the first place? Individual and/or collective motives? - The past experiences with Turkish-speaking football?

D. Place of Football in life in London

- Why football today?
  - What is the place of football in your daily life?
  - What does football mean to you?
  - How does football impact on your life in London? Advantages and disadvantages, if any? - How different would your life in London be without football?

E. Football and Identities (a very diverse set of questions have been used under this heading depending on the individual respondent, i.e. player, manager, journalist, sponsor, supporter)

- Representation of identities through football?

- Do you think different clubs represent different identities?

- What sort of identities are represented on the football ground?

- Are there different dynamics when two specific identities (i.e. traditional rivals or ethnically different identities, etc.) compete against each other?

- Is it important for your (self-defined) identity to play (or support) football in the Turkish-speaking leagues, or for specific clubs?

- How does your family members feel about you being involved in the Turkish-speaking leagues, or specific clubs?

- Do you consider the (perceived) identity of a club when moving to (or supporting) that club or playing against that club?

F. Football and Community

- What is the place of football for the Turkish-speaking community?

- Do you think the community leaders use football to organize their own communities?

- What is the place of football in representing your community/the Turkish-speaking community in London?

- What are your purposes in investing your time and money in Turkish-speaking football?

G. Football and Integration

- How did/does football impact on the quality of your life in London?

- How did/does football influence your relations with other individuals (within the Turkish-speaking community and those from other communities)?

- What do you feel when you play football/ when you win/ when you lose? (questions related to sense of achievement, sense of worth, and confidence to follow)

- Would you recommend a Turkish-speaking individual who just arrived in London to get involved in football league? Why?

- Overall, do you think that being involved in Turkish-speaking football would make an individual feel more Turkish (or Cypriot/Kurdish as relevant) or more Londoner?

H. Views on Turkish-Speaking Community in London

- Would you consider the Turkish-Cypriots, the Turks and the Kurds to be a single community? Why or why not?

- What are the most important problems being experienced by the Turkish-speaking community in London? How do you think these would be solved?

- How are the relationships amongst the three ethnic communities; and between these communities and other communities in London?

I. Views on Future

- What are you views on future concerning yourself, the Turkish-speaking community, and the Turkish-speaking football in London?

J. Other Comments and Questions

- Do you have any other comments or suggestions?
  - Do you have any questions to me concerning this interview or my research in general?

Thank you very much for you time and kind cooperation! Your help is much appreciated!

APPENDIX 2 Examples of Diaspora Politics by Actors and Levels, as Discussed by the Preliminary Model in Chapter 4

LEVEL		Governmental		Diaspora			Non-Diaspora		
		Country of Origin	Country of Destination	NGOs	Businesses	Individuals	NGOs	Businesses	Individuals
	Macro	* Economic Development, * Leverage in Bilateral Relations, * Lobbying on International Issues, etc.	* Integration of Immigrants * Leverage in Bilateral Relations, etc.	* Influence governments and policies * Raise international & global awareness, etc.	* Obtain tax exemptions from states * Increase volume of international trade, etc.	* Pursue ambitions for national politics, etc.	* Influence governments and policies * Raise international & global awareness, etc.	* Obtain tax exemptions from states * Increase volume of international trade, etc.	* Pursue ambitions for national politics, etc.
	Meso	* Acquire skills, organisational know how, reverse 'brain drain', in certain specific sectors, etc.	* More effective implementation of local policies * Recruitment of qualified personnel, etc.	* Community mobilisation * Resistance against cultural assimilation, etc.	* Acquire financial benefits * Expand markets, etc.	* Pursue ambitions for local politics * Socio-economic mobility, etc.	* Community mobilisation * Establish contact with similar NGOs internationally, etc.	* Acquire financial benefits * Expand markets, etc.	* Pursue ambitions for local politics * Socio-economic mobility, etc.
	Micro	* Acquire ad hoc assistance at the micro level, e.g. hosting of government officials abroad, etc.	* Acquire ad hoc assistance at the micro level, e.g. hosting of government officials abroad, etc.	* Reach out to specific individuals either as recipients of NGO's services or personnel, etc.	* Acquire financial benefits, etc.	* Make a livelihood * Socio-economic mobility for individuals, etc.	* Reach out to specific individuals either as recipients of NGO's services or personnel, etc.	* Acquire financial benefits, etc.	* Make a livelihood * Socio-economic mobility for individuals, etc.

APPENDIX 3 Teams competing in TCFF and TKFF Leagues in the 2010-2011 Season

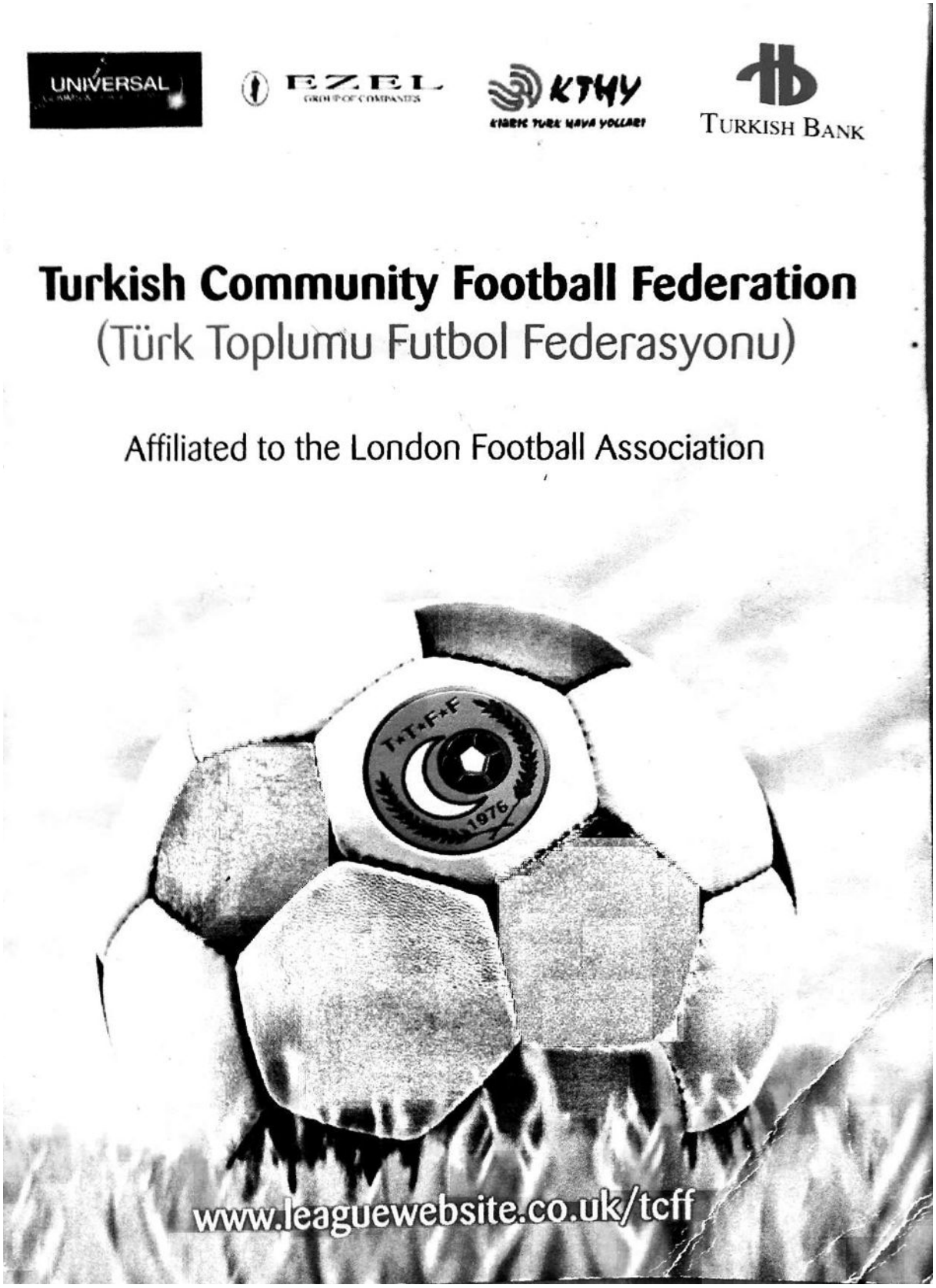
Type Of Clubs		Origin of Clubs	
NoO	Neighbourhood of Origin	**C**	Cypriot
I	Institutional	**T**	Turkey-Turkish
F	Fan Club	**TK**	Turkey-Kurdish
LN	Local (London) Neighbourhood	**O**	Other
See Chapter 5 for more information about the different types of clubs			

TCFF Ezel 1st Division	TCFF Ezel 2nd Division
Akıncılar **(NoO + C)**	İskele **(NoO + C)**
Yalova **(NoO + C)**	Doğan Türk Birliği **(NoO + C)**
Yeni Boğaziçi **(NoO + C)**	Gaziantep **(NoO + TK)**
Ergazi **(NoO + C)**	Türkmenköy **(NoO + C)**
Antalyaspor **(I + T)**	Karadeniz Gençlik **(NoO + T)**
Yavruvatan **(NoO + C)**	Mevlana **(I + T)**
Beşiktaş Kızılırmak **(F + TK)**	Yeşilada **(NoO + C)**
Magusa Türk Gücü **(NoO + C)**	Mehmetçik **(NoO + C)**
Kötürespor **(NoO + T)**	Trabzonspor **(F + T)**
Pekünspor **(NoO + T)**	Çamlıköy **(NoO + C)**
Genç Güzelyurt **(NoO + C)**	Fenerbahçe **(Fan + T)**
Anadolu **(I + TK)**	Adana FC/UK **(NoO + TK)**

TCFF Turkish Bank Youth U18 League	TCFF Turkish Bank Youth U16 League
Doğan Türk Birliği **(NoO + C)**	Antalyaspor **(I + T)**
Yeni Boğaziçi **(NoO + C)**	Doğan Türk Birliği **(NoO + C)**
Gaziantep **(NoO + TK)**	Fenerbahçe **(F + T)**
Yalova **(NoO + C)**	White Hart Rapids **(LN)**
Pekünspor **(NoO + T)**	Yalova **(NoO + C)**
Fenerbahçe **(F + T)**	Yeni Boğaziçi **(NoO + C)**
Antalyaspor **(I + T)**	

TKFF Day-Mer 1st Division	TKFF Day-Mer 2nd Division
Elbasani **(NoO + O)**	Aksaray **(NoO + TK)**
Anadolu Birlik **(NoO + TK)**	Smart FC
Dynamics	Genç Atılım **(I + TK)**
Nurhak **(NoO + TK)**	Dersimspor **(NoO + TK)**
Kırkısrak **(NoO + TK)**	Arı-Mazen **(I + TK)**
Gençliğin Sesi	Riviyon **(NoO + TK)**
İstanbulspor **(NoO + TK)**	Tohum **(NoO + TK)**
Day-Mer **(I + TK)**	
Bozca Der **(I + TK)**	

APPENDIX 4 The Official Rule Book of Turkish Community Football Federation in London



Turkish Community Football Federation
(Türk Toplumu Futbol Federasyonu)

Affiliated to the London Football Association

1. NOMENCLATURES AND CONSTITUTION

a. This competition shall be designated the TURKISH COMMUNITY FOOTBALL FEDERATION and shall consist of not more than 44 Clubs who shall be Full Member Clubs.

All such Member Clubs must be affiliated County Football Association and their names and particulars shall be returned annually by the appointed date on the Form "D" to the London Football Association. The area covered by the competition Membership shall be 15 miles from Charing Cross.

The competition shall apply annually for sanction to the London Football Association and the constituent teams of Member Clubs may be grouped in divisions, each not exceeding 12 in number.

b. At the Annual General Meeting or a Special General Meeting called for the purpose, a majority of the delegates present shall have power to decide or adjust the compilation of the divisions. When necessary this Rule will take precedence over Rule 12.

2. ENTRY FEE, SUBSCRIPTION, DEPOSIT

a. Applications by clubs for admission to this competition or the entry of an additional team(s) must be made in writing to the Secretary and must be accompanied by an Entry Fee of £250 per team which shall be returned in the event of non-election.

At the discretion of a majority of the accredited voting members present applications, of which due notice has been given, may be received at the Annual General Meeting or a Special General Meeting. The Entry Fee shall apply.

When Rule 12(B) is applied and a team seeks a transfer or is compulsorily transferred to another division no Entry Fee shall be payable.

b. The Annual Subscription shall be £30 per Team payable on or before the 30th June each year.
c. Each Club shall within 7 days of election pay a Deposit of £250, which shall be returnable to Clubs on leaving the Competition provided they

have fulfilled their fixtures and complied with all orders of the Management Committee.

d. A Club shall not participate in this competition until the Entry Fee, Annual Subscription and Deposit have been paid.

e. Clubs must advise annually to the Secretary in writing by 1st September of its London Football Association affiliation number for the forthcoming season, failing which they shall be fined £20. Clubs must advise the Secretary in writing, or on the prescribed form, of details of its Headquarters, Officers and any other information required by the Competition.

f. Clubs must pay all outstanding debts to the Federation before the AGM. Clubs defaulting shall be excluded from Federation Constitution for the next season following the AGM. To re-enter the federation clubs must make application under rule 2A.

3. OFFICERS

The Honorary Officers of the Competition shall be the President and Vice Presidents and the officers of the league shall be Chairman, Vice Chairman, Treasurer, Secretary, Registration Secretary, Referees Secretary, Fixtures Secretary and Disciplinary Secretary. The Honorary Officers shall be elected or removed at the Annual General Meeting and the officers will be elected annually at the Annual General Meeting. (N.B. Auditors are not Officers).

4. MANAGEMENT, NOMINATION, ELECTION

a. The completion shall be governed in accordance with the Rules and Regulations of The Football Association by a Management Committee comprised of the Officers and 1 member who shall be elected at the Annual General Meeting.

b. Retiring Officers shall be eligible to become candidates for re-election without nomination. All other candidates for election as Officers or Members of the Management Committee shall be nominated to the Secretary in writing, signed by the Secretaries of two Member Clubs, not later than 15th June each year. Names of the candidates for election shall be circulated with the notice of the Annual General Meeting. In the event of there being no nomination in accordance with the foregoing for any office, nominations may be received at the Annual General Meeting. Retiring officers shall confirm to the Secretary in writing by 15th June each year their intention to become candidates for re-election.

c. The Management Committee shall meet as often as is necessary to deal with business as it arises.

On receiving a requisition signed by two-thirds of the Members of the Management Committee the Secretary shall convene a meeting of the Committee.

d. Except where otherwise mentioned all communications shall be addressed to the Secretary who shall conduct the correspondence of the competition and keep a record of its proceedings.

e. All communications received from Clubs must be conducted through their nominated officers.

5. POWERS OF MANAGEMENT

a. The Management Committee may appoint such other sub-committees as they may consider necessary and may delegate such of their powers, as they deem necessary to such committees. The decisions of all such committees shall be reported to the Management Committee for ratification.

b. Subject to the permission of the London Football Association having been obtained the Management Committee may order a match or matches to be played each season, the proceeds to be devoted to the funds of the Competition and, if necessary, may call upon each Club (including any Club which may have withdrawn during the season) to contribute equally such sums as may be necessary to meet any deficiency at the end of the season. (See Rule 6(e)).

c. Each Member of the Management Committee shall have the right to attend and vote at all Management Committee Meetings and have one vote thereat, but no Member shall be allowed to vote on any matters directly appertaining to such Member or to the Club so represented. (This shall apply to the procedure of any sub-committee).

In the event of the voting being equal on any matter, the Chairman shall have a second or casting vote.

Rule must be formally charged in writing and given the opportunity to present their case before the Management Committee. All breaches of the Laws of the Game, Rules and Regulations of The Football Association shall be dealt with in accordance with F A Rules. All matters arising should be discussed within 15 days and all decision should be noted in a decision book and such book will be passed on from current disciplinary secretary to the new disciplinary secretary should a new secretary be elected at AGM.

e. All decisions of the Management Committee shall be binding subject to the right of appeal to the Board of Appeal in accordance with Rule 16.

Decisions of the Management Committee must be notified in writing to those concerned within 7 days.

f. 5 Members of the Management Committee shall constitute a quorum for the transaction of business of the Management Committee and 4 Members shall constitute a quorum for the transaction of business by any sub-committee of the Competition.

g. The Management Committee, as it may deem necessary, shall have power to fill in an acting capacity, any vacancies that may occur amongst their number.

h. A Club having failed to comply with an order or instruction of the Management Committee, or failing to satisfactorily attend to the business and/or the correspondence of the Competition shall be liable to be fined or otherwise penalised at the discretion of the Management Committee.

i. All fines and Charges shall be paid within 30 days of the date of posting of the written notification. Fines not paid within this period shall be doubled.

Clubs, Officials or individuals committing a breach of this Rule will incur such penalties as the Management Committee may impose.

j. A member of the Management Committee appointed by the Competition to attend a meeting or match may have any expenses incurred refunded by the Competition.

k. The Management Committee shall have the power to fill any vacancy that may occur in the membership of the Competition between the Annual General or Special General Meeting called to decide the constitution and the commencement of the Competition season.

l. Upon receiving 5 day notice before the game and the requested fee from

the club (should not exceed referee fee) T.C.F.F. Management Committee shall appoint an Observant Official to the game and a request a match report for such game from the Observant Official. The Observant Officials duty and right to report will be applicable till both team players and management officials leave the ground that the game has taken part. Once observant official has been requested by a team the request can only be cancelled upon mutual agreement all the club and T.C.F.F. \ Management Committee following cancellation upon mutual agreement fee will be refunded in full

m. T.C.F.F. Management Committee shall request a match report for all games from the referee and use this report in all disciplinary enquiries.

n. All the disciplinary matters shall be dealt by disciplinary committee consisting of 5 members which shall be appointed as follows. The disciplinary secretary elected at the AGM shall be the chairman of the disciplinary committee. In addition to elect a disciplinary secretary the 2 members of the disciplinary committee shall also be elected at the AGM. These 2 elected members shall not be the officers of the competition. The remaining 2 members of the disciplinary committee shall be appointed by the management committee. All the members of the disciplinary committee shall have no active involvement with any clubs within the competition. 3 members shall constitute a quorum for the transaction of business by the disciplinary committee. All decisions of the disciplinary committee shall be binding subject to the right of appeal to the board of appeal in accordance with rule 16. Decision of the management committee must be notified in writing to those concerned within 7 days.

6. ANNUAL GENERAL MEETING

a. The Annual General Meeting shall be held not later than 30th June each year. At this meeting the following business shall be transacted provided that at least 15 Members are present and entitled to vote:-

i. To receive and confirm the Minutes of the preceding Annual General Meeting.
ii. To consider any business arising there from.
iii. To receive and adopt the Annual Report, Balance Sheet and Statement of Accounts.
iv. Election of Clubs to fill vacancies (as recommended by the Management Committee).
v. Constitution of the Competition for ensuing season.
vi. Election of Officers and Management Committee.

vii. Appointment of Auditors.
viii. Alteration of Rules, if any (of which notice has been given).
ix. Fix the date for the commencement and conclusion of playing season.
x. Other business of which due notice shall have been given and accepted as being relevant to an Annual General Meeting.

b. A copy of the duly audited Balance Sheet, Statement of Accounts and Agenda shall be forwarded to each Club at least fourteen days prior to the meeting, and to the London Football Association.

c. A signed copy of the duly audited Balance Sheet and Statement of Accounts shall be sent to the London Football Association within fourteen days of its adoption by the Annual General Meeting.

d. Each Full Member Club shall be empowered to send two delegates to an Annual General Meeting. Each Club shall be entitled to one vote only. Not less than 14 days' notice shall be given of any Meeting.

e. Clubs who have withdrawn their Membership of the Competition during the season being concluded or who are not continuing Membership shall be entitled to attend but shall vote only on matters relating to the season being concluded.

f. All voting shall be conducted by a show of voting cards unless a ballot be demanded by at least two-thirds of the delegates qualified to vote or the Chairman so decides.

g. No individual shall be entitled to vote on behalf of more than one Club.
h. Any continuing Member Club failing to be represented at the Annual General Meeting without satisfactory reason being given shall be fined £50.

7. AGREEMENT TO BE SIGNED

The chairman and the Secretary of each club hall complete and sign the following agreement which shall be deposited with the competition together with the Application for Membership for the coming season, or upon indicating that the Club intends to complete.

" We, A,_____ _____of _____(Chairman) and B _____of _____(Secretary) of the _____ Football Club have been provided with a copy of the Rules and Regulations of the Turkish Community Football Federation and do hereby agree for and on behalf of the said Club to, if elected or accepted into Membership, to conform to those Rules and Regulations and to accept, abide by and implement the decisions of the

Management Committee of the Competition, subject to the right of appeal in accordance with Rule 16.

Any alteration of the Chairman and/or Secretary on the above Agreement must be notified to the London Football Association to which the Club is affiliated and to the Secretary of the Competition.
(Note: The spaces above are intended for the inclusion of the signatures and addresses of officers and members).

8. QUALIFICATION OF PLAYERS

a. Contract players, as defined in Football Association Rules, are not permitted in this Competition. NB It is the responsibility of the club to check that a player is not under contract with any other club.

b. A registered playing member of a Club is one who, being in all other respects eligible, has:-

Signed a fully and correctly completed Competition registration form in countersigned by an Officer of the Club, accompanied by two passport size photographs, and who has been registered with the Registrations Secretary 7 days prior to playing and whose completed registration counterfoil has been received by the Club prior to playing.

c. A player having taken part in matches for any Club affiliated to any County Football Association shall not be allowed to join, be transferred to, or sign for a Club in the Competition without first proving to the officials of the intended Club that the player has discharged all reasonable financial liabilities to the previous Club or Clubs, and a Club official may not accept such player's signatures without first ascertaining whether such claims have been discharged to the satisfaction of the Club, or Clubs, for which the player last played.

d. The maximum number of players registered by a Club should not exceed 25 (twenty-five), per team at any time. The number of non-Turkish players should not exceed 4 (four). A fee of £1 shall be paid for the TWENTY players registered. Then a fee of £2.00 shall be paid for all additional players registered.

i. Non-Turkish players may be defined as someone who has no connection to Turkish ancestry and/or Turkish culture.

e. The Management Committee shall decide all registration disputes.

In the event of a player signing a registration form or having a registration

submitted for more than one Club priority or registration shall decide for which Club the player shall be registered, The Registrations Secretary shall notify the Club last applying to register the player of the fact of the previous registration.

In such instances the player's registration will not be issued for 30 days and in cases of transfers will be withdrawn for 30 days.

f. It shall be deemed misconduct for a player to: -

i. Play for more than 1 Club in the Competition in the same season without first being transferred.

ii. Having signed for 1 Club in the Competition, sign for another Club in the Competition in that season except for the purpose of a transfer.

iii. Submit a signed registration form for registration that the player had wilfully neglected to accurately or fully complete.

NB it is the responsibility of the Club to ensure the correct registration of their player on matters concerning eligibility of the player.

g.

i. The Management Committee shall have power to accept the registration of any player. The Management Committee shall have power to refuse, cancel or suspend the registration of any player or may fine any player at their discretion proved guilty of registration irregularities. (Subject to Rule 16).

ii. The Management Committee shall have power to refuse or cancel the registration of any player found guilty of undesirable conduct and to disqualify the player in question from participating in all games in the Competition. (Subject to Rule 16).

(Note: Action under Clause (2) shall not be taken against a player for misconduct on the field of play until the matter has been dealt with by the appropriate Association, and then only in cases of the player bringing the Competition in to disrepute).

h. Subject to The Football Association Rules dealing with players without a written contract when a player desires a transfer, the Club the player wishes to transfer to shall submit a transfer form to the Registrations Secretary accompanied by a fee of £2. Such transfers shall be referred by the Registrations Secretary to the Club for which the player

is registered. Should this Club object to the transfer it should state its objections in writing to the Registrations Secretary and to the player concerned within 7 days of receipt of the transfer form. Upon receipt of the Clubs consent, or upon its failure to give written objection within 7 days, the Registrations Secretary may, on behalf of the Management Committee, transfer the player who shall be deemed eligible to play for the new Club from such date or 7 days after receipt of such transfer.

In the event of an objection to a transfer the matter shall be referred to the Management Committee for a decision.

i. A player may not be registered for a Club in the Competition after the 31st January except by special permission of the Management Committee. A player may only be transferred to another Club in the Competition between 24th to 31st October and 1st to 14th January except by special permission of the Management Committee.

j. A Club shall keep a list of the players it registers and a record of the games in which they have played, and shall produce such records upon demand by the Management Committee.

k. A register containing the names of all players registered for each Club, with the date of registration, shall be kept by the Registration Secretary and shall be open to the inspection of any duly appointed Member Club representative at all Management Committee meetings or at other times mutually arranged.

l. A player shall not be eligible to play for a team in any special championship, promotion or relegation deciding match (as specified in Rule 12 (A)) unless the player has played 6 games for that team in this Competition in the current season.

m.

i. Any team playing an unregistered player or players shall have the points gained in the match deducted from its total and may be fined and/or otherwise dealt with at the discretion of the Management Committee.

ii. In addition the team shall have 3 points deducted from its total and may be dealt with in any further manner, which is thought to be fit.

iii. The Management Committee shall award any points deducted from a Club under this Rule to the opponents in the match in question, subject to the match not being ordered to be replayed.

iv. Any team playing an ineligible player or players may have the points gained in the match deducted from its total and may be fined and/or

otherwise dealt with at the discretion of the Management Committee.

n. A fully completed team sheet showing both the name and registration number must be handed to the referee prior to the commencement of each match. Any player's name appearing on the team sheet shall be deemed to have taken part in that game.

o. All players registrations with the Federation are cancelled at the end of the playing season (date to be decided at the A.G.M.) prior to the season commencing.

p.

i. No more than 3 players may transfer from one team to another during the transfer season.

ii. Any player that has had his registration cancelled by his Club, and then is re-registered by the same Club, shall be deemed to be a transfer and shall not be eligible to transfer to another Club in the same season.

q. Clubs are responsible to exchange and check registration document before the game until the end of the game, whether requested by the Committee Members or the opposing team's Officials. Failing teams for whatever reason, shall be put to the Management Committee and if case proved shall be liable to a fine not exceeding £50 and shall also lose the game.

r. Any player receiving a red card in any Federation League or Cup game shall automatically have his registration withdrawn and shall not be eligible to play until his team completes its next game.

s. A Club failing to return the player's registration document at the end of the season shall pay £2 for every unreturned registration document. A Club losing the players registration document shall pay £2 for every duplicate registration document issued.

9. CLUB COLOURS, CLUB NAME

a. Every Club must register the colour of its shirts and shorts with the Secretary by 15th August who shall decide as to their suitability.

Goalkeepers must wear colours that distinguish them from other players and the referee.

No player, including the goalkeeper, shall be permitted to wear black or

very dark shirts.

Any team not being able to play in its normal colours as registered with the Competition shall notify the colours in which they will play to its opponents at least 6 days before the match.

If, in the opinion of the referee, two Clubs have the same or similar colours, the home team shall make the change. Any team not having a change of colours or delaying the kick-off by not having a change shall be fined £25.

The Secretary of the Competition may request shirts to be submitted if complaints are received as to lack of distinguishing colours, and the Management Committee may refuse to permit any shirts or shorts as they think fit. Shirts must be numbered.

b. Any Club wishing to change its name and/or colours must submit in writing to the Secretary before or at the AGM. Any application received after the AGM will not be considered until the following year's AGM.
c. All Clubs in the Federation must have insurance cover for their players.

10. PLAYING SEASON, CONDITIONS OF PLAY, TIMES OF KICK-OFF, POSTPONEMENTS, SUBSTITUTIONS

a. The Annual General Meeting shall determine the commencing and concluding dates for the ensuing season, which shall be in accordance with Football Association Rules. No Club shall be compelled to play after the concluding date. Original fixtures arranged by the Fixtures Secretary, or at a meeting specially convened for that purpose, to be held no later than 1st August, must not be arranged for a date later than seven days preceding the concluding date determined by the Annual General Meeting.

b. All matches shall be played in accordance with the Laws of the Game as determined by the International Football Association Board.

Clubs must take all reasonable precautions to keep their grounds in a playable condition. All matches shall be played on pitches deemed suitable by the Management Committee. If through any fault of the home team a match has to be replayed, the Management Committee shall have power to order the venue to be changed.

The Management Committee shall have power to decide whether a pitch and/or facilities are suitable for matches in the Competition and to order the Club concerned to play its fixtures on another ground.

All matches shall have a duration of 90 minutes unless a shorter time (not less than 60 minutes) is mutually arranged by the two Captains in consultation with the referee prior to the commencement of the match, and in any event shall be of equal halves.

The times of kick-off shall be fixed by the AGM or the Management Committee. Any Club failing to commence at the appointed time shall be fined a sum not exceeding £10 or be otherwise dealt with as the Management Committee may determine.

Referees must order matches to commence at the appointed time and must report all late starts to the competition.

The home team must provide at least two footballs fit for play and the referee shall make a report to the Competition if the footballs are unsuitable. Goal nets must be used.

c. Except by permission of the Management Committee all matches must be played on the dates originally fixed but priority shall be given to The Football Association and all relevant County Association Cup Competitions. All other matches must be considered secondary. Clubs may mutually agree to bring forward a match with the consent of the Fixtures Secretary.

d. The teams will be provided with Club and Team details books containing team ground, cub colours and kickoff times at the beginning of the season. If there is a change to noted information before a game the Secretary of the home club must give notice by telephone of full particulars of the location of and access to, the ground and time of kick-off to the match officials and the Secretary of the opposing Club at least 3 days prior to the playing of the match.

Any Club failing to comply with this Rule shall be liable to a fine of £10.

e. Every Club shall play its best available qualified team or teams in all matches in the Competition.

(Note: The intention of this Rule is not to interfere with normal team selection by Clubs, but to prevent Clubs deliberately fielding a weakened team in order to unreasonably reserve players for another game or to boost the strength of another or lower team. It is NOT intended that Clubs MUST field higher team players in lower teams when the higher team has no engagement. If, in the opinion of the Management Committee, the substance or spirit of the Rule is obviously being disregarded, the Club concerned may be called to account for its actions and shall be subject to

such decisions as the Management Committee may determine, despite the fact that Rule 8 has not been infringed.)

In the event of a Club playing in any match with less than 11 players they shall be fined £10 for each missing player. A minimum of 8 players will constitute a team for a Competition match.

f. Home and away matches shall be played. In the event of a Club failing to keep its engagement the Management Committee shall have power to inflict a fine, deduct points from the defaulting Club, award the points to the opponents, order the defaulting Club to pay any expenses incurred by the opponents or otherwise deal with them except the award of goals. Not withstanding the foregoing home and away provision, the Management Committee shall have power to order a match to be played on a neutral ground or on the opponent's ground if they are satisfied that such action is warranted by the circumstances.

Notice of postponement of any match must be given without delay by the postponing Club (or notice of a Club being unable to fulfil any match must be given 48 hours prior to the match by the Club) to the Fixtures Secretary, Referees Appointments Secretary, the Secretary of the opposing Club and the match officials. Any Club failing to comply shall be dealt with by the Management Committee who may inflict any penalty it may deem suitable.

In the event of a match not being played or abandoned owing to causes over which neither Club has control, it shall be played in its entirety on a date to be mutually agreed by the two Clubs and approved by the Management Committee. Failing such agreement and notification to the Fixtures Secretary within 14 days the Management Committee shall have power to order the match to be played on a named date or on or before a given date.

The Management Committee shall review all abandoned matches and in a case where it is to the advantage of the Competition and does no injustice to either Club, shall be empowered to order the score at the time of the abandonment to stand. In all cases where the Management committee are satisfied that a match was abandoned owing to the conduct of one team or its Club member(s) shall award the points for the match to the opponents and take what other action they deem necessary. In cases where a match is abandoned owing to the conduct of both teams or their Club members, the Management Committee shall take such action as they consider appropriate. Such action is subject to any disciplinary action taken by the appropriate County Association.

g. A Club may at its discretion and in accordance with the Laws of the Game use 3 substitute players in any match in the Competition who may be selected from 5.

The referee shall be informed of the names of the substitutes not later than 15 minutes before the start of the match.

A player who has been selected, appointed or named as a substitute before the start of the match but does not actually play in the game shall not be considered to have been a player in that game within the meaning of Rule 8 of this Competition.

h. The half time interval shall be of 15 minutes duration. The half time interval may only be altered with the consent of the referee.

i. Should a player be selected to represent the Federation in a representative game his Club must automatically release the player. Clubs shall be permitted on request to the Management Committee to postpone any League or Cup Fixture, they are due to play on the day of a League representative match should they have more than one player selected for that game. A player must not play for his Club when selected to represent the Federation.

j. Any youth club manager should have minimum Level 1 FA Coaching Certificate. Any adult club manager should have Level 1 FA Coaching Certificate commencing from season 2010-2011. League side manager should have minimum Level 2 FA Coaching certificate commencing from season 2010-2011.

11. REPORTING RESULTS

a. The Federation Secretary must receive within 5 days of the date played, the result of each Competition match in the prescribed manner. This must include the forename(s) and surname of the team players (in block letters) and also the Referee markings required by Rule 13, or any other information required by the Competition. Failure to do so will incur a fine of £10 and the Club being dealt with as the Management Committee decide.

b. The match result notification, correctly completed, shall be signed by a responsible member of the Club. The Management Committee shall have such power to take such action, as they deem suitable against a Club that submits an incomplete form or incorrect information.

12. DETERMINING CHAMPIONSHIP

a. Team rankings within the Competition will be decided by points with 3 points to be awarded for a win and 1 point for a drawn match. The teams gaining the highest number of points in their respective Divisions at the conclusion shall be adjudged the winners. Matches must not be played for double points.

b. Automatic promotion and relegation shall be applied for the first two and last two teams in each Division except as provided for here under, subject to the provisions of Rule 1(b).

In the event of two or more teams being equal on points team rankings shall be decided by the aggregate of the two league games played by two teams in question, taking in to account any goals scored. In the event of teams still being equal on aggregate a final play-off game shall be played.

i. Should one or more teams withdraw from any one Division after the fixtures have commenced an equal number of teams to those withdrawing in that Division shall not be automatically relegated.

ii. Vacancies occurring after the conclusion of the season may be filled on any of the following ways:

a. Additional promotion of the next ranked team(s) from the Division below

~~Retention of~~ otherwise relegated team(s)

~~Election~~

iii. The last 2 teams in the lowest Division shall retire, but be eligible for re-election except as below, and be subject to the conditions of paragraph (B)(1) above.

c. In the event of a team not completing 75% of its fixtures for the season all points obtained by or recorded against such defaulting team shall be expunged from the Competition table.

d. All Clubs shall submit at least 11 fully completed registration forms 14 days prior to the League commencement date. Any club failing to comply with this rule shall be fined a sum of £25.

e. Any Club which fails to play or arrive for a minimum of 3 fixture in one half of a season or a minimum of 5 fixtures in a whole season, without reasonable excuse, shall have its fixtures suspended and for 1st Division team will automatically be relegated and for Second Division team will automatically remove from membership and to re-apply as a new Club,

for the ensuing season.

13. REFEREES

a. Registered Referees for all matches shall be appointed in a manner approved by the Management Committee and by the sanctioning Association.

b. In the event of the non-appearance of the appointed Referee and in cases where there are no officially appointed Assistant Referees, the Club shall agree on a Referee. A Referee thus agreed upon shall for that game, have the full powers, status and authority of a registered Referee.

c. The Management Committee may, if they consider it desirable, or upon application by the two competing Clubs, appoint Assistant Referees, if available, to any match. Where Assistant Referees are not appointed each team shall provide a Club Assistant Referee. Failure to do so shall result in a fine of £5 being imposed on the defaulting team.

d. The appointed Referee shall have power to decide as to the fitness of the ground in all matches and the decision shall be final subject to either in the case of a ground of a Local Authority or the owners of a ground, the Representative of that body is the sole arbiter and whose decision must be excepted unless the ground is declared fit for play.

e. Match Officials appointed under this Rule shall be entitled to charge the following match fees; Referee £30 Registered Referees appointed by the Management Committee as Assistant Referees £20 subject to any limits laid down by the sanctioning Association.
The Home Club shall pay the Officials their fees and if there are three Officials the away team must pay one of the Assistant Referees. All fees shall be paid prior to the match. Failure to pay the referees and or Assistant Referees at all will result in a fine in addition to the fees.

f. In the event of a match not being played because of circumstances over which the Clubs have no control, the Match Officials, if present, shall be entitled to charge half fee. Where a match is not played owing to one Club being in default, that Club shall be ordered to pay the Officials, if they attend the ground, their full fee.

g. A Referee not keeping his engagement and failing to give a satisfactory explanation as to his non-appearance may have his name removed from the list of referees and the fact reported to the Association with which he is registered.

h. Each Club shall, in a manner prescribed from time to time by The Football Association, award marks to the Referee for each match and the name of the Referee and the marks awarded shall be submitted to the Competition on the prescribed Form provided. Clubs failing to comply with this Rule shall be liable to be fined or dealt with, as the Management Committee shall determine. Any Club that award the Referee a total of less than 5 marks shall write an official letter to the Referee Secretary explaining the reason. In the case where no letter is received, the Club concerned shall be fined £20 and called before the Management committee.

The Competition shall keep a record of the markings and, on the Form provided by the prescribed date each season, shall submit a summary to The London Football Association.

i. The Referee shall submit a report Form, supplied by the Competition, giving the result of the match, the number of players in each team and the time of kick off to the Registration Secretary within two days of the match.
The Referee should also complete the Referee's card issued to him by the TTFF and send to the Referee Secretary a report of all abandoned games and also for any players or officials that have been cautioned or sent off.

j. Referees and Assistant Referees shall be supplied, each Season, with a copy of the Competition Rules (free of charge).

14. CONTINUATION OF MEMBERSHIP OR WITHDRAWAL OF A CLUB

a. After 31st December in the current Season a Club intending, or having a provisional intention, to withdraw a team from the Competition on completion of its fixtures and fulfilment of all other obligations to the Competition must notify the Secretary in writing by 31st March each Season or be liable to a fine not exceeding £15.

All Clubs wishing to remain in membership of the Competition for the following Season must confirm their intention to do so, in writing, to the Secretary by 30th June.

b. A Club shall not be allowed to withdraw any or all of its teams from the Competition after the Annual General Meeting for the following Season. Any Club infringing this Rule shall be liable to a fine not exceeding £15 and shall also be liable for its share of any call, which may be made under Rule 5(B).

c. In the event of a Member Club, which is an un-incorporated association, withdrawing and/or disbanding it shall be immediately liable to discharge all its financial and other obligations to the Competition.

In the event that any such obligation remains undischarged after a period of twenty-one (21) days then such obligation shall be met by the then current Club Members, excluding those under the statutory school leaving age. Until a Member's pro rata obligation is discharged in full the Member shall not be allowed to participate in the Competition, which may apply to the Club's Parent County Association for a suspension order.

15. PROTESTS AND APPEALS

a.

i. All questions of eligibility, qualifications of players or interpretations of the Rules shall be referred to the Management Committee.

ii. Objections relevant to the dimensions of the pitch, goals, flag posts or other facilities of the venue will not be entertained by the Management Committee unless a protest is lodged with the Referee before the commencement of the match. Any Club lodging such protest and not proceeding with it shall be deemed guilty of a breach of the Rule and shall be dealt with by the Management Committee.

b. Excepting cases where the Management Committee decide that there are special circumstances, protests and complaints (which must contain full particulars of the grounds upon which they are founded) must be lodged in duplicate with the Secretary within 4 days (excluding Sundays) of the match occurrence to which they refer. A protest or complaint shall not be withdrawn except by the permission of the Management Committee. A Member of the Management Committee who is a member of any Club involved shall not be present (except as a witness or representative of his Club) when such protest or complaint is being determined.

c. Any dispute occurring between Clubs in the Competition shall be referred for determination by the Management committee whose decision shall be binding upon all parties subject to Rule 16.

d. No protest of whatever kind shall be considered by the Management Committee unless the complaining club shall have deposited with the Secretary a sum of £10. This may be forfeited in whole or in part in the event of the complaining or protesting Club losing its case. The Competition shall have power to order the defaulting club or the Club making a losing or frivolous protest or complaint to pay the expenses of

the enquiry or to order that the costs to be shared by the parties.

e. All parties to a protest or complaint must be afforded an opportunity to make a statement when the protest or complaint is being heard and must have received 7 days notice of the hearing, together with a copy of the submission. When dealing with a protest or complaint the Management Committee shall take in to consideration the possession by the protesting or complaining Club of any information, which, if properly used might have avoided the protest or complaint.

16. BOARD OF APPEAL

Within 14 days of the posting of written notification of any decision of the Management committee or the Competition a Club, Official or Player against whom action is taken may appeal against such decision by lodging particulars in duplicate with the Secretary of the London Football Association, including a fee of £25, for adjudication of a Board Appeal. The grounds of appeal shall be in accordance with FA Rules. The Board of Appeal may order the appeal fee to be forfeited and shall decide by whom the costs of the appeal shall be borne. The decision of the Board of Appeal is final and binding on all parties concerned.

17. EXCLUSION OF CLUBS, OR TEAM MISCONDUCT, CLUBS, OFFICIALS, PLAYERS

a. At the Annual General Meeting, or Special General Meeting called for the purpose, Notice of Motion having been duly circulated on the Agenda, the accredited delegates present shall have the power to exclude any Club or Team from further Membership upon a majority of two-thirds of the votes cast. Voting on this point shall be conducted by ballot.

b. At the Annual General Meeting, or Special General Meeting called for the purpose, in accordance with the provisions of Rule 19, the accredited delegates present shall have the power to exclude from further participation in the Competition any Club whose conduct has, in their opinion, been undesirable upon a majority of two-thirds of the votes cast. Voting on this point shall be conducted by ballot. A Club whose conduct is the subject of the vote being taken shall be excluded from voting.

c. Any official or member of a Club proved guilty of either misconduct, other than field offences, or of inducing or attempting to induce a player or players of another Club in the Competition to join them shall be liable to expulsion or such penalty as a General Meeting or Management Committee may decide, and their Club shall also be liable to expulsion in accordance with the provisions of clause (A) and (B) of this Rule.

d. Any Club or Team failing to complete 75% of its fixtures in any season shall (unless the conditions are beyond their control, or the accredited delegates present at the Annual General Meeting or a Special General Meeting decide otherwise by a majority of two-thirds of the votes cast) be debarred from membership the following season.

18. TROPHY:- LEGAL OWNERS, CONDITIONS OF TAKING OVER, AGREEMENT TO BE SIGNED. AWARDS

a. A Competition Cup or Trophy shall be vested in the Association sanctioning the Competition as Trustees. If a Competition be discontinued for any cause the Cup or Trophy shall be returned to the Donor, if the conditions attached to it so provide, or otherwise dealt with as the Association may decide. At the close of each Competition awards shall be made to the winners and runners-up if the funds of the Competition permit. The following agreement shall be signed on behalf of the winners of the Cup or Trophy:-

" We A_____ and B_____ , the Chairman and Secretary of _____ FC, members of and representing the Club, having been declared winners of _____ Cup or Trophy, and it having been delivered to us by the Competition, do hereby on behalf of the Club jointly and severally agree to return the Cup or Trophy to the Competition Secretary on or before 31st March. If the Cup or Trophy is lost or damaged whilst under our care we agree to refund to the Competition the amount of its current value or the cost of its thorough repair."

19. SPECIAL GENERAL MEETINGS

Upon receiving a requisition signed by two-thirds of the Clubs in membership the Secretary shall call a Special General Meeting. The Management Committee may call a Special General Meeting at any time. At this meeting business shall be transacted provided that at least 15 members are present and entitled to vote. At least 14 days notice shall be given of either meeting under this Rule, together with an agenda of the business to be transacted at such meeting. Each Full Member Club shall be empowered to send two delegates to all Special General Meetings. Each Club shall be entitled to one vote only. Not less than 14 days' notice shall be given of any Meeting. Any continuing Member Club failing to be represented at a Special General Meeting without satisfactory reason being given shall be fined £50. Officers and Management Committee members shall be entitled to attend and vote at all Special General Meetings.

20. ALTERATION TO RULES

Alterations shall be made to these Rules only at the Annual General Meeting or at a Special General Meeting specially convened for the purpose called in accordance with Rule 19. Any alteration made during the playing season to the Rule relating to the qualification of players shall not take effect until the following season.

Notice of proposed alterations to be considered at the Annual General Meeting shall be submitted to the Secretary by 24th May in each year. The proposals, together with any proposals by the Management Committee, shall be circulated to the Clubs by 1st June and any amendments thereto shall be submitted to the Secretary by 15th June. The proposals and proposed amendments thereto shall be circulated to Clubs with the notice of the Annual General Meeting. A proposal to change a Rule shall be carried if two-thirds of those present and entitled to vote are in favour.

A copy of the proposed alterations to Rules to be considered at the Annual General Meeting or Special General Meeting shall be submitted to the sanctioning Football Association 14 days prior to the date of the meeting.

Any alterations or additions decided upon at any meeting shall not become operative until the approval of the Association issuing sanction shall have been obtained.

21. RULES BINDING ON CLUBS

a. Each Member Club shall be deemed to have given its assent to the foregoing Rules and agreed to abide by the decisions of the Management Committee subject to Rule 16. Each Member Club must abide by any issued Football Association Code of Conduct.

b. The clubs shall be obliged to support fixtures and entertainment organised for the benefits of the Federation funds to the extent of ten tickets for each team. The Federation annual presentations of Trophies shall be supported to the extent of ten tickets per team. The committee reserves the right to hold the deposit under Rule 2(C) against part of this obligation.

22. FINANCE

a. The Management Committee shall determine with which bank or other financial institution the funds of the Competition will be lodged.

b. All expenditure in excess of £500 shall be approved by the Management Committee. Cheques shall be signed by at least two Officers nominated by the Management Committee.

c. The financial year of the Competition will end on 31st March.

d. The books, or a certified balance sheet, of a Competition shall be prepared and shall be audited annually by some suitable person(s) who shall be appointed at the Annual General Meeting.

23. CUP COMPETITION RULES

a. This competition shall be called the Federation Cup or any other Cup competition that the Federation may introduce.

b. The Cup must be played in no less than five rounds, the fifth being the final.

c. The entrance and Competition fee for this Cup shall be £10.00 per team.

d. The final shall be played on a neutral ground or a mutually agreed ground by both teams. The home team drawn first, shall have home advantage until and including the semi final.

e. No player may play for a team if he has already played for a different team in the same competition.

f. The competition will be on a 'knockout' basis.

g. The playing period shall be 45 minutes each half but must not be less than 35 minutes each half if the referee has to reduce playing time for any reason.

h. Any team that fails to report to the Match Referee on the field of play, ready to kick-off in excess of 10 minutes after the scheduled kick-off time, shall not be allowed to take part in the Tie. The Referee shall report this in writing to the Management Committee.

The Management Committee shall investigate the reason for this lateness and may exceptionally excuse the offending club, award the Tie to the non-offending Club and/or impose a fine to the maximum of £25.00.

i. If the scores are equal at full time, a period of extra time (30 minutes) shall be played. If after completion of extra time the scores are still

2

equal, the Tie shall be decided by kicks from the penalty spot in accordance with the International Board Instructions.

j. The home club when arranging the venue for the Tie, must ensure that it is booked for a period of time to ensure Full Time, Extra Time and kicks from the penalty spot can be completed.

k. Any complaint against a club for fielding an ineligible or unregistered player in a Tie, must be submitted in writing to the Management Committee and if proven the offending club may be struck out of the competition, and/or fined up to the maximum of £25.00, and the Tie awarded to the non-offending club.

l. The costs of the ground and all officials shall be shared equally.

m. In any cup final when both teams have similar colours, both must change.

n. All other rules of the constitution shall apply that are not covered here.

o. Any team or its members that have been found guilty of misconduct or undesirable behaviour may, if proven be removed from the competition.

24. DISSOLUTION

a. A resolution to dissolve the Federation shall only be proposed at an AGM or SGM and shall be carried by a majority of at least three quarters of the members present.

b. The dissolution shall take effect from the date of the resolution and the members of the Federation shall be responsible for the winding up of the assets and liabilities of the Federation.

c. Any surplus assets remaining after the discharge of the debts and liabilities of the Federation will be disposed of in such manner as the Management Committee and current members at the date of resolution shall determine.

APPENDIX 5 Teams Competing in the London Communities Leagues since 2004

2004-2005	2005-2006	2006-2007
Eastside Reserves FC	South East Circular FC	Pembury Knights FC
Focus FC	PF Waltham Forest	Hilltop FC
London Horseed FC	Praxis Panthers FC	Assalatur-Rahman FC
Daulphins FC	Victoria Park Lions FC	Victoria Park Lions FC
Kismayo FC	Future Stars	Asianos (Youth) FC
Choice 136 FC	TED FC	Praxis Panthers FC
Edmonton United	SHPRESA	Edmonton United
Tanganyika FC	AC Horseed	MEH
E11 United FC	East Barking	RealKurds Sports Assoc
South East Circular FC		M. B. FC
Somali Eagles FC		S.A. FC
Praxis Panthers FC		
Future Stars FC		
Nyat FC		
Southside FC		
Waltham FC		

2007-2008	2008-2009	2009-2010
Pembury Knights FC	North London United	Future Stars FC
Assalatur-Rahman	Jubba FC	Ilamos
Praxis Panthers FC	RealKurds Sports Association	SP Hackney
London Horseed FC	Hackney Boys FC	Eastside Rangers FC
Plashet Grove FC	Praxis Panthers FC	St John's Arsenal Deaf Reserves
Asianos (Youth) FC	Future Knights FC	Springfield FC
Wembley United	Heegan FC	Jubba FC
RealKurds Sports		Amico Sport
		Edmonton Rangers
		Arsenal Kickz
		Tottenham Kickz

2010-2011	2011-2012	2013-2014
Eastside Rangers FC	Eastside Rangers FC	Arsenal in the Community
Future Stars FC	Salaam Peace	East Lonon Leisure Trust
North London Muslim FC	Hotspur Kickz	Walthamstow Kickz
Arsenal in the Community	Banaader FC	Forest YMCA
SP Hackney	Arsenal CFC	Chingford Kickz
AFC Sporting	RealKurds Sports Association	Leyton Orient CSP
Banaader FC	Rushcroft Kickz	KOPS
Jubba FC	Future Stars FC	Low Hall Rangers
RealKurds Sports Association	Ummah United	
St John's Arsenal Deaf Reserves	Jubba FC	
East Elite	North London Muslim FC	
Tottenham Kickz	Spurs Kickz	
North 17 FC	Tottenham Kickz	
Amico Sport		

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