Universität Potsdam

Dissertation

zur Erlangung des akademischen Grades
des Doktors (Dr. rer. pol.)
der Wirtschafts- und Sozialwissenschaftlichen Fakultät

Thema:

„Türkische Fußballvereine in Berlin:

Eine empirische Studie zur Konstitution von sozialer Positionierung
und ethnischer Zugehörigkeit"

verfasst in englischer Sprache als:

"Turkish Football Clubs in Berlin:
An Empirical Study on the Constitution of Social Positioning
and Ethnic Belonging"

Erster Gutachter:	**Prof. em. Dr. Erhard Stölting**
Zweiter Gutachter:	**Prof. Dr. Michael Mutz**
vorgelegt von:	***Oktay Aktan, M.A.***
Eingereicht am:	13. November 2017

DANKSAGUNG

Contents

Phonetics of the Turkish Alphabet			
Letter	Turkish designation	Phonetic symbol	Spoken as in ...
C,c	ce	[dʒ]	**jingle**
Ç,ç	çe	[ʧ]	check
Ğ,ğ	yumuşak ge	[:]	lengthens the preceding vowel
I,ı	ı	[ɨ]	close to „schwa"-sound as in ...
İ,i	i	[i]	at the beginning of a syllable: eat
Ö,ö	ö	[œ]	umlaut
Ş,ş	şe	[ʃ]	**shine**
Ü,ü	ü	[y]	umlaut

Turkish Football Clubs in Berlin:

An Empirical Study on the Constitution of Social Positioning and Ethnic Belonging

1. Introduction

When one comes out of the metro station *Küçük İstanbul[1] - Little Istanbul* in Turkish, or "Kotti" in *Berlinish* or "Kottbusser Tor" in German, which can be translated into English as "Cottbus Gate"[2], one sees a tall building with balconies full of satellite antennas. On the other side of the metro exit, there is *Türkiyemspor's kıraathane[3]* – men's café. This is where this research began.

I was there to watch a derby match between *Galatasaray* and *Fenerbahçe[4]*. The café was full of young people who had come to see the match on a wide screen television. The entrance fee was two Euros and one could drink a glass of black tea for free with the entrance coupon. There was a display cabinet in the corner full of *Türkiyemspor*'s cups and medals won by the players. The Turkish and German flags were decorating the room. In the other corner, a door led to the football club's meeting room. The elder people were sitting at the tables at the back of the hall and they were playing cards, rummikub - *okey* or backgammon – *tavla[5]*. Some of them were having their *meze[6]*s and *rakı[7]* and *enjoying* their meals. They were not watching the match fully concentrated, unlike the mass sitting at the tables which were arranged in rows for this occasional evening. There were gambling machines on the other side where some people were playing games of chance. The tea bar was on the left of the entrance and the tea service was done continuously and pretty fast. It was a bustling and lively atmosphere. Most of the people knew each other; they were making jokes and laughing together. At half-time, they smoked by the front door and some ordered a *kebab* just next

---

[1]

    See p. 5 for the phonetics of the Turkish alphabet. The peculiar letters of the Turkish alphabet are kept throughout the text.

[2]   Cottbus is the name of a city in the state of Brandenburg and the "Cottbus Gate" was one of the gates of Berlin in the 18th Century (Häußermann and Kapphan, 2000).

[3]   *Türkiyemspor* is the most prominent football club founded by the migrants of Turkish origin. *Kıraat* is an arabic word which means reading, and *hane* means the house. In this context, *kıraathane* which is mostly known as the *kahve*, meaning coffee, is used to refer the Men's Café.

[4]   These football clubs are two of the most prominent and most supported teams in Turkey.

[5]   Backgammon is a traditional men's game in Turkey, played not only in men's cafés, but also during family visits at homes.

[6]   A general name for an appetizer, accompanying especially rakı.

[7]   Rakı is the traditional Turkish alcoholic drink made of anis.

door from the Lebanese place.

I was a stranger in the Turkish world in Berlin. *Küçük İstanbul* seemed to be like Turkey except for some restaurants of other migrant populations, such as Chinese, Arabic and some German cafés. I was excited to see the Turks in Berlin, but they were not surprised to meet me, i.e. somebody from Turkey. I thought that they must have gotten used to meeting people of Turkish origin. I walked around and noticed the signs from different corners of Turkey. The names of the restaurants, cafés, offices and shops were mostly region or city names from Turkey.

After a few weeks, I saw the same firm logos on the football field. These firms were the sponsors of the football clubs. The everyday life in *Küçük İstanbul* was also at the football field. I saw the same faces there as well. Many people have connections to the football life in Berlin. For instance, I once accessed the internet in an Internet Café and the next day I saw the owner of the café as a player on the football field. On another day, I bought a *döner* sandwich from another player who had come to watch his friend's match, just as I had, as a spectator. Later I interviewed the president of a football club who has a travel agency in *Küçük İstanbul*. After some time, I found out that he was organising a local football tournament in the following month.

This book aims to explore this *social world* with all its actors, fellows and buddies. Main concern in this study is to understand the patterns of relations, perceptions and self-descriptions as well as the orientations, aspirations and dispositions in the social context of local football and migration.

At the beginning of the field research, I walked all around *Kreuzberg*[8] and then to the south, which is connected to *Neukölln*. The symbolic reflections of multicultural life are on the streets, such as those in *Kreuzberg*. I could see more people of African and Arabic origins in *Neukölln*. Here the diversity of cultures could be noticed more broadly, compared to the intensive Turkish influence in the *Küçük İstanbul* i.e. *Kotti*.

Another city district which is known as a Turkish *mahalle*[9] is *Wedding*. The part of *Wedding* where I lived, *Gesundbrunnen*, is called *Kuzuburun*[10] by the inhabitants of Turkish origin. Just near my

---

[8] *Kreuzberg* is a city-district in Berlin which is well known, as *are Neukölln* and *Gesundbrunnen,* for its high population of Turkish migrants.
[9] *Mahalle* can be described as a neighbourhood in a small city-district. The details and the significance of the *mahalle* for Turkish football will be discussed in the following parts of the study.
[10] See Stölting, 2009.

house, there is a *kıraathane* – a local meeting point of *Hürriyet-Burgund[11]* where I held my first group discussion.

All these three districts in Berlin; *Kreuzberg, Neukölln* and *Wedding* are well-known Turkish *mahalle*s. When I began to watch the football matches of different football clubs, I noticed that there are players of Turkish origin in other districts of Berlin as well, such as those in the *Phönix-Ayyıldız 56* football club in *Charlottenburg.*

Places with a direct or indirect relation to football were scattered around several locations in Berlin. As I walked down the *Adalbertstraße* and passed through *Naunyn Straße[12]* in *Kotti*, I arrived at the big church-like building which is the *Cemevi – Alevi[13]* prayer-house. This building is used as a cultural center where current political and social issues are discussed in conference form. The *Alevi Association* has a football club as well, which was joined by another football club called *Dersimspor[14]*. The football club *Al-Dersimspor,* as it is called after their fusion, formed till now many teams for several age groups, both for boys and girls[15]. All these football related sings and associations on the streets of Berlin let me to conduct a field research to reflect the interwoven structure of football and everyday life of migrants of Turkish origin on an empirical study.

Even though the world of Turkish football is seen such as a single community, there are various motives and *identity markers* (Waters, 1990) for each group formation. For instance, the club names

---

[11] *Hürriyet-Burgund* from Wedding-Berlin is officially called *DJK Burgund Birlik 07* which means that the former club *Deutsche Jugendkraft Burgund* was founded in 1907. The Turkish club keeps the year as well as the name of the former German club as a symbolic presentation. Another example of this kind of club collaboration is the *FC Phoenix 56 Ayyıldız.* I asked the trainer of this football club to tell me about the meaning of the club's name. There is no documented literature about the origins of the name of Phoenix. However, the members stated that *Phoenix 56* was initially founded by US soldiers who stayed in Berlin after the Second World War. Afterwards, this club could not survive due to a lack of members. It was taken over by *FC Ayyıldız* and became a Turkish club. Thanks to this purchase alone, *FC Ayyıldız* was able to advance from an amateur league to the federal league in which *FC Phoenix 56* had played before. The number 56 stays for the foundation year of the club 1956. Most football clubs include their foundation year in their names and this tradition is the same for clubs founded by migrants of Turkish origin as well. Despite *Türkiyemspor*, there are not very many clubs existing for some decades. Turkish clubs mostly keep the foundation year of the club and the names of the former club in the name of the newly established club.

[12] This is the street where several sociological field studies were conducted on hip-hop singers of Turkish origin, e.g. (Kaya, 2001) and (Soysal, 2004).

[13] Refer to (Kaleli, 2000), (Schüler, 2002) and (Zirh, 2008).

[14] Dersim is the Kurdish, more specifically Zazaki, name of a city and region with a high population of Zazas (a group of Kurds, who are mostly Alevis around Dersim) in the east of Turkey. It was named Tunceli after the Dersim Rebellion in 1936 (see Besikci, 1991, Kirisci and Winrow, 1997, Strohmeier and Heckmann, 2000).

[15] The girl team of *Al-Dersimspor* has become prominent not only for its rapid success in football, but also for its multicultural structure employing girls of diverse origins. The football club *Al-Dersimspor* organised an international football meeting with the national girl team from Iran where the club attracted the interest of both national and international media. *Al-Dersimspor girl players* were so popular that even a documentary film was shot about this multicultural girl team as they played against the Iran National Women's Team in Berlin. The name of the film is "Football under Cover" which was a candidate for the Berlinale Film Festival in 2006 as well.

and the symbols i.e. logos and colors selected by the Turkish football clubs along the fifty years of their history illustrate explicitly the stream of change in their collective self-presentations.

Next to some ideological symbols and subcultural elements used by the club founders, the most essential factor of solidarity, which is reflected to the club names as the symbolic representation of their social embedded ties to the homeland, is the *regional identity* (refer Rost et al., 2007). Several clubs were founded by the people of Turkish origin in Berlin. Most of the club names and the logos in 70s were presenting the diversity of folk groups in Anatolian. They differed themselves from each other depending on their regional, ethnic and religious belonging.

The symbolic reflections i.e. club names of collective self-presentations under Turkish football clubs are *symbol multiplications* (Schiffauer, 1993)[16] showing the changing stream of self-perception and collective presentations in this social space. For instance, the colors selected for *Türkspor - Turkish Sport* were red and white and the club logo was the Turkish flag. After a couple of years, *Anadoluspor-Anatolian Sport*, was founded in the district *Siemensstadt - Siemens city* where the *Siemens* factory was located in those years. This team's colours were as well as by *Türkspor* were red and white, but instead of Turkish flag the club chose a picture of a ball as the club logo. At the end of the 70s, Turkish migrants began to name their clubs with Berlin city districts names. For instance, *Berlin İdman Yurdu* (*Home of Training - Berlin*), then *Steglitz Gençlerbirliği*[17] (*Association of Young People - Steglitz*), *Neukölln Gençlerbirliği (Association of Young People - Neukölln), Spandau Gençlerbirliği (Association of Young People – Spandau), Berlin Göztepespor (Göztepe is a city district in Izmir)* were some of the football clubs founded by the Turkish migrants. In this period, the clubs tended to represent themselves combined with the names taken from the homeland and as well as some city-district names in Berlin. In this case, the pattern of place-based belonging is reflected to the name of the club and it is replaced with the national connoted symbols. Lastly, the manager of *Türkiyemspor (Sport Club of My Turkey)* represents themselves as "a German football club founded by Berliner Turks". These changes in collective self-presentations show that the pattern of self-perception in daily life as a "migrant" as well as the feeling of social belonging to Berlin is fastened more each year, at least it seems to be so on a symbolic level when we look at the collective self-presentations of Turkish football clubs.

In this social space that the football generates, there are as well particular actors. They are the

---

[16] Schiffauer (1993) uses this term to explain the self-distinction and differentiation mechanisms constituted by the Turkish population itself. He underlines the significance of this process and stated that "the symbol multiplication takes place repetitively through slight status-differentiations". The original citation in German is: "Symbolmultiplikation [findet] durch immer weitere und feinere Statusdifferenzierung statt." (Schiffauer, 1993: 19).

[17]   It is a typical football club denotation in Turkey.

initiators of football clubs. They engage with different responsibilities in the foundation of these clubs. Most of them are the *hocas* i.e. the ultimate respect owners and role-models in Turkish football clubs. Whereas the *delikanlıs*, the hot-blooded young players, are trying to get used to act and behave in the particular *social order* of football, the "elder brothers" i.e. the *ağbis* play the role of pioneers for the young ones and accompany them on their way during their insertion phases into the system of football. These three actors mainly make up the characteristics profile in Turkish football clubs. The managers, sponsors and spectators are as well the role players who always support these actors on their way. All these types of members in Turkish football clubs are investigated profoundly in this study (see Chapter 3) in order to illustrate the particular relation patterns and the functioning mechanisms in this type of social grouping.

At present, many Turkish clubs have teams for several age groups of boys and girls. From the F team for beginners at the age of six, the so-called *pampers teams,* to the senior teams - *ihtiyar takımları,* which are composed of the players in their mid-thirties and much elder. This membership profile shows that the Turkish football clubs serve almost for each age group in the society. Having several teams under the roof a football club indicates that the Turkish football clubs begin to invest in football teaching as well.

It means as well that the Turkish football clubs of today begin to make long-term plans for the progression of their football. They invest in their infrastructure and build up teams for all age groups. The lower age groups promote to the upper age group teams and the clubs are able to continue to survive in the competitive social space of football and are capable of making long term plans for their further success.

Parallel to this, the number of sponsors has increased in the last years. From the rapid change in the number of entrepreneurs[18] of Turkish origin, the football clubs have benefited financially by means of sponsorship. With this engagement, the major sponsor makes his company not only publicly well-known but also, the owner of the firm is titled with the status of club presidency as the proof

---

[18] When one hears about the history of these entrepreneurs, all has worked in these sectors for many years and decided to do their own business (see (Ülker, 2016) for a profound investigation on this topic). The construction workers become the owner of construction firms and the waiters become the restaurant owners. These entrepreneurial orientations show the same pattern of becoming the chef of his own in the migrant land. It is mostly the case in service sector (refer Waters, 2002) and this tendency seems to allow the migrants a social mobility opportunity carrying them to an upper social class. The children of the *Gastarbeiter - Guestworker* become entrepreneurs in Germany. Their parents were employer, they become employees. This change among the generations of migrants, concerning their employment, shows a similar pattern such as in the USA. Gans names it as *the niche improvement* (Gans, 1999) where the *second generation* (Portes, 1996) experience an upward mobility.

the club's appreciation[19] towards him.

In this respect, the Turkish football clubs begin to have more success not only due to the financial support by the club president but also due to the voluntarily engagement of *ağbis* and *hocas* which, as a whole, reproduce an intense amount of *local energy* (Simmel, 1992) in these groupings. The *ağbis* and *hocas* motivate the youth over and over each day within their club's cordial social ambiance. They always play the ultimate role-model for the *delikanlıs*, correct their behaviours and actions during a competition and celebrate them accurately. This encourages them along their way to realize their ambitions in football. The buddies from *mahalle* are, too always there i.e. in stadiums as spectators and they support their comrades each weekend.

The *euphoria* of football is everywhere and the *collective effervescence[20]* (Durkheim, 1981) produced in *mahalles* thorough this *euphoria* strengthen the social bonding among the actors progressively. Each group is willing to keep its togetherness with its own *routines* and *rituals* (Turner, 1969; Collins, 2004) and try hard that these strong feelings of belonging never last. Football is considered as more than a *game* (Evers, 2008)[21] instead of a kind of subsidiary leisure time activity. As Bielefeld describes, "football is a generator of social belonging which is always supported with rituals, insured with symbols and staged medially"[22]. This charm and the great passion make football as one of the most important subjects of everyday life for the people of Turkish origin in Berlin.

Mahalle is the social space producing *social prestige*, too through which the prospective football related dispositions and aspirations for the celebrated *delikanlıs* are intensively fortified. The triangular relation constellation between *delikanlıs, ağbis* and *hocas* has a specific meaning for the perception of social relations in football and migration context. This particular social relation pattern induces *social prestige* for the actors i.e. especially for the *delikanlıs*. It is clear that this *social prestige* is constituted based on the *delikanlıs'* performances, but the perception of this performance i.e. *display* in the social space of *mahalles* is more central and make up the fundamentals for the reproduction this *prestige pattern*. This has a special relevance and importance

---

[19] See Chapter 3 for an expanded explanation.

[20] *Collective effervescence* is, used by Emile Durkheim (Durkheim, 1981) in his work *Elementary Forms of Religious Life,* as a collectively constituted concept. It describes the affective moments in the society or in a community in which the mode of an intensive emotional togetherness reaches at its peach and bonds the individuals fastened. The collective effervescence is observed to be more intensive during the practicing of rituals and routines.

[21] Original citation in German is "Die Grenzen zwischen Spiel und Wirklichkeit löst sich auf" (Evers, 2008: 114).

[22] Original citation in German is "Fußball […] kommt als ein Zugehörigkeitsgenerator zu, der immer wieder rituell erzeugt, symbolisch abgesichert und medial inszeniert wird" (Bielefeld, 2008: 29).

especially in migration context. This individual resource prepares a renominated *social prestige* for the successful Turkish *delikanlıs*. It is the *inherited prestige*[23] which is provided in *mahalles* based on the shared *ethnic belonging*[24].

On the other side, the imagination of becoming a *professional football star*[25] one day and its appreciation at a global level have explicit impacts on local football in migration context. This prepares a *title (post) prestige*[26] for the *delikanlıs*. This peculiar genealogy behind the constitution of *prestige* makes the *delikanlıs* as the *solitary cult*[27] *idols* in the daily life of Turkish football in Berlin. Therefore, rather than *playing football*, the collective perception and appraisal of *delikanlıs'* *displaying* determines mostly the *social status* of *delikanlıs* which is attached and admitted by the *ağbis, hocas* and other buddies in *mahalles.*

The peculiar social order behind this pattern of individual displaying and its collective perception in local football in migration context resembles the generalized social order constituted in the society. In this respect, football allows us to observe symptomatic reflections of social processes (Pfeiffer, 2006). For instance, the figurative types of established (dominant) and subcultures come together and compete against each other in this particular *social space of interaction.* Even though this *social space* represents a case study for the local football in migration context, the *magical social relevance of football* (Lenk, 2010), which is broadened through medial and commercial mediums,

---

[23] The concept *inherited prestige* is defined in this context as the social status constituted based on the perception and evaluation of a players' performances. This pattern of perception creates a shared belief in the common social space of *mahalle* and embodies a tendency of an appraisal of the individual status which is achieved by the sportive performance. This term resembles Weber's *Erbcharisma* concept. Weber defines this socially constituted belief as "the power of legitimized inheritance of heritage order (which is as well recognized i.e. through traditionalism and legalizing) rather than referring the person's own charismatic qualities" (Weber, 2006: 249). Original citation in German is "Der Glaube gilt […] nicht mehr den charismatischen Qualitäten der Person, sondern dem Kraft der Erbordnung legitimen Erwerb" (Ibid.).

[24] In this study, I refer the Weber's conceptualisation and understanding of *ethnicity. Ethnicity* is, for Weber, the subjective belief of a community of descent – *subjektive Glaube an eine Abstammungsgemeinschaft* (Weber, 2006).

[25] The medialization of football creates a global market for the players in which they have to chance to build a rapid career for them. Even at the beginning of their early profession, they are loaned with extreme high amounts of income. This brings forth the perception of football as a mechanism with rapid earning opportunities which is seen as the fundamental medium of social mobility (see Mignon (2000) as he explains this phenomenon for the case of sportsmen of Maghreb origin and underline its meaning and significance in the social context of sports and migration).

[26] With the term *title prestige* in this context, I refer the player's social status which is socially attached to them and appraise them based on the global medial status in the perception of the social space that football generates. The potentiality of achieving fame and reputation as well as the financial i.e. material prosperity based social status induces the title prestige. This resembles the concept of Weber's *Amtscharisma* which is defined as the objectification of charisma – *Versachlichung des Charisma*. The legitimization i.e. the social recognition of charisma (recognized i.e. through traditionalism and legalizing) refers the achieved qualities of the title holder rather than his/her own characteristics. In Weber's words, "Der Legitimitätsglaube (für Amtcharisma) gilt […] nicht mehr der Person, sondern den erworbenen Qualitäten und der Wirksamkeit der hierurgischen Akte." (Weber, 2006: 249).

[27] Randall Collins uses the term solitary cult for the explanation of his theory of social interaction rituals. The solitary cult in his case analysis is the historical changes in rituals of smoking throughout the recent history of people. The displaying and paraphenilia of smoking are fastened based on the common rituals constituted by the people which are socially institutionalised and reproduced i.e. transmitted to the following generations (see Collins, 2008).

has direct impacts on the adjustments of individual and collective orientations as well as on the organization of social relations in local football. These impacts have particular social meanings when we think of local football especially in migration context.

For the young players of Turkish origin in Berlin, football is seen as the field of opportunities. The players have the chance to show i.e. display, prove and improve themselves in this field of competition. This is extra-ordinarily motivating and exciting for the youth. The dreams may come true on the football field. Football means, even for some of them, the only place of achieving the goal of their lives. Becoming a professional football star one day is not far away and is already in the horizon of the imagination of many players.

The players of each group with their own life-experiences, perception and presentation patterns play and display, act and react on the football field. The individual history of each player is reflected on the players' performances, actions as well as his reactions. The only difference between the social relations in the everyday life and the ones in football is that the "we" does not straightly interact with the "other". There is something between the both partners who are in action[28].

For this sociological study, this *space in-between* corresponds to the *social field*[29] of *football*. In this particular *social field*, the actors are "playing", in other words, "fighting for resources" (see Bourdieu, 2001a: 110; Hillebrandt, 1999: 15; Aldridge, 1998: 4). The ultimate goal is to compete with their own assets i.e. *resources* to win against the other. Therefore not only "the migration background", but also the social aspects of being in the life-phase of youth is crucial to understand the self-perception, self-presentation and the action patterns of everyday life as well as the prospective dispositions in this particular *social field* (see Krais, 2005: 92)[30].

Based on the investigation on these clubs, the sociological command of intention in this study is therefore to find out the social meaning i.e. the functions of ethnicity in the context of migration and football. In order to do this, the whole Turkish football world in Berlin is observed under the research perspective of *social field*. This analysis is based on the reconstruction of the collective

---

[28] As Barthes states "there is an intermediary space between them, a … […] or a ball. And this thing, (the ball) is the symbol of all things: for possessing it, for mastering it, you have to be strong, agile and brave." (Barthes, 2005: 46). The original citation which is translated by the author as above is: "zwischen ihnen gibt es einen Zwischenraum, eine Vermittlung, einen Spieleinsatz [...] oder einen Ball. Und dieses Ding ist das Symbol der Dinge überhaupt: um es zu besitzen, zu beherrschen ist man stark, gewandt und mutig." (Barthes, 2005: 46)
[29] See Chapter 2 for an expanded explanation and conceptual discussion to Bourdieu's understanding of social field.
[30] See Chapter 2 for an expanded definition of the *social field analysis* in the theoretical part of this study.

self-descriptions, presentation of the "difference" among the groups i.e. the constitution of *othering* in the competitive social space of football in Berlin. In this constellation, the meaning and relevance of the attribute "migration background", which is attached to each social actor in this *social field,* is investigated.

If we think of the research on migrant football organizations, we can see that the research supports the long-standing controversy over how one should best interpret the ethnic based group formations in Germany. Until now, the current sociological research on sports and migration has included more of a socio-political approach to social integration than a field research e.g. *ethnomethodological perspective* (Garfinkel, 1967). These studies attempt to find out to what extent the organizations founded by the migrants can contribute to the social integrative commitment in Germany
(see Braun and Nobis, 2011, Stahl, 2011, Mutz, 2012, Burrman/Mutz/Zender, 2015, Burrmann /Brandmann/Mutz/Zender, 2017). This research takes many forms ranging from the studies in cultural studies (Bora, 2004, 2006, Bromberger, 1995, Horak/Reiter/Bora, 1993, Hopf, 1998, Kozanoglu, 1990, Kuper, 2003, Martinez, 2002, McGill, 2006, Schächter, 2008, Schümer, 1996) to the studies on sociology of sports (Armstrong and Giulianotti, 1997, 1999, Giulianotti, 2005, Balcioglu, 2003) as well as ethnographic and phenomenological studies (e.g. Lindner, 1983, Honer 1995a, 1995b, Hitzler, 1995, Payoshni, 2009). The general focus in these studies is on the question of the validity of the thesis, whether or not (or to what extent) the studies intended to claim that the migrant organizations generate *parallel communities* (Bukow et al. 2007) and/or *ethnic colonies* (Heckmann, 1998) (Ceylan, 2006) also *segregated communities* or they function contrarily as the *mechanisms of social integration* (Soeffner and Zifonun, 2005, 2006, Zifonun and Cindirak, 2004, Stahl, 2011) ameliorating the intercultural relations[31] in this *social field*.

Instead of going into the details of this political dilemma, this qualitative social research tends to demonstrate how the Turkish football clubs work as the mechanisms of social integration and aims to find out the changing determinants in this engagement of social work that they deliver for the youth of Berlin. From a broadened perspective, the question is to determine to what extent they are capable of contributing positively and progressively to the realignment of *social boundaries* between the diverse groups of people.

Can the Turkish football clubs only with their own initiatives avoid *anachronistic constructions* of

---

[31] In the following chapters, the intensity of this social engagement will as well be discussed and the clubs are compared with each other according to their changing orientation patterns of social integration. Refer (Braun and Nobis, 2011) on the investigation of the social engagement patterns in migrant football clubs in Germany.

negative stereotypes, prejudices and the orientations of discrimination in this social field? Or are there any other social mechanisms and factors which contrarily reproduce *(diacritical) cultural difference*[32] (Peters, 1997: 229) in which each player is seen as an *emblematic figure* of single ethnic identity in this *social field*?

In order to answer these questions, both the embodied rules directing the actions i.e. *illusio*[33] and the beliefs *doxa*[34] moderating the dispositions and orientations in this *social field* are reconstructed. They are already constituted just on the intersection point of three fundamental self-perception patterns which takes place in a time-frame: *retrospective self-perceptions, actual self-perceptions* and *the prospective self-perceptions.* In this three-dimensional self-recognition pattern, the notion of *ethnic belonging* is defined as a *subjective belief* (Weber, 2006).

This subjective belief, the ethnicity, in the social field of football is seen such as "a filter influencing the other classifications and evaluation of the other peculiarities of the actors depending on each person's ethnic belonging" (Neckel and Soeffner, 2008: 33)[35]. This kind of understanding the ethnicity brings up the categorisation of individuals according to their ethnic belonging i.e. background. Through this pattern of perception, a particular type of *difference* has already been constituted in the society and refers the attribution of "migration background" for the case of social field of football in Berlin. The *logic of difference*[36] is a *disjunctive*[37] one in this context.

---

[32] Bernard Peters describes the *cultural difference* and its *diacritical function* as the act of symbolical marking of a group's social borders (Peters, 1997: 229).

[33] With the term *illusio*, Bourdieu means the *rules* (which are historically developed in each social field) that each individual in this social field implicitly and unreflexively i.e. unquestionable accepts and embodies (Refer Bourdieu, 2001a: 110; Hillebrandt 1999: 15; Aldridge 1998: 4).

[34] Bourdieu introduces the term *doxa* as the general concept covering all the "beliefs" in a social field (Bourdieu, 2001a).

[35] Original citation in German is: „Die Ethnizität der Akteure wirkt wie ein Filter für andere Klassifizierungen, und die Bewertung weiterer Merkmale hängt von der jeweiligen ethnischen Zugehörigkeit ab." (Neckel and Soeffner, 2008: 33).

[36] With the term *logic of difference*, originally cited from Neckel and Sutterlüty (2010) as *Logik der Differenz*, the transcendental functional mechanism of reproducing difference among the groups is meant.

[37] Based on the concept of *Logik der Differenz* proposed by Neckel and Sutterlüty, the perception of the "other" in the society incorporates the characteristics of a disjunctive social order, in their own words as "The logic of difference, being voiced in categorial distinctions, is organised disjunctively as a principle" (Neckel und Sutterlüty, 2010 :224). The original citation which is translated as above is: "Die Logik der Differenz, die sich in kategorialen Unterscheidungen artikuliert, ist dann prinzipiell "disjunktive" organisiert" (Neckel und Sutterlüty, 2010 :224).

Yet the question is how the Turkish football clubs can contribute to change this *institutionally established pattern of binary constellations*[38] between "we" and "they" and initiate relations and mutual recognition patterns of *negotiation* instead of *negation* (Bhabha, 1994: 25) in the *social field* of football in Berlin.

It is the most natural thing in the world that ethnic communities and belonging patterns are reproduced in the society. However, the next question is how these constitutions are perceived in the social field of football in Berlin and which kind of roles the Turkish football clubs institutionally take and what sort of responsibilities the actors such as *hocas* and *ağbis* have in the (re-)constitution of *social borders* among the "self" and the "other". As Simmel points out "each synthesis of nearness and distance makes the formal positioning of the "other"" (Simmel, 1992: 766)[39]. And this proves that the "difference" over which the "othering" is constituted is purely a social product. In this respect, not only understanding the *difference* stemming from ethnic belonging between "we" and "they", but also the act of "othering" is an *imagined construction* (Bielefeld, 1998). What is impressing is that both the *difference* and the *othering* turn out to become a *reality*[40] which is accepted in the society as a *normality*[41] and it strengthens the social impacts of stereotypes i.e. prejudices in everyday life of individuals. They are constituted always in the same manner with an *accentuating principle* (Tajfel, 1982) underlying the *difference* and reinforcing the *othering* stemming from the individuals' ethnic belonging.

---

[38] Bielefeld underlines the constitution of othering is, too reinforced based on the citizenship status and civil rights etc. of the individual with migration background. He states that "On the societal level, certain forms of exclusion of foreigners have been institutionalised. It is a matter of strictly regulated boundaries (e.g. aliens law) which are attributable to structures (labour market segmentation, social class position) and those that, on the basis of the latter, are constituted every day by interaction, or those which are constantly reproduced in every day life". The original citation which is translated is: "Auf der gesellschaftlichen Ebene sind bestimmte Ausschlüsse von Fremden institutionalisiert. Dabei handelt es sich um Grenzen, die äußert starr geregelt sind (z.B. Ausländerrecht), die strukturell bedingt sind (Arbeitsmarktsegmentation, Klassenlage) und solche, die sich auf dieser Basis alltäglich, interaktive herstellen oder die im Alltag immer wieder hergestellt werden" (Bielefeld, 1998: 19). This intention proves that the presentation and perception of the "migrants" shows the identical figurative constellations of *established* and *outsider* (Elias and Scotson, 1994).

[39] Original citation is "[...] jene Synthese von Nähe und Ferne [macht] die formale Position des Fremden [aus]" (Simmel, 1992: 766).

[40] The presentation of the "other" in this respect is incorporated in the society by the individuals which Bielefeld defines as the introjection of the image of the "other" - *Introjection des Fremdbildes* (Bielefeld, 1998).

[41] I refer, in this context, the concept of *Ethnisierung des Sozialen - ethnisation of social* introduced by Albert Scherr (Scherr, 1997, 2000). He defines the processes of ethnisation in the society as a collective perception of normality in the society and they are not regarded as an intention of discrimination.

This *cognitive process* brings forth some scaling and grading categories in the perception and presentation of the "other". Accordingly, the dimensions of *strangeness*[42] can be determined. These social constitutions are established based on the *articulation of difference* (Bhabha, 1994: 67) and form the fundamentals of *othering* in the society which is precisely a social construction of *fixity*[43]. These fixed perceptions include mostly the *negative classifications* (Neckel and Sutterlüty, 2008) of the individuals with "migration background".

As the empirical results show in this study, this *negative classification* is pointed to the *Turkish players* in the social field of football in Berlin. *They* know about this attribution and are feeling themselves between the patterns of exclusion and inclusion. This prepares a *status of frustration*[44] especially for the *delikanlıs* and demotivates them in their aspirations related to football. The question is to what extent the *mahalles* i.e. the Turkish football clubs are able to build up a social space where the *negatively classified* title of "migration background" can turn out to become naturalized. What are the peculiar mechanisms of social prestige which are developed in *mahalles* as well as in Turkish football clubs that fortify the *delikanlıs'* own self-esteem and replace it with an eventual *excessive individualism* (Neckel, 2008) mechanism rescuing the frustrated and demotivated youth who is in danger of disintegration?

---

[42] As a matter of fact there is a bundle of perceptions which may lead to an "othering" and it scales the density of "strangeness" on perception patterns. For instance, whereas the *soziale Fremdheit – social otherness* takes the non-belonging *(Nichtzugehörigkeit)* as a criterium through which "die Distanz zwischen sozialen Einheiten oder zwischen Angehörigen dieser Einheiten hervorgehoben wird" (Münkler and Ladwig, 1997: 15), the *kulturelle Fremdheit – cultural otherness* indicates the perception differences between the majority and the minority groups. As Münkler and Ladwig describes "His 'world' and ours are structurally different, which is why interaction between him and us is characterized by the imminent potential of fundamental misunderstanding. We assume that the other is guided by different rules and relevance structures (Schütz, 1982) which do not correspond to ours, or which at the very most, just slightly overlap" (Münkler and Ladwig, 1997: 25). The original citation which is translated by the author is: "Seine 'Welt' und unsere unterscheiden sich strukturell voneinander, weshalb die Interaktion zwischen ihm und uns von der jederzeitigen Möglichkeit fundamentalen Mißverstehens geprägt ist. Wir gehen davon aus, daß sich der andere an Regeln und Relevanzstrukturen (Schütz, 1982) orientiert, die sich mit den unseren nicht decken oder allenfalls am Rande berühren. Es scheint sich in einem anderen Horizont der Bedeutsamkeit zu bewegen" (Münkler and Ladwig, 1997: 25). Another significant dimension of strangeness, which can be defined as the highest density of "strangeness" in this paradigm is the type of *lebensweltliche Fremdheit* which designates ultimately the cognitive distance between the "self" and the "other - *kognitive Distanz zwischen Eigenem und Fremden* (Ibid.).

[43] Bhabha explains the ultimate i.e. static and unchangeable constitution of stereotypes in the society with the term *fixity.* He defines *fixity,* in form of a whole concept with an examplification of Asiatic and African people in his own words, "as the sign of cultural/historical/ racial difference [...] is a paradoxical mode of representation: it connotes rigidity and an unchanging order as well as disorder, degeneracy and daemonic repetition. Likewise the stereotype, which is its major discursive strategy, is a form of knowledge and identification that vacillates between what is always 'in place', already known and something that must be anxiously repeated...as if the essential duplicity of the Asiatic or bestial sexual license of the Africans that needs no proof can never really 'in discourse', be proved" (Bhabha, 1994: 66).

[44] The self-perception pattern in this case resembles the concept of *status frustration* that Albert Cohen (1955) develops for the explanation of self-perception patterns of the delinquent boys as the participants in his study.

On the other hand, football itself offers opportunities for the players to have a rapid and *early specialization* (refer to Mignon, 2000) in their profession, too. What kind of a relevance and significance this opportunity has for *delikanlıs* with "migration background"? Does the *collective effervescence* (Durkheim, 1981) produced in Turkish football clubs alter the participants' perception patterns? Who hold the major *locus of control* (Tajfel, 1982: 54) in this ground-breaking change? Can the forms of *othering* and *difference,* which are constituted and already established in the society as social constructs, be adjusted, modified and re-adapted in Turkish football clubs?

It is the reality of everyday life that the *stereotypes* and *prejudices* reproduce *dichotomous constellations* and symbolize finally the *fixed patterns* (Bhabha, 1994) in mutual perception patterns of "we" and "they". Even though, this brings forth the intention of discrimination and even exclusion, the question here is to find out how the players selected for this study interpret, consider and finally handle with these *fixed patterns of perception and presentation in migration and football context.*

This particular *social management capability* corresponds to the *illusio* and the functioning mechanism behind this *illusio* is the *own logic* (Hillebrandt, 1999: 12)[45] of this *social field*. With the aim of reconstructing this *peculiar logic* (see Table 1)*,* both the *life-world* and *frame analysis* are used in this study in order to reconstruct the types of *ethnic belonging* and *social positioning* (see Chapter 6).

TABLE 1:
Delicate Constructions:
Constitution of Social Positioning and Ethnic Belonging

Theoretical Applications	**Ethnic Belonging**	**Social-Positioning**
Past: Retrospective Life-World (Schutz and Luckmann)	*Incorporated Perception* Titled as "migrant"	*Latent* (Münkler and Ladwig)
Present: Everyday Experiences (Goffman)	*see Chapter 3, 4, 5*	*see Chapter 6*

---

[45] Hillebrandt defines the *logic of field* as "The logic of the field can only be captured by empirical observation of the field, it does not obey any structural rules which are identical for all fields" (Hillebrandt, 1999: 12). The original citation which is translated above by the author is: "Die Logik des Feldes lässt sich nur aus der empirischen Beobachtung des Feldes gewinnen, sie gehorcht keinen strukturellen Gesetzen, die für alle Felder gleich sind" (Hillebrandt, 1999: 12).

Based on this table, the past i.e. attached patterns of self-perception on one hand, are studied via *life-world analysis*[46] (Schutz and Luckmann, 1979) on the other hand, the *everyday life experiences* are investigated with the help of *frame analysis*[47] (Goffman, 1974). As a result, the *social positioning* is reconstructed just on the intersection point of these two approaches.

The *social positioning* is defined in this study as a stream of everyday life perceptions which adjust the individuals' action patterns as well as arrange implicitly the perception of the *other* in migratory constellation. In this sense, reconstructing the *social positioning* patterns in case of Turkish football in Berlin brings forth a focused sociological investigation on this population determining the significance of *ethnic belonging* in this social field.

As it is shown on the table above, the pattern of self-perception in the *guestworker era* even today keep on having traces on the understanding of own self-identities. Parallel, the actual everyday life experiences may descend the impacts of these stereotyped classifications, on the other hand it may admit and even strengthen the recognition of this "excluded status", too. In other words, the question is to determine how and to what extent the negatively connoted "migrant identity" is inherited to the following generations i.e. embodied by the youth of Turkish origin.

It is clear that the players via their actions and interactions in the social field of football develop a particular understanding of "migration background". In this respect, this empirical study aims to find out whether the players have more or less of a *fragile social positioning*[48] feeling themselves between social patterns of inclusion and exclusion or they find themselves in a social positioning merging both the feelings of *proximity* and *difference* (see Göle, 2008, 2012, 2015) with the "other". Therefore, the question here is whether this i.e. perceiving, acting and self-positioning in this type of inbetweeness is a *tiring work* (see Martucelli, 2002) for the young players or is it somehow bearable to handle with the changing patterns of being *close* and being *strange* to their "others" in everyday life of football?

With the aim of investigating this *social field* based on this inquiry, the selected methodology and its research design bring forth more of a *sociology of knowledge* approach into the social scientific

---

[46] See Chapter 2 for a detailed definition.
[47] See Chapter 2 for a detailed definition.
[48] Refer *Fragiler Pluralismus* (Soeffner and Boldt, 2014) for the overall investigation of the patterns of *fragile* social positioning in the social context of migration and multiculturalism.

discussions on migration research[49]. Not only the *group discussions* used in this study as the data collection method allowing the possibility to conduct an extended reconstruction work on the *patterns of perception* and the *schemata of presentations,* but also the particular interpretation method of *social hermeneutics* (Soeffner, 2004) makes the study more extensive enclosing diverse aspects of sociological perspectives next to the migration and the sports sociological approaches. Additionally, another significant peculiarity in this study is that the observation of ethnicity and migration takes place without the implicit consequences of conspicuousness, i.e. being marked as a member of "majority" or "minority" group, on the research perspective while the researcher, I, had not been socialized and raised in a migratory context. Thus my *context knowledge* (Strauss, 1991)[50] covers here the cultural and ethnic aspects of commonality, but not the migration based issues. In this sense, this particular form of *context knowledge* assists me to handle the social meaning of migration background and the sense of ethnic belonging separately from each other[51]. The major intention is to introduce a descriptive picture of this social field with an abstinence towards evaluations, theoretical predetermination and some causal constructions in the interpretation of participants' action and orientation patterns[52].

With the aim of making an extended analysis based on this inquiry and to reconstruct the patterns of social positioning completely in this social field, the indigenous and exogenous factors in this constitution process are determined and investigated (Chapter 3). Several types of identities i.e. actors are interviewed. Not only the young players – *delikanlıs*, who are perceived as actors with "unexpected behaviors" (Elias and Dunning, 1986), but also the other role-players such as the trainers i.e. *hocas*, the elder players i.e. the big brothers – *ağbis,* the *managers*, the *club presidents* are all interviewed. The results show that the peculiar social space constituted in local city-districts i.e. *mahalles* supports the social engagement of Turkish football clubs (Chapter 3). Parallel to these social mechanisms constructed in *mahalles*, a special focus is set in this study on the reconstruction of the pattern of self-perception and *othering* (Chapter 4). The players' prospective dispositions and their impacts on the self-perception patterns as well as on their understanding of *othering* are investigated (Chapter 5). Finally, based on the reconstructions achieved through the empirical data, *seven social positioning types* are built which bring forth the arrangement of *the sense of ethnic*

---

[49] See Chapter 2 for the extensive explanations on research perspective and detailed knowledge about the methodological background of the study.

[50] *Context knowledge* is defined by Strauss as the life-experiences of the researcher which implicitly have impacts on the research perspective i.e. investigation approach of the researcher thus the results of a study (Strauss, 1991).

[51] See Chapter 2.2. for the case in data collection phase.

[52] The research perspective in this study is based on the *ethnomethodological approach* (Garfinkel, 1967, 1973, Garfinkel and Sacks 1976).

belonging in four types which are constituted in the social field of Turkish football in Berlin (Chapter 6). At the end of this manuscript, a brief summary is introduced (Chapter 7).

As a result, this study intends to satisfy a progressive field research on migrant groups and it has the purpose of filling this gap of lacking research in social scientific investigations on migrant populations.

2. Theoretical and Methodological Approach

2.1. Theoretical Approach

This qualitative study researches two associated identities: being a football player and being of a migrant origin. An observation on the football players' *everyday lives* in amateur and semi-professional clubs is conducted where the forms of *in-group* and *out-group* relations are investigated in detail (from a Goffmanian *Frame Analysis* perspective) in order to reconstruct the perception and presentation patterns of the concerned group. The major focus is on the reconstruction of collective arrangements in collaborations and cohesions, polarisations and conflicts.

2.1.1. Everyday Life Analysis in Migration Context

The study aims to reconstruct the norms, phenomena and shared patterns of perception and behaviors expressed in interviews which are based on *commonly lived experiences.* He/She explores how subjects present themselves, i.e. self-presentations, and how they perceive the "other". Social relations are investigated and the roles taken by group members are worked out. Reconstruction of the common ideas and perspectives, the relevance and normality patterns of the group and the examination of the routines and the rituals (Collins, 2004, Turner, 1969) in the everyday lives of participants are the some other points of interest in this study.

Schutz und Luckmann (1979) defines collective social patterns, based on Scheler's postulate, that they form the unquestionable or acknowledged fundamentals of the relative natural worldview – *relativ natürliche Weltanschauung* (Scheler, 1926). Individuals, sharing the same life-world (*Lebenswelt*), act according to these collectively established social patterns. These patterns constitute *the first order* structure (Soeffner, 2004) in the participants' *life-worlds*. *The first order* constructions, corresponding for this research to the established patterns constituted in the social space of Turkish football in Berlin, include "the socio-historical established types, models, routines, plausibilities, knowledge forms and components, and the often implicit final procedures in everyday

life" (Soeffner, 2004: 167)[53]. In this study, the major scientific aim is to reconstruct these *first order constructions*. This will be done using the *social scientific hermeneutics* (see Soffner, 2000)[54] type of text interpretation. This is termed a *second order construction* (Ibid.). In other words, I attempt to explore and reconstruct *the first order constructions* i.e. the "normal" habituated patterns in the life worlds of football players.

These formations are explained as "knowledge" which corresponds to the individual experiences. From a phenomenological approach, the overall reserve of experiences is conceptualised as the *Wissensvorrat* (Schütz and Luckmann, 1979) i.e. *the stock (reserve) of knowledge.* The investigation of this reserve brings innovative i.e. new crucial results for the research on migration and football. With the aim of fulfilling this aim, the research perspective has to have a sharp focus on the background functioning principles of this *knowledge reserve in mind.* Schütz claims that collecting and storing the *experience* in the *subject's consciousness* is a process of *sedimentation* (Schutz, 1975) and explains *sedimentation* as:

> "the process by which elements of knowledge, their interpretations and implications are integrated into the layers of previously acquired knowledge. The sedimented items are fused with existing typifications, etc., or form the core of new ones. Either way they become a person's "habitual possessions". The "experiencing activities" of the human consciousness, then constitute a person's stock of knowledge by way of sedimentation."
> (Schutz, 1975: 56)

Sedimentation therefore does not simply refer to the collection of data and the augmentation of knowledge existing in the stock of knowledge. It is a dialectical process, where new information is compared to existing knowledge before being accepted. This process may cause some re-formations in the *stock of knowledge*, too. The *sedimented experiences* form the self-adjustments, plans, typifications and interpretation models: in short, the "*subjective system of interpretation and motivation relevances"* (Schütz und Luckmann, 1979: 308).

This formation in the *individual's consciousness* has a peculiar meaning in a migration context. The ethnic origin, i.e. the identity inherited from the prior generation or generations, certainly takes a *sealed place* in the *consciousness* of the migrants' following generations. The first generation migrants of Turkish origin, i.e. parents and the grandparents, tell their stories, meaning their experiences, to their children. A significant question here is what kind of a relevance the *sedimented* "heard experiences" and the "own experiences in everyday life" have in the everyday life of the players. Some of the questions considered in this respect for this study are: how do these experience

---

[53] Translated from German by the author.
[54] For a detailed definition see chapter 2.2.3.

clusters interact and what are the social consequences of these interactions? What is the probable synthesis of the individual or groups of individuals from these experience patterns? How are they reflected ultimately in the actions of the individual? Do the experiences have impacts on the understanding and perception of the "other", i.e. how the individual or group of individuals present and typify the "other"?

As Schutz and Luckmann postulate their conceptualisation of "the spatial scaling of the everyday life-world", they analyse "the world", meaning the social and spatial surroundings in an individual's *consciousness*, in its different horizons (Schütz and Luckmann, 1979). The *horizon* is conceptualised in this context as the visual and *consciousness*-based imaginable borders of an individual. The *actual horizon – aktuelle Reichweite* refers to, as the term suggests, the surroundings that an individual physically knows. This *consciousness* refers to the *actual horizon in everyday life*. On the other hand, there is the *potential horizon - potentieller Reichweite* (ibid.) which includes the opportunities in the social environment of an individual that he/she is capable of benefiting from and/or is influenced by. The *obtainable horizon - erlangbare Reichweite* (ibid.) as a part of the *potential horizon* sets more precisely the boundaries of the imagination in an individual's *consciousness*.

In a migratory context, the individual and social impact of the *obtainable horizon - erlangbare Reichweite in everyday life* is very significant. The *obtainable horizon* in *consciousness* has a parallel running mechanism inducing the individuals of migrant origin to conceive between their *afore world - Vorwelt* (Ibid.) and *after world - Nachwelt* (Ibid.). Th*e afore world* corresponds here to the ancestors', i.e. parents and grandparents', *life-world.* The following generation was born and grew up in the city where their ancestors immigrated. The *afore world* is the *life-world* of the migrants and the *after world* includes the expectations of the following generations for their future. These expectations incorporate the inherited motives, perceptions, presentations and typifications from the *afore world*. Schütz and Luckmann speak of *the biographical articulation* (Ibid.) of an individual which in this context involves both of these *life-worlds, i.e. the afore* and *after worlds*.

Thus this study focuses on the reconstruction of the *oscillating mind* and *the individual action* which takes place between the *sedimented experiences in a migration context* as the knowledge from the past in mind and *the factors affecting the prospective decisions* as the knowledge for the individual in social interactions.

Therefore this study needs another theoretical approach *frame analysis* (Goffman) parallel to the *Life World Analysis* (Schutz and Luckmann).

2.1.2. Frame Analysis and the Investigation of Social Field of Football

The empirical data gives us a collection of participants' experiences. In the group discussions and narrative interviews, common and individually experienced memories are expressed which permit me to reconstruct how the participants see and interpret the social actions in their social environment. This makes an overall scheme which illustrates the participants' perception pattern. Goffman calls it *the frame* (Goffman, 1974).

In this research, the individual and collective interpretation patterns are studied from a micro-sociological perspective of *frame analysis* (Ibid.). Based on this aspect of investigation, the social actors in this study, i.e the "self" and "selves" are treated with their roles in society (Goffman, 1972), such as in a theater scene, where the interaction between the individual and society is analyzed as if within a *dramaturgy*. The "self" presentation is the collection of actions, including some standardised *expression repertoires* (Ibid.) which is defined as the *primary frame*. This perception frame makes "the meaningless aspect of the scene into something that is meaningful" (Goffman, 1974: 21). In this context, the *scene* is understood as the social space where the participants in this research present, i.e. tend to show him/herself in a dramaturgical staging. And the *primary frame* shows the individual the peculiarity of the social situation. By means of *the primary frame* the individual knows how he perceives in this *scene*.

When we further investigate the process of experiencing in everyday life, we need a more peculiar form of analysis which allows us to elaborate this process in more details. In order to do this, "the entities, postulates and rules providing lore of understanding, an approach and a perspective" (Ibid.) have to be conceived. Additionally, the *social frame* as attributed by Goffman includes the motives and the aims. It means that the *primary frame* incorporates the peculiarities that the individual knows *in the stage* whereas the *social frame* determines how he/she thinks and acts *in the stage*.

The second part of the *frame analysis* is more on dimension of social interactions i.e. the examination of the *keys* and *keyings*. A *key* can be described as "a social situation in which a particular system of actions takes place" (Goffman, 1974: 43).

Goffman defines *keying* as[55]:

> a) A systematic transformation is involved across materials already meaningful in accordance with a schema of interpretation, and without which the keying would be meaningless.
>
> b) Participants in the activity are meant to know and to openly acknowledge that a systematic alteration is involved; one that will radically reconstitute what it is for them that is going on.
>
> c) For participants, playing, say, at fighting, and playing around at checkers feels to be much the same sort of thing - radically more so than when these two activities are performed in earnest, that is seriously. Thus, the systematic transformation that a particular keying introduces may alter only slightly the activity thus transformed, but it utterly changes what it is a participant would say was going on. In this case, fighting and checker playing would appear to be going on, but really, all along, the participants might say, the only thing really going on is play. A keying, then, when there is one, performs a crucial role in determining what it is we think is really going on. (Goffman, 1974: 45).

Goffman further gives the example from Gregory Bateson (1955) to explain the concept of *keying*. Bateson observed gorillas in a zoo while they were fighting with each other. Then he realised that they were not actually fighting but "playing" with each other which is seen and interpreted as "fighting" by the observer. Only through the *keying* he can interpret what is going on there. The *transposition* from "fighting" to "playing" is the *keying* itself (Ibid.).

Goffman uses the *keying* to understand how individuals interact with each other. It is more elaborate when the *keying,* i.e. *frame analysis,* is implemented to reconstruct the relation, action, presentation and interpretation patterns of two groups of individuals, i.e. two football teams interacting in a competitive scene, i.e. on the football field, with a particular *key,* i.e. the football match. The team has for itself a particular *keying* and there is the expected *keying* imposed in a football match.

Another important point is the player's awareness of the *keying* and the dramaturgy on a football field. Goffman clearly defines in his work, *The presentation of self in everyday life* (Goffman, 1972), how individuals play certain roles in certain stages. In this respect, it is presupposed that the player distinguishes the *keying* on and off the field. Here the social space and its physical borders determine the *keying.* The young sportsmen on the field should act as is expected of them, e.g. obey the rules of the game.

However, the problem is not the physical but the sociological borders of the game. The question is how seriously a player perceives a football match; just as a game or a dramaturgy or a tough combat

---

[55] Merely the relevant features of *keying* for this study are included here.

between two teams.

Parallel to these expected individual and group oriented interpretation patterns, the social origin and the milieu of the groups of individuals may have an impact on the *keying* in the configured football play. The crucial point here is if different *keying*s collide or synchronize with each other.

Goffman states that "one function of referees and umpires during contests is to prevent the players from making a game of a game, that is, treating the contest unseriously, re-keying what was meant to have a less complex frame structure." (Goffman, 1974: 81). The referee opens the *timely brackets of a keying*. These brackets constitute the borders, where the relations will be organised by a certain system of rules. This is the playing system in football. The aims, motivations and interpretations of all the social patterns in everyday life are modulated within the system of relations in football. This is an ideal presentation, which temporarily transforms the overall social action patterns in the social space of a football match. The players recognize the *borders of the frame* and accept the certain rules and routines of the football match.

Besides the referee, who has a *formally delegated authority*, there are some other group members i.e. *informally delegated authorities,* in Turkish football clubs who remind the players of the *frame* of a football match (see Chapter 3).

The social space offered here for the constitution of a collective based on friendship and team comrades' relations is the football team. This collective should not solely be interpreted within the technical and strategic terms of football, but should also be observed as a sociological phenomenon. The common relation pattern which generate in some cases a *collective perception pattern* includes the culturally supported social relation patterns, too, which a *micro-inter-subjectivity* is *situational produced* (Collins, 2004: 48). The question is to what extent the cultural relationship patterns in a football context may be transformed or contrarily reinforced in this interaction sphere (see the Chapter 3).

In a qualitative research on everyday life, two approaches are used: an *interactionist* perspective and an *egological* one (see Eberle, 2000). Eberle describes this discrepancy as life-world analysis – *Lebensweltanalyse,* which focuses on the "subject", i.e. the egological aspects of the collected data, and *frame analysis,* which searches for the interactions (Eberle, 2000).

This study needs both of these approaches. Playing football and having a migrant background induce a double behavior pattern. Where being a football player generates the frame of playing football for the individual with its particular *key* (Goffman, 1974), i.e. playing football in an expected disciplined manner within the frame of sports rules, having a migrant origin occupies a certain place in an individual's *consciousness* (Schütz, 1974, Schütz and Luckmann, 1990) that he is aware of. This awareness is based on the *keying* including particular attributes socially attached to the "migrant" as well.

Therefore, with *frame analysis*, the aim is to understand the social relations in a group constellation, i.e. in the social spaces of interactions. It is for the analysis of everyday life relations, perceptions and presentations. The *interactionist approach* is used to explain the relations in a team and the relations of the players with the "others". The *egological perspective* refers to the individual's origin-related issues, i.e. a more concentrated approach to his/her *consciousness* which includes the traces of a migrant identity and the impact and the significance of migrant identity on the individual's actions. These can be stereotypes and prejudices.

These both perspectives of analysis including the *egological* and *interactionist* synchroniously in this study demand for a *social field* investigation for the empirical case of Turkish football in Berlin. A sociological study on sports, especially in case of migration, should include the discovery of the meaning which the practices take on in the relationships in this field. The actors are the central role players in a *social field* whose experiences are disclosed in my field research. Broadly, the relation patterns are centrally investigated with the aim of understanding the social order in this specific field. As Bourdieu underlines "the structure of the field is a state of the power relations among the agents or institutions engaged in the struggle, or, to put it another way, a state of the distribution of the specific capital which has been accumulated in the course of previous struggles and which orients subsequent strategies." (Bourdieu, 1994: 73).

Managing this individual capital in this competitive social space of football is regulated by some rules i.e the *illusio* (see Bourdieu and Wacquant, 2006: 148). Parallel the *doxa* in a particular social field corresponds to the *belief* to which each actor believes in (Bourdieu and Wacquant, 2006). The actors perceive and internalize these collective orientation patterns as "normal" and/or "taken for granted". Based on these perception patterns, the action patterns of everyday life as well as the patterns of positioning and disposition are adjusted establishing the peculiar social order in a social field. Reconstructing the motives of this social order in this study will allow me to understand and explore the "logic of the field" through which some specific functions and the impacts of this

functioning social mechanism on the actors especially their self-perception patterns and the collectively constituted *othering* will be elaborated based on the reconstruction of empirical data. Particularly, the everyday relations in this social field will be observed in this study with reference to *egological* (life-world analysis) and *social interactionist* (*frame analysis*) and interpreted from an investigation approach of *social field*. This way of evaluation of the empirical data brings forth the understanding the overall system of interrelations, actors, networks as well as the power based social mechanisms constituted in this social field[56].

2.1.3. Understanding Social Integration

The integration of immigrants is a widely discussed topic in today's political life. Some politicians claim that "migrants" have "serious problems of integration". Stölting summarised the political and scientific discussions on integration well, with the words "Complaints about the lacking integration of immigrants are as familiar as the results of periodically recurrent empirical studies deploring the lack of integration" (Stölting, 2009: 38)[57]. The theme of integration can be discussed further only through empirical studies, on the "social worlds" (see Zifonun, 2016) of inhabitant groups in a society, and, for the moment, such studies are lacking in the research in social science.

Not only politicians but also social scientists write and talk about the concept of "integration". The migrant population is measured according to different criteria, such as language, school and profession and sub-groups, i.e. the type of groups that are formed, and evaluated to assess whether they are integrated or not (see Sauer and Halm, 2009).

Besides these quantitative studies, some sociologists try to conceptualise what "integration" is. For instance, Esser interprets "integration" in a Lockwoodian perspective. According to him, "integration is the togetherness of the parts in a "systemic" whole which is then based on this togetherness" (Esser, 2001: 40). These parts are the integral components of a system which forms

---

[56] Similarly Müller (1992) discusses the significance and scientific impacts of social field analysis. Respectively, he underlines that „From the analytical perspective the term of the social field refers to a configuration or constellation which comprises a market, the involved agents and their interests, as well as strategies of institutional or organisational contexts just as the expected tensions and conflict lines." (Müller, 1992: 263). Original citation in German is: „Analytisch betrachtet, bezieht sich der Begriff des sozialen Felds auf eine Konfiguration oder Konstellation, die meist einen Markt, die beteiligten Akteure und ihre Interessen, sowie Strategien den oder die institutionellen oder organisatorische Kontexten, wie auch die typisch zu erwartenden Spannungen und Konfliklinien umfaßt." (Müller, 1992: 263).

[57] The original citation is: "Die Klagen über eine mangelnde Integration der Zuwanderer sind ebenso vertraut wie Resultate periodisch wiederkehrender empirischer Untersuchungen, die den Mangel an Integration beklagen. (Stölting, 2009: 38).

the limits of an environment where the social relations and interdependences take place (Esser, 2001). One of the major discussion points in Esser's postulate is his emphasis on the distinction between *system integration* and *social* integration (Esser, 2001), where he uses Lockwood's definition of *system integration* as "the orderly or conflictful relationships between the *parts*" and defines *social integration* as "the orderly or conflictful relationships between the *actors*" of a social system (Lockwood, 1964).

If we interpret *system integration* in the football context, it refers to the "orderly" participation of football clubs in the organised league system. This is a prerequisite action of a member of the football federation. The football clubs are obliged to accomplish their bureaucratic duties in order to be a "proper member" of this system. The most observable *system integration* example is the clubs' periodical responsibilities to the federation, such as paying the fees and sanctions or attending meetings.

Stahl underlines that sports clubs play a significant role in migrants' integration into the bureaucratic system in Germany (Stahl, 2009). The organisation of clubs under a federation and the systematised functioning of the club topography in Germany show that not only the population of migrant origin, but also every individual regardless of his/her social and cultural origin, accomplishes the *system integration* proposed by Esser. The social phenomenon of *system integration* based on the act of "being together" in the Esserian perspective can merely be explained as a *normative orientation*. It is expected generally and it is mostly accomplished for every individual in a society regardless of their origins.

The evaluation of the *social integration forms* is another topic. Here, Esser's conceptualisation of *social integration* merges significant motives of "integration among groups of individuals". His conceptualisation of social integration in four forms, *culturation, placing, interaction and identification* (Esser, 2001), like Heckmann's interpretation of social integration in four dimensions, *structural, cultural, social and identity integration* (Heckmann, 1997b), brings up some traces of concealed assimilation. Heckmann even describes his *cultural and identity integration* concepts as further levels of *integration* where the "migrant" identifies him/herself as a part of the "host" society's culture. This perspective is a typical example of an *assimilation model* (Gordon, 1964) which is affirmed, too, in empirical studies conducted on populations of migrant origins especially in the USA. For instance, in order to determine and explain the factors affecting the educational

performance of children of migrants, i.e. the second generation[58], an elaborate version of assimilation is used: *segmented assimilation* (Portes and Zhou, 1993).

Beside these assimilative orientations, the cultural model of the *German Leading Culture - deutsche Leitkultur* (refer Tibi, 1998, Nowak, 2006) is proposed by some German politicians for the migrants to "obligatorily" adopt. The conservative idea of a "leading culture" proposes that the immigrants living in Germany should integrate into the "leading culture" in Germany. Nevertheless, the pioneers of this model have difficulties defining this concept. This tendency of establishing a "unique culture" under the name of a "German leading culture" is criticised severely by Stölting, where he claims that Germany does not have a single cultural system, thus it is inconceivable that the migrants integrate into a "unique culture" (Stölting, 2009).

Another paradigm of integration is established by Heitmeyer and Anhut, who interpret social integration in three categories: *individual-functional system integration*, *cultural-expressive social integration* and *communicative-integrative social integration* (Heitmeyer and Anhut, 2000). Rittner and Breuer use Heitmeyer and Anhut's paradigm in order to interpret the orientations in sports club membership (Rittner and Breuer, 2004). The *individual-functional system integration* examines how the integration process runs, and Rittner and Breuer claim that "a single membership of a minority group individual in a local association tends to correspond to an assimilation pattern, whereas the so called foreigners' association or the ethnic self-organisation within an association of their own, tends to correspond rather to the pluralistic integration pattern" (Ibid: 75)[59]. Although this criteria aims to examine a major aspect in discussions on migration, it fails to consider the movements of football players especially in semi-professional leagues. It is inaccurate to claim that the differing origins of the players and the club founders tend to illustrate an *assimilative* orientation, whereas matching origins refer to *pluralistic* attitudes. Due to the movements of the players among the clubs, it can not be determined if the integration is an *assimilative* or a *pluralistic* one.

The second category is *cultural-expressive social integration*, which depends upon whether a sports club is open to members whose origins are different from that of its founders (Rittner and Breuer, 2004). This question is posed in this study for the football clubs founded by the migrants of Turkish

---

[58] Several studies were conducted on the children of migrants, i.e. the second generation, in the USA and in recent years in Europe. Refer to (Stepick, 1998, Portes and Rumbaut, 2001, Stepick and Dutton-Stepick, 2003, Foner, 2003, Kasinitz et al., 2004, Kasinitz et al., 2008, Crul and Vermeulen, 2003).

[59] The original citation in German is: "die Einzelmitgliedschaft des Minderheitenangehörigen im einheimischen Verein tendenziell dem assimilativen Muster entspricht, der sogenannte Ausländerverein bzw. Die ethnische Selbstorganisierung im eigenen Verein tendenziell eher dem pluralistischen Integrationsmuster" (Ibid: 75).

origin and it will be further discussed in the following chapters. *Communicative-integrative social integration* refers to the enforcement of fairness, equity and solidarity among the migrants in football teams (Ibid.). This is a general feature of sports having social impact on the mutual integration of individuals in society. The integration of migrant groups is an example for it. Sports principally allow the reciprocal recognition of individuals. The question, which will be elaborated on in the following chapters, is whether it is the players' characteristics, talents and technical capacities that are significant for the analysis of social integration in sports, or merely their social, cultural and ethnic origins.

In other words, "integration" as a social phenomenon in sports context includes mostly the intentions of normative action pattern. Similarly, the intersection of social aspects of football and migration point out the relevance and significance of norm-oriented as well as the emotional patterns of action in everyday life.

Schubert defines the social integration in five different types in his *model of social integration* (Schubert, 2009). First type is the *individual strategic integration* which he explains as "[It] is based on the simple assumption that societal actors engage in social relations, or chose a means to efficiently attain individual goals" (Schubert, 2009: 203)[60]. He further explains this type of integration with emotional bounding generated by ethnic based solidarity. He states that "membership in ethnic communities is not only seen as a resource of individual goal attainment but also as [a form of] social bonding, which, as the incorporated 'habitus' of a man, can neither be rationally deselected, nor is it randomly available, nor does it obey the criterium of 'benefit expectation'"[61] (Ibid.). The second type which Schubert conceptualizes is the *social emotional integration*. He explains this type closely combined with the type of integration individual strategic integration pattern. The social emotional integration type is a long-term learning process through which the norms and the role patterns are internalized and incorporated (Ibid.). This particular socialization process brings forth the synchronization of subjective and collective goals in a community (see Schubert, 2009: 206). These two integration types: *individual strategic* and *socio-emotional integration* show that the individual action patterns are mainly influenced by normative

---

[60] Original citation in German is „Der Typus individuelle strategische Integration geht von einfachen Annahme aus, dass Akteure soziale Beziehungen eingehen bzw. Mittel wählen, um individuelle Ziele effizient zu erreichen." (Schubert, 2009: 203).

[61] The original citation in German is: "die Mitgliedschaft in ethnischen Gemeinschaften wird nicht nur als Ressource individueller Zielerreichung wahrgenommen, sondern auch als emotionale Bindung, die – wie der inkoporierte "Habitus" eines Menschen – rational nicht abgewählt werden kann, nicht beliebig verfügbar ist, nicht dem Kriterium "Nutzenerwartung" gehorcht. Um solche emotionalen Bindungen untersuchen zu können, muss die Analyse den homo oeconomicus zugunsten des homo sociologicus verlassen, d. h. die Theorie rationaler Wahl zugunsten der Theorie sozialer Normen [...]." (Ibid.).

orientations. Based on these conceptualizations, one of the questions in my study is to search for to what extent we can use these norm-oriented social integration patterns to explain the individual and collective orientations for the case of Turkish football in Berlin.

The particularity in Schubert's integration model is the emphasis on the emotional and normative action patterns. Next to the two types introduced above, Schubert constitutes *cultural-authentic integration* underlining the significance of cultural dialog through which the social borders loses their social relevance between the groups with diverse origins and the "difference" among the individuals are recognized (Schubert, 2009: 224). The last two types that Schubert introduced in his model are the *discursive integration* and *projective integration* through which the patterns of justice i.e. impartiality and trust are well established between the individuals of migrant origin and the so called domestic people (Ibid.). In this study, the integration model of Schubert will be used as the structural paradigm for the interpretation of the empirical results.

Next the research focus has to be put on the participants' life-world in such a study intending to investigate the social integration performances of a certain migrant group in football context. Therefore, the social integration as a phenomenon in qualitative social sciences has to be interpreted as a project rather than a finalized point of status.

Soeffner and Zifonun interpret "integration" as "an continual process, which, moreover, subject to characteristic forms of institutionalisation" (Soeffner and Zifonun, 2008: 4). They refer to Strauss' "social world" definition, where "these worlds are constantly reproduced and changed by processes of legitimation, segmentation and intersection" (Ibid.). The constructions in the *social world* between the social environment and the social actors are established via *legitimation* and the individuals who are the members of several different *social world*s orient themselves between the *intersection of social worlds*. Parallel to these types of social formations, through the *segmentation,* the *part-world*s (Ibid.) are constituted by the diverse social actors.

Soeffner and Zifonun's approach to "integration" ascribes a dynamic peculiarity to this sociological constitution which opposes Heitmeyer and Anhut's conceptualization. According to Soeffner and Zifonun (2008), the general perception of "integration" is based on the individuals' "social worlds" instead of their ethnic and cultural origins. They define "integration" as "the participation in the "society" and adaptation to societal orders" (Ibid: 6). This is the primary definition of "integration". The significant point in this definition is the treatment and the presentation of different individual groups as equals instead of classifying them according to their ethnic origins.

In a migration context, the origin of an individual is the major factor discussed as establishing the core of the *social integration*. Even the duration of inhabitance, or having been born in the host country are less significant criteria than, for instance, the surname of an individual, which symbolises the origin of the individual's parents. The self-presentation of the *Gastarbeiter* - guestworkers' following generations should be thoroughly examined in order to reconstruct their individual and collective perception of their "origin". This may differ from their parents' due to a probable discrepancy in the perception of belonging to a certain social space and to the place of birth[62].

The major problem in *social integration* discussions begins with the titling i.e perception of the "migrant" of this theme. The word "migrant" is not only used in social life, but also in political discourse, referring to all the inhabitants and citizens of a country who have a different origin from that of the majority of the citizens in that country. Nevertheless, the children of the Guestworker - *Gastarbeiter* - have never immigrated. They were born and raised in the country that their parents immigrated to. Typifying somebody as "a migrant" even though he/she is "not a migrant", or labeling them as having migrant origins is an example for a *culturalistic* and an *ethnocentric* perspective[63] where the causes of the discrepancies among social groups is explained merely with the cultural differences and origins of individuals. In this research, the analysis is based on Soeffner and Zifonun's interpretation of social integration theory.

2.1.4. Social Capital and Football in Migration Context

Social capital formed among the group of individuals has a major role in understanding the social relations in football. The term *social capital* in its various forms and contexts and its sociological effects have been discussed from different perspectives. Here the most appropriate discussions needed for the interpretation of the empirical results will be included.

When it comes to *social capital formation in football clubs*, especially when we consider the Turkish football clubs in Berlin, the question is whether the notion of social capital generates a particular kind of absolute i.e. ever lasting solidarity among the people in this social world or does the social capital, in this case, result from an "aggregate of the actual or potential resources"[64]?

---

[62]   See Chapter 3 for a detailed analysis of social belonging to a certain social space.
[63]   Refer to (Caglar, 1996, 1997, Bröskamp and Alkemeyer, 1996) for critique of this culturalistic perspective.
[64]   The text in English is taken from Portes' citation (Bourdieu, 1979).

Portes, who has discussed the origins of *social capital* profoundly, more or less parallel to Bourdieus approach, states that "social networks are not a natural given and must be constructed through investment strategies […] usable as a reliable source of other benefits" (Portes, 1998:5).

Furthermore, the above cited notion of "investment strategies" has the meaning of an exchange mechanism which Lin expresses similarly in his "social capital" description. From a more economic perspective than a sociological analysis, Lin states that "the premise behind the notion of social capital is rather simple and straightforward: investment in social relations with expected returns. [...] Individuals engage in interactions and networking in order to produce profits" (Lin, 1999: 30-31). The empirical results, too, show that the commercial football has observable impacts on the semi-professional and even on amateur football. The players, even in lower leagues, reckon and act under the eventual economic outcomes of their decisions for their football career. This economic aspect of *social capital* will be referred to in several parts in the analysis for the migrant semi-professional football context in this study.

At first, it is better to begin with the analysis of the origins of *social capital* when we think of the case of Turkish football in Berlin. Once again, we have to refer to Portes and Sensenbrenner at this point. They describe four sources of *social capital*: *value introjection, reciprocity exchanges, bounded solidarity* and *enforceable trust* (Portes and Sensenbrenner, 1993). The "group morality" is at its highest level in *value introjection,* their first type of *social capital* constructed on Durkheim's *non-contractual elements of contract* (Durkheim, 1984). Here, "moral order existing in the group morality" rules the economic transactions. The economic relations are based on the expected and common moral and ethic relation patterns which are conceptualised as the *value introjection.* The alliance is satisfied merely through the partners' mutual confidence within an informal relation pattern. Is it exactly the case when we describe the relations in the social field of Turkish football in Berlin?

The type of reciprocity in social relations is the most crucial determinant in this part of the analysis. As mentioned above, *value introjection* is followed by the second source, *reciprocity exchanges,* which Portes and Sensenbrenner explain with the words "social capital arising from *reciprocity* transactions consists of the accumulation of "chits" based on previous good deeds to others, backed by the norm of reciprocity" (Portes and Sensenbrenner, 1993: 1324). It means that the individuals begin to think and reckon reciprocally not only their good things and but also the bad things they do to others which bring them the right to claim a corresponding return from the other's side. In this

sense, individual demands replace the *group morality* and the *social capital* is constructed slowly and thoroughly and based on a mutually experienced history of the individuals.

The third source is *bounded solidarity* which includes as well the aspect of "the situational circumstances" to the discussion on the conceptualization of social capital. It is the source most suitable to the analysis of *social capital* in my study. The essence of this conceptualisation of a *social capital* source is the common situational circumstance shared by a group which induces them to cooperate. On the other hand, the bounded solidarity may bring forth some negative effects[65] as well. Can this "bounded solidarity" implicitly restrict the Turkish players' behaviors and prospective decisions?

To have a more close investigation on the type of togetherness in my research, the last definition of source in social capital conceptualization is introduced as the *enforceable trust*. It is based on Weberian economic theory on the norms in the exchange patterns, where the "utilities" and the "benefits" achieved by a particular group are constructed on a class distinctive orientation between *formal rationality* and *substantive rationality* (Portes and Sensenbrenner, 1993). Whereas the *formal rationality* means, for the social field of football in Berlin, the well-known and expected norms of exchange, the *substantive rationality* includes some privileges offered to certain groups for their profit. In a relation based on *enforceable trust*, a single player follows the expectations of the group. These "utilities" are not merely interchanged reciprocally, but expended for the benefit of the group, instead of the individual.

The foundation of a football club is an example of the institutionalisation of existing *social capital* under an association. As mentioned previously, the football clubs were founded as a part of the migrant associations, with ethnic, political, religious and national motives. In this sense, the clubs were built, at first, on a *bonding social capital[66]* (Putnam, 2002) relation.

In a migration context, these respects may be the primary elements of social solidarity mechanisms. According to Putnam, every social interaction may be transformed into a social network construction of different size. The question relevant to my research is how the social interactions in social spaces around football transform into a network form, which factors contribute to this

---

[65] They conclude their research with three results which they present as the negative effects of social capital. These consequences are named the levelling negative effects, free riding on community bonds/norms, restrictions on individual freedom and outside contacts (Portes and Sensenbrenner, 1993: 1345).

[66] Bonding social capital is defined by Putnam as "[it] brings together people who are like one another in important respects (ethnicity, age, gender, social class, and so on)." (Putnam, 2002).

transformation, and if and how the Turkish football clubs generate *bridging social capital*[67].

Warren carries the binding solidarity relation patterns into a sporting context. He signifies the impact of individual development in sports organisations and states that this invokes *reciprocity, trust and recognition* which he defines as the aspects of *civic virtues* (Warren, 2001). At this point, we can observe the constructive social impacts of football through which the players in migration and sports context are socialized. Therefore, with the aim of investigating the patterns of orientations and intentions of social integration in Turkish football clubs, the question is to find out to what extent the networks based on social capital influence both the present action, perception and presentation patterns of players and their prospective career plans of turning professional (see chapter 5) parallel to taking part as a major institution in the socialisation process of the youth of Turkish origin in Berlin.

---

[67] Putnam defines *bridging social capital* as "social networks that bring together people who are one another" (Putnam, 2002: 11).

2.2. Method of Data Collection

The sociological studies in Germany on the social integrative functions of sports and football are mostly concentrated on quantitative particularities of the sports clubs. This aspect is the most important and the starting point of investigations on the football organizations in migration context. The quantitative research renders the knowledge to draw up the whole landscape of migrant organisations in the *social field* of football. Contrarily, there is relatively less qualitative research which encloses the peculiarities of these social mechanisms.

This qualitative study intends to contribute to the focused investigation of the mechanisms of social integration in migratory sports context including the reconstructions and comparisons based on the particular *hermeneutic interpretations*[68] of conducted *group discussions*[69]. With these methodological aspects, which are rarely applied in social research on sports in migration context, the study intends to bring forth the *sociology of knowledge* perspective to the sport sociological studies in Germany. Especially the *phenomenological* point of view enriches the *reconstructive processing* of collected data through which the combined issues of migration and sports are analysed. Following, the collective patterns of perceptions, orientations, presentations as well as social positioning of the "migrant youth i.e. Turkish boys" could have been observed.

Besides these aspects, the study particularly includes a peculiar research perspective incorporating the *context knowledge* (Strauss, 1991)[70] constituted on the shared ethnicity of the researcher with the participants in this study. This *context knowledge* which is mainly built on the shared patterns of understanding of everyday life enables on one hand more of elaborations during the group discussions, on the other hand, the focused analysis of the other role players' functions in the Turkish football clubs who take part in steering and stabilizing the social order in these groupings.

The research concentrating on migrant groups may have a focus of investigating a *labeled population*. The researcher socialized in a society within a majority and minority constellation has the *context knowledge* including this *marked category*. This *context knowledge* initiate some impacts on the *relevance* i.e. the theme and the focus of the research setting and the interest in a qualitative field study. This is true for both researcher groups i.e. the "migrant researcher" and the

---

[68] See Chapter 2.2.3..
[69] See Chapter 2.2.2..
[70] *Context knowledge* is defined by Strauss as the life-experiences of the researcher which implicitly have impacts on the research perspective i.e. investigation approach of the researcher thus the results of a study.

"domestic researcher". The peculiarity in this study is the observation of these configurations without the implicit consequences of conspicuousness, i.e. being marked as a member of "majority" or "minority" group, on the research perspective while the researcher, I, had not been socialized and raised in a migratory context.

One of the example through which *the congruence of relevance* (Schutz, 1982) was explicitly noticeable was the case when the participants talked about their everyday life. They talked mostly on the details and elaborate profoundly when the discussion subjects were on the social constellations such as "being migrant" or "being a German player". Certainly during these particular sessions, they reflected more of their collectively constituted causal thinking and reasoning patterns in this particular main subject. This tendency of the participant groups had enriching effects on the research outcomes. In this context, it can be stated that the same origin and as well as the shared mother tongue which was used in the discussions implicitly embody (include) a prediction of *congruence of relevance system* (Ibid.).

Next to this *congruence of relevance,* which makes this study particular, the methodic aim is to reconstruct the empirical data for instance such as in a manuscript interpretation postulated by Edward Said with his notion of *discrepant experiences* (Said, 1993: 32). Said denoted that "we[71] must be able to think through and interpret together experiences that are discrepant, each with its particular agenda and pace of development, its own internal formations, its internal coherence and system of external relationships, all of them coexisting and in interaction with others" (Ibid). In this frame, the everyday life experiences told in group discussions will be investigated with a particular intention on their *internal coherence* and *system of external relations*. This example is given here in order to introduce truly the perspective of interpretation in my study through which I tend to investigate this *social field* of migration and sports.

At the beginning of the field research, I neither formulated my questions for the football players nor did I have hypotheses. The aim was to observe the Turkish football world in Berlin, trying to find out some social phenomena and relation patterns in the football context. The inquiry was brought on after some time of field observation (refer to Meinefeld (2004), Whyte (1955), Geer (1964)). I mainly posed a single introductory question which aimed to hear about the players' everyday football lives, the atmosphere during the matches and their relations with other players from

---

[71] In this context, it can be sorted out that Said with the subject "we" in his sentence refers the literature scientists (philological approach on e.g. identity) must be able to reflect different experiences on a text.

different teams. The question was "how are the matches going?" During the interviews, the aim was to let them tell more about their everyday life and explain how it runs. I neither tried to prove a present sociological theory nor to test one (Glaser and Strauss, 2007), but the aim was to reconstruct the relations in the social world of football players of Turkish origin.

2.2.1. Field Research

First, the field observation started with going to the regular football matches of Turkish clubs in Berlin. I watched two to three matches each week for approximately three seasons long. Not only watching the matches but also observing the trainings helped me approach the players and the trainers more closely, where I had the chance to see them in a more relaxed mood compared to the stressful times during the weekend matches. Next to these regular matches, I watched the occasional tournaments organised only among the Turkish clubs. This helped me to intimately figure out and examine afterwards the relations among the Turkish clubs, which differ from the ones with German clubs.

Secondly, two types of interviews were conducted in order to collect the whole data needed for the research. *Narrative interviews* and *focus groups* were carried out with different members of the football clubs.

Although I implemented *group discussions* with the players of the first team in the club, i.e. corresponding to the age group from eighteen until thirties, I watched the trainings of children's teams where I had the opportunity to meet professional player candidates in their childhood. I heard several stories about the children from these football fields who became "football stars" some day. I noticed that the trainings generate a gathering point for the child players' parents, especially the fathers. During informal talks with them I had the chance to follow the tracks rendering the significance of football for the family, having relevant impacts on everyday familial relations.

Solidarity nights organised by the football clubs and other activities where all the club members are invited allowed me to observe all group members and the relations in the social space that a football club generates. Besides participating in these events, I began to run with the *Türkiyemspor* trainers who were training for the Berlin Half Marathon. We always met on Sundays at eight a.m. in the forests of *Grunewald* in the west of Berlin.

During this period of field research, I tried to observe the different groups in clubs. I was in several different city districts in Berlin where the social environments were completely different from each other, e.g. from the football stadiums to the spectator groups and from players to the trainer profiles.

Initial contact was mostly established with the trainers, with whom narrative interviews were conducted. Regardless of the technical aspects of trainership, the trainers were asked to describe the social relations in their club, such as their relations with the players. The trainers were mostly former professional players who had played football in many different teams in Berlin or in other cities of Germany. Some of them have also experienced football life in Turkey. Through these narrative interviews, I attempted to reconstruct the perception patterns, presentation forms and other typifications of the trainers in the Turkish football world in Berlin.

The trainers were in their thirties or forties. Their past experiences reflect the everyday life of football in the early 2000s. They represent the older generation in my participant group. They differentiate themselves from the young players in many respects, such as in self-presentation forms. Interviewing both groups allowed me to reflect the discrepancies between generations in the study. The narrative interviews with open-ended questions allowed the participants to talk together, which enabled me to unfold their common perception patterns. The flow of the interviews was left completely open to the participants and the topics and subjects were selected by them according to their *collective relevance*, i.e. their significance or the players' interest in revealing them.

The trainers and their relations with the players allow me to compare the patterns of relations among the "Turkish migrant generations". Another interesting point was observing the change in the group formation and player selection criteria throughout the history of "Turkish" football in Berlin.

2.2.2. Group Discussions

The exact time of the termination of data collection could not be set precisely. The empirical part of the study was terminated when identical or similar answers were given to the questions posed. The repetition of the interview contents determined the amount of data collected. It was an exploratory phase of continuous back and forth analysis, which was proposed by the pioneers of *grounded theory* (Glaser and Strauss, 2007).

The aim was to reconstruct the *accumulated individual and common experiential stock* of the players. Although each player has certain individual perception patterns and perspectives about social relations in their everyday life, the players in the focus groups have been together for some

time and have common interpretations too. It is not possible to determine "which ideas and attitudes one subjectively "has" in a certain situation and what he/she expresses in a dialogue depends on the ideas and attitudes of the other partners in the group discussion" (Mangold, 1960: 20)[72]. One of the main aims, in this research, was to find out the similarities and the conflicts among players in the same group, which stimulated, in some cases, some subgroup formations. In this respect, the focus groups permit the researcher to experience the interaction among the participants where they have adequate time and chance to express themselves explicitly in a familial and cordial ambiance.

Since the group discussions were opened mainly with warm-up questions concerning the football players' routines in their everyday lives, most of them find this initial phase i.e. the phase of strangerness - *Phase der Fremdheit* (Mangold, 1960: 24) as trivial. To talk about the "normal" course of everyday life is seen to be as nothing special. They do not mostly intend to describe details the habitual routines of their everyday life. This makes, in some cases, a kind of speaks of *demonstrative vagueness* (Bohnsack, 2004). Nevertheless, these habitual routines may be crucial for me in my reconstruction work. In order to introduce the participants to tell and open up their minds, I mostly tend slightly to orient the discussion (Orientation phase - *Phase der Orientierung*) (Mangold, 1960) via *immanent* and *exmanent-remanent inquiries* (Bohnsack, 2004). The *immanent subjects* include the ones which I have already planned to communicate. Then the participants begin to speak about their common experiences, perspectives and interests, referring to each other mutually (Adaptation phase – *Phase der Anpassung*) (Mangold, 1960), it is my duty to discover this individually and collectively constructed *social world*. After some time, not only the narrative part of the dicsussion but also visual affirmations, such as murmuring and head-shaking confirmations, are the proof of the relatively rapid establishment of a mutual social phase of closeness - *Phase der Vertrautheit* (Ibid). Then I introduce the exmanent-remanent subjects after the immanent inquiry phase is completed, i.e. they have newly arisen. In the ideal case, the participants begin to form a group idea which is termed as the phase of conformity – Phase der *Konformität* (Ibid.) where the participants feel free to express and elaborate in diverse dimensions.

During the interviews, I try to avoid inquiries which force the participants to justify themselves. Only the topics were introduced to the participants and no propositions were made by the observer during the discussions (Bohnsack, 2004: 380).

---

[72] Original citation, which is translated by the author, is: "Welche Meinungen und Einstellungen der Einzelne in einer bestimmten Situation subjektiv "hat", welche er im Gespräch äußert, hängt wesentlich von den Meinungen und Einstellungen der jeweiligen Gesprächspartner ab" (Mangold, 1960: 20).

Bohnsack names *the fundamentals of the reconstruction of research praxis* of focus groups[73] as follows:

1. All of the group members are participants in the discussions
2. Only the introduction of themes without any propositions
3. Demonstrative vagueness
4. No interruption and guidance of the right of talk among the participants
5. Generation of detailed presentations
6. Immanent inquiry
7. The phase of "exmanent" inquiry
8. The direct phase[74]

Bohnsack's group discussion principles are taken as the method of data collection in this study. I held group discussions with players from the same team. At the beginning of focus group interviews, I tried to get the players to speak about their everyday life experiences. After posing a couple of general questions on the everyday lives of football players, the participants were left on their own, without any interruptions, to discuss their experiences concerning football. Instead of posing leading questions, the intention was to encourage the group to discuss their thoughts and experiences within their lives as football players. Thus, they discussed their ideas, experiences and criticisms on issues which were derived from the common experiences of the group. The questions were always asked in an open-ended form and were always directed at the group as a whole.

In total, 34 qualitative interviews were conducted, which were composed of 10 focus groups, 10 narrative interviews with trainers, 7 biographical interviews with football players, 7 expert interviews with executive committee members club presidents and the managers.

These interviews were transcribed according to the transcription guidelines developed by Bohnsack, which generate the possibility of reflecting even the non-verbal parts of an interview in the manuscript (Bohnsack, 2003). Especially, pauses during the interviews, the time sequences and the participants' simultaneous talks, i.e. overlapping speech, as well as the sequences of laughter were

---

[73] Bohnsack names the focus group type of data collection a group discussion and refers to Merton as the initiator of the "focus group" as a method in social sciences. Merton firstly used this technique for his research on the reception of propagandising during the Second World War. The other usage of group discussions was that of market research studies (Bohnsack, 2004: 372).

[74] These principles are presented and explained in Bohnsack, 2004: 380-382. (Translated from German by the author).

all documented[75]. These were considered especially because they might embody some *implicit meanings* (Douglas, 1975), that might be crucial for the interpretation of the whole text. For instance, the sections with collective laughter include, in some cases, a remembrance of an amusing shared experience, or illustrate, in other cases, cultural or milieu-oriented shared meanings. Particularly, the long pauses between talk sequences allow the participants to have opportunities to change the subject of the discussion. These intentions illustrate the common interests of the group which permit the observer to determine what is significant for the group and what is not.

2.2.3. Text Analysis: Hermeneutic Interpretation

The transcribed interviews are the main material used in this qualitative study. These transcriptions are valued as the written form of the participants' expressions. The texts are interpreted with the aim of understanding and reconstructing the collective orientations, presentations and perception patterns of the groups.

Hermeneutic interpretation is taken as the method of text analysis and evaluation in this study. The focus is on the "meaning" and "kind of meanings" in the text where the *hermeneutic perspective* is defined by Kvale with the words "the interpretation of meaning is the central theme, with a specification of the kinds of meanings sought and attention to the questions posed to a text" (Kvale, 1996: 38).

For this study, the discrepancy between the two main concepts, understanding – *Verstehen,* and interpretation – *Deutung* (Dilthey, 1999) is centrally significant which principally form a significant fundamental of qualitative social research. Based on the *hermeneutic interpretation* of the empirical material i.e. sources of data, I aspire to comprehend how the participants see and understand the e.g. social interaction patterns in their everyday life.

However, can a researcher exactly understand how the participants perceive? Whereas Schleiermacher defines hermeneutics as the *Kunstlehre des Verstehens* - the art of understanding - and adds that the "hermeneutic rules must be the methods" (Schleiermacher, 1977: 84). Soeffner

---

[75] **Transcription Guidelines:**
   (3) Beispiel (.): Dauer einer kurzen Pause (in Sekunden) – duration of brief pause (in seconds)
   Beispi- : unvollständige Artikulierung – incomplete articulation
   @Beispiel@ : lachend gesprochen –spoken with a smile
   @(.)@ : kurzes Lachen – short laughter
   (Bohnsack, 2003: 235).

defines hermeneutics as:

> "Hermeneutics as a form of methodology is a doctrine of art which does not need artists but analysts. A form of comprehension and problem solving procedure, hermeneutics finds answers to questions when those who have asked them can no longer make use of them. It destroys certainites by searching for them, and finds questions and answers it has not been searching for"[76] (Soeffner, 2000: 97).

According to Soeffner, the crucial aspect is the analytical approach developed in text interpretation which finally accentuates the unforeseeable stream of hermeneutic interpretation.

The transcribed interview is emphatically interpreted in a hermeneutics study, meaning that the researcher puts himself in the participant's place (Gadamer, 1999) and interprets the text from his or her perspective in an analytical paradigm meaning in a Schleiermacher's *circular movement of understanding – Zirkelbewegung des Verstehens* (Ibid.). This is the *hermeneutic circle* in interpretation. In this sense, the *hermeneutic circle*, meaning the cycle of interpretation, expands itself to the further perception patterns. It means that "the "circle", at first, seems to be an aporia" (Maraldo, 1984: 11). As I am working on an interview manuscript, I concentrate only on the text. Then I break the text into sequences and endeavor to reconstruct the *meaning* separately from the whole document. This partial interpretation finally leads me to the entire understanding of the text. It means that the interpretation at the beginning may broaden itself in a completely unknown direction. Since, the aim is not to invent a scientific outcome based on the qualitative data collected but to discover the perceptions, presentations, orientations and expressions in the text (Maraldo, 1984). In this sense, the reasoning or the causes of some notions and phenomena expressed in the text are out of the scope of a hermeneutic study. The core of the study is based on the reconstruction of the contents in the texts.

As Soeffner mentions,

> "Texts are products of interaction. They are this even in the borderline case of a monologue, the conversation of a person with him or herself. They are produced in interactions, are components of interaction, thence (resemble actions) and reflect chains of actions that are irreversible as action-reaction frameworks. "[77] (Soeffner, 2000: 67).

---

[76] The original citation in German is: "Hermeneutik als Methodologie ist eine Kunstlehre, die keinen Künstler, sondern Analytiker braucht. Hermeneutik als Verstehensform und Problemlösungsverfahren findet dann Antworten auf Fragen, wenn die, die sie gestellt haben, nichts mehr mit diesen Antworten anfangen können. Sie zerstört Gewißheiten, indem sie danach sucht, und findet Fragen und Antworten, die sie nicht gesucht hat" (Soeffner, 2000: 97).

[77] The original citation in German is: "Texte sind Interaktionsprodukte. Sie sind dies selbst im Grenzfall des Monologes, des Gesprächs einer Person mit sich selbst. Sie werden in Interaktionen produziert, sind Bestandteile der Interaktion, haben dementsprechend Handlungscharakter und bilden Handlungsreihen ab, die als Aktions- und Reaktionsgefüge irreversibel sind." (Soeffner, 2000: 67).

He sees a monologue-style text itself as a form of expression where an individual's self-interaction is reflected on a piece of paper. Besides hermeneutic analysis of the monologue form, the inter-individual interactions are, too, included in this empirical study. The group discussions with the players allow the researcher to observe the spontaneous interactions in a group where the common experiences are remembered and told together, in a way, re-lived.

The flow of the themes, phenomena, presentations, individual and common interpretations in the text determine the elements of sequential analysis during the hermeneutic interpretation. In the following chapters where the empirical research results are introduced, various texts, i.e. excerpts from the group discussions, are compared with each other, where identical, contrasting and varying phenomena are reconstructed with a hermeneutic interpretation approach.

3. The Field Research on the Turkish Football World in Berlin

3.1. Fraternal Indigenous Mechanisms in Mahalles

Football is played not only in football clubs, but in parks and in the streets as well. In the narrow streets of cities in Turkey, children put a stone in the middle of the street and then step two or three meters right or left of it and put down another stone. This is how one begins to build a football field in the street. Then they put two more stones down, just across from these with the same distance from each other. In this way, the goals of each team are built. *Ağbi*[78]s - the elder brothers, i.e. elder friends, form the teams. Two *ağbi*s begin to step towards each other where they take the same number of steps. The one who first steps on the other's foot when they come together, has the priority to form his team from the *brothers* waiting to be selected. Obviously the one who chooses first has the advantage, because he selects the best player for his team. The other one selects as well and then both select one by one. At the end, the *ağbi*s check if the strengths of the two teams are almost equal. If not, the stronger team relinquishes a player and plays with one less player than the other team. After this quick bargaining phase, they start the game.

Every *mahalle,* i.e. narrow city district, has a local football team. City districts and their role in the socialisation of children were observed by Muchow and Muchow in (Muchow and Muchow, [1935] 1998), where the social impact of the local public space on childhood is recorded.

The relations within a family, such as respect patterns based on age differences, traditional behaviour patterns, some social protection and support mechanisms, such as the protection of the young brothers, *delikanlıs,* by the *ağbis* against the others from other *mahalle*s are reproduced in the *mahalle*. The formation of social relations in the *mahalle* can be explained as an *extension of familial relations into the public sphere.* In this familial environment, the parents' relations with their children are replaced with the elder inhabitants' relations with the younger generation in the *mahalle.* Although these people are not actual relatives, the friends of the parents, for instance, are called *uncles* and *aunts*. It is the same case for children older than the others where the older ones are called elder brother, *ağbi* or elder sister, *abla*.

The significant point here is the reflection of familial relations to the local public sphere - *mahalle*.

---

[78]   *Ağbi* is a Turkish word (< *ağabey)* etymologically connected to the feudal system; it used to designate a landlord.

This collectively constructed social mechanism is developed where everybody knows almost everything about the others in the common social space - *mahalle*. In this sense, just like it is in the family, individuals have established responsibilities for others, e.g. *ağbi*s protecting *delikanlı*s. Like family members, the inhabitants in a *mahalle* belong to each other. There are no "others" in the *mahalle*. Individual identity replaces itself with a feeling of togetherness. *Mahalle*s generate social spaces where a unique collective identity is developed, where the individuals possess each other through "kinship". This is a particular local solidarity formation.

One of the symbolic representations of this local solidarity formation is the football club where a *mahalle*'s strength can be demonstrated in the competitive environment of football. This club needs a common roof, i.e. a club house in the *mahalle* under which the "relatives" come together. Simmel describes the spatial dimensions of local solidarity formations and states that the club as a social institution generates social unionisations in a certain space-based entity in its locality i.e. in its *house* (see Dünne and Günzel, 2006: 307). The *kahve*[79], men's cafe, is the club's *house*, where the inhabitants of the *mahalle* meet. *Kahve*s are the meeting points for the men in *mahalle*s. Some people use *kahve*s as their office where they do their business, where they meet their customers, for instance, for a car trade business.

The *mahalle* football team has its meetings there. It is the place for the *amca*s, meaning the uncles, who are older than the *ağbi*s. *Ağbi*s do not go to *kahve*s because it is a social space only for the older people. The *ağbi*s cannot smoke or drink *rakı* in front of their *amca*s. They are considered disrespectful manners by the elders in the *mahalle*. *Ağbi*s meet in parks or in other *cafe*s.

The social relations in a *mahalle* strongly resemble what Simmel describes as *emotional social space* (Simmel, 2003). He compares urban and rural life and concludes that the social relations in the city are *mentally* constructed, whereas they are structured *emotionally* in villages (Ibid.). In a migration context, one can think that the *rural population* who migrated to cities continue their *rural life* there as well (Gans, 1982). Concerning the football players of Turkish origin in Berlin who represent the third generation after the *Gastarbeiter* - guest workers (see Abadan-Unat, 2006), the social relations in *mahalle*s are based on an interdependent emotional togetherness which

---

[79] The original name of *kahve* is *kıraathane*. *Kıraat* means reading in Arabic and *hane* means house in Persian. *Kıraathane*s were the meeting places for men in the times of the Ottoman Empire where one read books for the others (Yasar, 2005), (Ceylan, 2006). Later, the *kıraathane*s turned into *kahve*s where Turkish men come together, drink black tea, play cards, chat and watch football matches. There are thousands of *kahve*s in Turkey. In each *mahalle,* there are at least a couple of *kahve*s. It is the same in the parts of Berlin where the Turkish population lives. During my visits, I noticed that the *mahalle's* inhabitants come together there during the day.

establishes a local collective identity. In this sense, *mahalle*s form the *emotional social spaces in the metropolis*.

The *mahalle*s in Berlin are composed of heterogeneous ethnic and religious populations but of individuals of the same social class (see Schiffauer, 1993). When the Turkish *mahalles* in Berlin are considered, one can talk about a concentration of the Turkish population in certain city districts, and the same observation can be made about football clubs. Most of the Turkish football clubs are in *Kreuzberg, Wedding* and *Neukölln*.

Häußermann and Kapphan study the formation of migrant districts in Berlin within long term urban settlement politics (Häußermann and Kapphan, 2000). The *Gastarbeiter* - guest workers were temporarily lodged in apartments which had to be renovated in the *Sanierungsgebiet*-renovation region.

The guest workers lived in homogenised districts offered to them by the government. The percentage of the foreigner population in 1965 increased to more than 15 % the whole population in the city districts of *Wedding, Tiergarten* and *Kreuzberg* (Ibid.). This migrant settlement policy led to some politicians developing a suspicious attitude against the migrant population in Berlin, because they interpreted the 15 % of the migrant population as a very high proportion. They decided to implement another policy called *Zuzugssperre - prohibition of moving into certain districts* in order to ban the guest workers from continuing to live in the *Sanierungsgebiet - renovation region.* The migrants followed these government policies. After a couple of decades, the population of migrants in these city districts increased, with the chain migration (Haug, 2000) and family unification rights given to the *Gastarbeiter* - guest workers. The density of the migrant population is still presented as a major conflict by some politicians and social scientists. Instead of seeing this as the normal case, as Bade and Oltmer (Bade and Oltmer, 2004) postulate, some see the *mahalle*s as forming parallel societies, *Parallelgesellschaft - parallel society* (Heitmeyer, 1996, Halm and Sauer, 2006), or ethnic colonies - *ethnische Kolonien - ethnic colonies* (Heckmann, 1998) (Ceylan, 2006), which form a *Zwischenwelt - intermediate world* (Heckmann, 1997a), which can be translated as *intermediate* or *transition societies*. Labeling migrant social spaces in such ways represents a socially discriminating orientation. This includes scepticism and fear of the "migrant" population although the *social worlds* of these "migrant" groups were not truly investigated. The insufficient number of empirical studies on the "migrant" population in Germany unfortunately leads some scientists to conceptualise such classifications.

In contrast to these perspectives which include only a single expected direction of social integration endeavours, from the "migrant" population to the "German-born" (Stölting, 2009) population, the social group formations in football clubs illustrate principally a *double-sided integration model* where individuals of diverse origins come together to play football.

When considering first generation immigrants from Turkey, it can be stated that they have a strong sense of social belonging to their place of birth, a fact which was reflected in the afore-mentioned foundation of townsmen-solidarity associations. These migrant organizations arrange cultural activities for their members to celebrate collectively. For example, they hold regional festivals of their place of birth. This, in turn, forms a mutual solidarity with emigrants from cities of Turkey. Another example of this is the association dinners, hosted by the football club executive committee, where almost all the members come together and enjoy their evening with regional food, traditional music and dance e.g. *Trabzonlular Gecesi - Trabzonian* Night and *Vartolular Gecesi - Vartoian*[80] Night. Several hundred fellows celebrate the night together in big wedding halls[81] in Berlin. Some of the income collected through entrance prices and the "traditional lottery of the night[82]" is donated to the club for the benefit of the football teams and is used to contribute to the cost of the material needs of the players[83].

It seems that the townsmen's solidarity, both on a voluntary and financial basis, brings the football clubs, firstly, more financial resources, and respectively, more success. Friends work voluntarily on organizational tasks and administrative issues for the club. The trainer of the *Ağrıspor* children's team said:

---

[80] Varto is a city in the East of Turkey. See http://www.vartodernegiberlin.com for the townsmen club of Vartoians in Berlin.

[81] These halls are mostly reserved for Turkish wedding ceremonies which are celebrated in large groups, with at least a couple of hundred guests.

[82] Such lotteries are mostly organised for the solidarity nights. The aim is to collect money for the benefit of the club. Each guest buys a ticket with a number. There are several small presents for some numbers and a final present drawn in the lottery at the end of the night.

[83] Other than the townsmen clubs, *Türkiyemspor* organises club nights yearly. For instance, they recently held a celebration in honor of the thirtieth anniversary of their club foundation. Or in a group discussion with the players of *Hürriyet-Burgund*, they stated that they go to training camps in *Antalya* every year with the money collected on club nights. *Antalya* is the favorite place for training camps among teams from both Turkey and Europe.

> Babam Ağrıspor'un kurucularındadı. Bana kağıt işlerini sen
> yap dedi. Sonra kulüpteki diğer işlerini de bana bıraktı. Ben
> de yönetim kurulu üyesi oldum. Ayda bir sefer federasyonun
> toplantılarına gidiyorum. Sonra gelip bizim oyuncuları ve
> antrenörleri değişiklikler hakkında bilgilendiriyorum.
>
> My father was one of the founders of Ağrıspor. He told me
> that I should do the club's administrative work. Then he gave
> up his post and I continued. I became a member of the board
> of directors. Once a month I go to the federation meetings[84]
> and inform our players and trainers of the changes in the
> rules.

The son of the club president has two tasks for the club: being the trainer and administrator of the club. He does all these things voluntarily. This club and other Turkish clubs as well often have financial difficulties and come to the point of closing the club, but they survive with the help of volunteers and financial support provided mostly by fellows born in the same city in Turkey. There is a certain familial and fellowship *inheritance mechanism* for the survival of clubs, e.g. voluntarily taking part in the management of clubs.

Not only voluntary work but also financial support by townsmen football clubs is one of the substantial resources for the Turkish football clubs. The wealthy friends, i.e. townsmen, take responsibility for sponsorship of the football clubs. Some of the major sponsors are entrepreneurs working in sports clothing[85], which is mostly managed by former football players, or in construction or the gastronomy sector, e.g. especially in döner *production[86.]*

The sponsorship mechanism among Turkish entrepreneurs and the football clubs has been developing rapidly for almost a decade. Previously, the football clubs had financial problems and

---

[84] Football Federation meetings are significant for the clubs to learn about the changes and the new rules that the clubs are obliged to follow. Participating these meetings and having the capability of understanding and applying these technical changes are seen as a celebrated duty by the club members. In this sense, this trainer has a certain good position in the club.

[85] Starting a sport clothing firm is one of the typical company foundations for a former football player who has the financial capital for it. In his active football life, he will have played in several teams and have a large social environment in Berlin and even in Germany and in some cases also in Turkey. Based on his social capital that he has shaped in several years, principally he can do good business in this social environment. And this is occasionally the case in Berlin as I observed during the field research. A former player who has founded a sport clothing firm can take significant roles in the Berlin Football Federation, especially in the sport and social integration commission, with his social commitment and his success in business.

[86] *Döner* is a typical Turkish dish of grilled lamb meat served as a sandwich. There are a considerable number of *döner* sandwich takeaway restaurants all over Berlin and Germany, belonging to migrants of Turkish origin. The dish was formerly prepared by the owners of the restaurants themselves. Meanwhile, some of these owners have founded factories that produce and deliver meat to takeaway restaurants all over Germany and Europe. This development in the *döner* business is a distinct sign indicating an expansion in Turkish migrants' entrepreneurship. An example for the *diffusion in cultural reproduction model of Bourdieu,* where one can observe that *döner* becomes a traditional and is widely recognized in the city of migration.

could not survive due to the lack of monetary support from sponsors and the lack of organised voluntary work needed for the club administration[87]. The increase in the number of sponsors and the recent progress in football played in Turkish clubs is directly related to the rise of the number of entrepreneurs of Turkish origin in Germany. This development is a sign of the professionalising football in the *Turkish Football World* in Berlin.

Although it is rare, another example is the broadening of the sponsorship to German firms through their employees of Turkish origin. A car gallery in Berlin offered a van for the team players, which would carry them to the matches in their opponents' stadiums. As the trainer stated:

> Berlin dışındaki maçlara oyuncuları götürecek bir minibüsümüz yoktu ve minibüs kiralamak da baya pahalı. Bizim bir arkadaş Mercedes galerisinde çalışıyor. Bize bir minibüs ayarladı. Sonra ben başka bir arkadaşı aradım, gazeteci kendisi Merhaba dergisini çıkarıyor, Türkçe ve Almanca iki dilde çıkıyor. Gelip bizim arkadaşcı alişverişlerimiz üzerine bir hikaye yaz dedim. Çok iyi bir reklam oldu şirket için ve bizim de bu vesileyle bir sezon minibüsümüz oldu. Yani Berlin'de işler *al gülüm ver gülüm*

> We do not have a van to carry our players to the matches outside of Berlin and it is really expensive to rent a van for each away match. One of my friends working in a Mercedes car gallery arranged a van for us. I called another friend of mine who is a journalist in a city-magazine – *Merhaba*, published in Berlin both in Turkish and German, to come and write a story on this friendly transaction. It was a good advertisement for the company and we had a van for a season. I mean it is *give and take* in Berlin.

This case is a typical example for the *bridging social capital* introduced by Putnam (See Chapter 2) which is mainly based on *bonding social capital* (Putnam, 2002). Through friendship ties, a mutual transaction is established for the benefit of a football club. This is a *bonding social capital* case "bringing together people who are like one another in important respects (ethnicity, age, gender, social class, and so on)" (Ibid: 10). Based on this mutual solidarity form, another cooperation is

---

[87] A well-known example given by the presidents and the trainers in the *Turkish Football World in Berlin* was the owner and the sponsor of *Türkspor* in the 1990s. He was the only sponsor and as the participants in the interviews told me, he wanted to be only sponsor and the owner of the club. He adored *Türkspor* so much that he could not share it with some other sponsors, said the *Türkiyemspor* manager. The trainer of *Türkiyemspor* stated that the club was like his own child for him, he loved it very much. However, after his bankruptcy in his local Turkish television channel business, he could not support the club financially. The club could not find a main sponsor for itself and fell dramatically to the lowest leagues in Berlin from the leagues where *Türkiyemspor* was the only team of the migrants of Turkish origin in Berlin. Another example for this kind of club was *Yeşilyurtspor* which was known as a "family club". There is only one major sponsor for this club, who is known as one of the biggest Turkish entrepreneurs in Berlin. The family's role as the main sponsor also entitled them to act as the club's management. After ten years of management they had to cease their sponsorship, due to some financial difficulties in the family firm (as told in several narrative interviews with the club trainers and managers).

established: the buddy arranges a business with "the people who are unlike one another" (Ibid: 11). This may be seen as the beginning of a social networking initiated by a business "relation between the people of unlike origins".

The mutual aid mechanisms and business relations in the city-solidarity associations are not limited to Berlin. I observed during the field study that an association even generates financial support for the sustainment of a project in the city of birth in Turkey. One of them, which I saw on the notice board of the association, was collecting donation money for the purchase of an ambulance for the city hospital in Turkey. The practice of collecting contributions for an establishment in the homeland is extended even further in some other migrant associations, e.g. the Atatürkist Thought Association in Berlin. They collect donations not only in Germany but also in Europe for the establishment of a primary school in Turkey. Another example is the donations collected for the expansion of *Alevi* facilities and initiatives in Turkey.

3.2. Hoca[88]s and the Reproduction of Social Belonging

In this chapter, the trainers i.e. the *hoca*s, one of the important actors in the social field of Turkish football in Berlin, will be introduced and their roles both in teams and in the football clubs will be reconstructed. *Hoca-player* as a peculiar title and its recognition by the other teammates will be discussed. Some teams are composed of players who have known each other for several years. In these teams each player has already recognised the characteristics, talents and capabilities of the others in the group. Roles have been established and recognised within the group of players mostly through familiarity and association.

3.2.1. Case Analysis: Hürriyet-Burgund[89]

As compared to semi-professional players who often move among teams, the amateurs ones stay in the same team for several years. This time period spent together is significant in establishing social cohesion in the group. Occasionally, the better players in the team leave the club to try their luck at playing in higher leagues. *Erdal hoca*, who is a representative example for a *hoca-player*, starts the conversation on his team *Hürriyet-Burgund*:

```
E : [...] uzun senedir bizdeler (.) (B) bir on seneyi geçti (.) (F) bi (2) on
yedi yaşında geldi
B :          └ Ben on yedi yaşımda-
F : sekiz sene
E : bi yedi sekiz sene oldu
F : altı sene
E : (D) (.) bizdeydi gitti
F :              └ altı sene [kendisinin kaç senedir Burgund'ta olduğunu
                   düşünüyor]
E : Hürriyet'e (.) şimdi gene bize geldi (C) bizdeydi
F :                                      └ altı sene [kendisinin kaç senedir
                                         Burgund'ta olduğunu düşünüyor]
E : gitti geri geldi (.) yani bizden gidenler bize geri geliyolar tabi bu
bizim için bişey
F :      └ Enerji @(2)@

E, B, D, F, G:  @(3)@

E : Bize geri gelmek yani (.) biryerlere gidip oraya bize geri gelmek (.)
ben yönetici yada antrenör olarak, bizim için iyi bişey
F : yani şu açıdan iyi (.) mesela genç arkadaşlarımız var (.) çok iyi daha
üst ligde oynayabilecek arkadaşlarımız var (.) gidiyolar deniyolar yani
```

---

[88]   Turkish trainers are respectfully called "hocas" by the players, which means almost like "teacher".
[89]   This chapter includes a more elaborated version of the reconstructions done in an article which has already been published by the author. (Refer to Aktan, 2011).

kimse kısıtlamıyo- tam tersi takımdaki büyükler hep desteklerler yani gidip
şey yap, gör, et, kendini dene mesela (C) arkadaşımız gitti baya bi iki sene üç
sene
G : oynadım
F : denedi oynadı etti (.) bazı şeyler kısmet işi
G :   └ ortamlar değişik orada (.) orada herşey paraya bakıyo
                         icabında
F : kısmet işte ondan sonra
E :   └ biraz şans işte (.) bazısı yani potensiyel olarak hepsi
                  oynayabilecek şeydeler (.) gittiler felan (D) oynadı
                  Verbandsliga'da (.) (C) Verbandsliga'da oynadı bunlar
                  Berlin'in en yüksek ligi ama belli bir öyle bir ortam da
                  bulamadığın zaman (.) sadece para alıp oynadığın zaman onun
                  da her zaman istediğin şey (.) o da olmayabilir ortamı
                  bulamadığın zaman çünkü geri geldiler (.) tabi biz de istedik
                  gelmelerini (.) çünkü yani sonuçta
B :   └ biliyorlar bi yerden ayrıldığım zaman
E :   └ tanıdığımız
B :   └ bi takım var Burgund adında her
                                    zaman gitsem kimse hayır demez (2) o
                                    hisler mutlaka vardır [...]

*E : [...] they have been with us for a long time, (B) has been with us for more
than 10 years, (F) joined us when he was (2) 17 years old.*
B :   └ I came when I was 17
F : It has been eight years
E : Almost 7-8 years
F : It has been six years
E : (D) was with us then he left us
*F :   └ six years [he thinks of how many years he has been at
                         Burgund]*
*E : He was in Hürriyetspor (.) now he has come back to us, (C) has always been
with us*
F: six years [he thinks of how many years he has been in Burgund]
*E : He went and came back again (.) the ones who went from us came back to us,
it is of course something(good) for us*
F :   └ Energy @(2)@

All of the participants @(3)@

*E : Coming back to us I mean (.) when some players went from us and came back to
us again (.) I, as the hoca of the team, think that it is something good for
us*
*F : I mean, it is good in this sense (.) for instance, we have young (team)
friends, they are going and coming back, nobody restrains them. Contrarily, the
older people in the team support them, I mean "go and try yourself there" for
example our friend (C) went from us and he played there (in upper leagues) for a
long time, two-three years.*
G : I played
F : He tried, he played (.) some particular things are related with fate
*G :   └ the ambiance is different
                                       there (.) everything has
                                       become indexed to money
                                       there*
F : Other than that, it is fate (the will of Allah)
*E :   └ it is a bit of luck (.) some of them, I mean all of them have the
              potential (capacity) to play (in upper leagues) (.) they have gone
              already, (D) has played in Verbandsliga (a semi-professional league)
              (.) (C) has played in Verbandsliga, these leagues are the highest*

*leagues in Berlin but when you have not been in this environment
previously(.) when you are paid and play, it is not perhaps always
the thing that you want (.) when they could not find the environment
there that they wished for, they came back again. We wanted them, of
course, to come back (.) because I mean as a result-*

B :   └ *When they leave here, they know that (they are sure
                                that)*

E :   └ *we're familiar with*

B : *[they know that] there exists a team called Burgund, whenever I go there
nobody says "no" to me (all of them accept me) (2) they surely have these
feelings [...]*

Hürriyet-Burgund allows its players to leave, although it needs them for its success. The best players are willing to go to the upper leagues[90] and when they leave their amateur teams behind, their absence causes some technical insufficiency for amateur teams like *Hürriyet-Burgund*. The *hoca* relinquishes his team's success to further this talented player's football career. They have the role of adjusting the mechanisms of social belonging and subjective mobility of the young players with Turkish origin in migration and football context.

The social embeddedness generated in *Hürriyet-Burgund* guarantees the players with a secure social environment in the highly competitive social world of football in Berlin. It is an example for social support and this has a significant meaning and relevance in migration and football context. This reinforcement mechanism is initiated by the *hoca*s and further developed in the social space of *mahalle* e.g. by the spectators:

A: Seyircilerle bizim aramızda öyle bir muhabbetimiz (.) atmosferimiz güzel, biz
mesela (.) bizim futbolcular (.) altı hafta yenildik hiçbir seyirciden kötü laf
duyamazsın, yani bazı maçlarda karşı takımlara gidiyoz, maçlara bakıyoz
yenildikleri zama- (.) futbolcular para alıyo- dışardakiler diyo- „Allah
belanızı versin" böyle şeyler (.) bizde öyle birşey yoktur, yani her zaman
yendikleri zaman tavırları neyse (.) yenilince de öyledir, yani o yüzden
futbolcuların bizim gözümüzdeki değeri farklı, biz onlara değişik gözle
bakıyoruz (.) yani sadece futbolcu olarak bakmıyoruz (5) bi- de uzun senedir
bizdeler

*A: we have good relations with our spectators (.) our social atmosphere is nice,
we, for instance, (.) our players (.) we have been defeated six weeks long in
every match, we did not hear any disapproving words from any spectator, I mean,
when we have matches at the opponent teams' field, we also see their spectators.
When they were defeated (these players are getting paid by the club) then the
ones outside the field (the spectators) say to the players, "God damn you" and
other things like that (.) there is nothing similar to this in our club, the
reactions of our spectators are always the same when our players win or lose the
match. In this respect, the value of our players is different for us, we see
them differently (.) I mean, we recognise them not only as football players (5)
I mean, they have been with us for a long time.*

---

[90]   Playing at the "semi-professional level" is perceived as the "common dream" of young players. It corresponds to the real professional life from their perspectives.

It is, in fact, more than friendship in *Hürriyet-Burgund*. Everybody knows everybody; the players' parents know each other as well. The spectators are composed of parents, their friends and the inhabitants of the *mahalle*. They are always behind their players.

On the other hand, it is not the same social atmosphere in the upper leagues where the players are receiving money from the clubs. Contrarily, *Hürriyet-Burgund* generate other social support mechanisms as well. For example:

A: sosyal anlamda yardım etmeye *çalışıyoruz,* gerekirse iş bulmaya çalışıyoruz, sıkıntılı dönemlerinde bana olsun yönetimdeki arkadaşlara olsun [...] bize güvenebilirler, onları o yönden destekliyoruz, yalnız bırakmamaya çalışıyoruz, verebildiğimiz şeyler bunlar, paradan hariç herşeyi vermeye çalışıyoruz @(4)@

A: We try to help them in the social sense, when they need it, we try to find them jobs, they can come to me or other friends in the (club) management when they are stressed [...] they can trust us, that's why we support them, we try not to leave them alone, these are things that we can afford to give them, it means that @(.)@ we give them everything except money @(4)@

The Turkish Clubs and the fellowship reproduced with the help of *hoca*s brings forth a *threshold of security*[91] for the young players. It is different in other teams. For example:

F: Haa! diğer grupta kim var? Normannia mı ne (4) ama onlar işte çoğu para alıyo- (2) yani maç başına para veriliyo- (.) bizde öyle bişey yok (.) kardeşiz (2)
Ahm: Kardeş kardeş oynuyoz @(5)@

Herkes: @(5)@

Ahm: Yine de bi heyecan bi- iddia var her maçta
C: Bizim ortam iyi ya (.) çok güzel ortamımız var, arkadaşlık bakımından olsun (.) seyirciler geliyo- her zaman (.) devamlı geliyolar, sağolsunlar

F: Which team was it in the other group (league)? Normannia or something like that (4) but they all get money (2) I mean, they are paid each match (.) there is nothing like this in our club (.) we are brothers (2)
Ahm: We are playing like brothers @(5)@

All of the participants: @(5)@

Ahm: Although it is so, there is always excitement, an ambition at each match
C: Our environment is really good (.) our atmosphere is nice, the friendship ties are very good, our spectators are coming (.) they are always coming, we

---

thank them.

Ahmet (Ahm) implicitly meant that unless the players are paid then football is like a children's game. In fact, he implicitly underlines that it is expected in the football environment in Berlin that the players earn some money and the lack of financial support "normally" generates less enthusiasm and performance in the players. Otherwise it is like a children's game, i.e. without any eagerness. But this is not the case at *Hürriyet-Burgund*. *Ahmet* stated: "Although we are not paid, we keep our enthusiasm and competition".

*Hoca-player*s have significant roles in the creation of this "nice atmosphere in the team". This is a peculiar position existing in amateur teams in which there are too few players to form a football team of eleven players. The *hoca* himself also plays with the others in the team. The *hoca*s are the older players who were typified as the *ağbi*[92]*s* - the elder brothers. In a group discussion, a *hoca-player* tells about his criteria for the selection of players in the team:

```
E: [...] bir genç varsa dışarda onu oynatıyorum ama onlar da antremanlara
kendilerinin iyi olduklarını göstermeleri lazım yani mücadele etmeleri lazım
yani sadece genç diye oynatmam yani.
```

E: [...] I let the young players play, but they must prove and show themselves in the trainings, I mean, I do not simply let them play, because they are young.

This *hoca-player* forms the team with the players, including himself as well. An alternative player for the *hoca*'s position can only be a young player who plays better than him. The *hoca-player* is one of the older players in the team and he implicitly means that young players who can play in his position should prove to him that they are capable of taking his place. In this sense, the *hoca-player* also takes part in the competition among the players.

A *hoca-player* is the tactician and a player at the same time. He contributes to the success of the team and shares in the failure of the team as well. The players, especially the ones who are not selected to the team and obliged to wait outside the field, watch the *hoca-player* play and compare him with themselves:

```
A: [...] futbolcu antrenörlüğü şöyle zor oluyor, tabi antrenörsün, tabi sahada
pek hata yapma şeyin yok, kredin yok yani rizikosuz oynaman lazım [...] hata
yaptığın zaman direkt oyuncu der "bak hoca kendisi hata yapıyor bizi
oynatmıyor".
```

A: [...] being a hoca-player is difficult in this sense, you are the hoca

---

[92]   The notion of *ağbis* will be discussed profoundly in the following pages.

of the team, you do not have the chance to make any mistakes on the field, you should play without any risks [...] when you make a mistake then a player immediately says "look, the trainer made a mistake himself but he wouldn't let us play".

Thus the *hoca-player*'s social prestige is directly affected by his performance on the field. He should play "without any risks" to avoid any failures. In the case of the defeat of the team, the respect towards the *hoca-player* may be influenced. *Erdal hoca* explained the position of the *hoca-player* in the field and added the players' comments on this issue below:

E: bir de oynadığın mevki de önemli forvet oyuncu antrenörün işi daha da zordur çünkü gol kaçırdığında dışardaki yedekte santrfor diyordur "ben olsam yazardım onu, hocam yazamadı"

A: your position in the field is significant, the offensive hoca-player has more difficulties because, when he misses a goal then a substitute player on the bench says "my hoca could not score it, I would have scored it if I had been in his place".

Playing as an offensive player is interpreted as more challenging than playing as a defensive player. In the case of a failure by the offensive *hoca-player*, the team fails to score a goal. On the other hand, a defensive *hoca-player* may fail to defend his team from a goal. Although the players, in both cases, closely watch the *hoca-player*'s performance, the *hoca-player* can also be recognised for his overall competence and become the role model of the players:

A: [...] mücadelenle örnek olabiliyorsun öbürlerine, çocuklara, böyle ciddiye alıp mücadele etmen lazım. Onlar seni gördüğü zaman onlar da mücadele edebiliyorlar tabi [...] benim çocuklar oynayayım diye baskı yapıyorlar "hoca sen de oyna, sen de oyna" diye o zaman oynarken rahatım ama yani şimdi öbür türlü bir atmosfer olsa (.) yani ağız burun yapsalar yani oynamam da yani (2) öyle bir istekleri var diye de oynuyom yani (.) ben oynayınca kendilerini daha rahat hissedenler var.

A: [...] you can be a model for the kids (players) with your competitive motivation, you should take it seriously and compete all the time, when they see you so motivated, they compete as well [...] my children (players) insist that I play with them and say to me "play hoca, play with us". In this case, I am relaxed but if there is an atmosphere in the team (just the opposite)(.) if they do not agree that I play (2) I will not play, I play because they wish me to play, there are players who definitely feel relaxed when I play.

Erdal hoca, mentioned that some players "feel relaxed" when he plays at the matches. This shows that a certain amount of social confidence has developed in the team towards the *hoca-player*. This is an example of a fraternal relation based on traditional relationships, which are reproduced in a

football team.

3.2.2. Case Analysis: Ağrıspor

The collective activities after the matches are examples showing *Nihat hoca*'s attempt to amplify friendship ties in the team. Such friendship ties have already been formed in amateur teams in which most of the players have been playing together for a long time. Their accumulated common experiences generate *collective effervescence* (Durkheim, 1981) in the group as seen in the case of *Hürriyet-Burgund*. This produces group solidarity among the players. Similarly, the interviews with the players in semi-professional teams also show that the players have a certain amount of a feeling of belonging to the team.

In amateur leagues, friendship ties which resemble intrafamilial relations such as close relations among brothers are the major motives generating togetherness in the group. Although the significance of the value of friendship ties for the team members seems to decrease in semi-professional teams, due to frequent player transfers, the team is described as a whole group unless they have problems playing as a group. In this sense, teams do not have any problem of cohesion in either amateur or semi-professional leagues.

There is another type of team which is between amateur and semi-professional ones. These teams are made up of former semi-professionals who went down to amateur leagues. These particular groups seem to have a lower level of group solidarity as compared to others. These teams were initially composed of amateur players. They were able to move up to the upper leagues. However, after some time, they could not succeed and went down to amateur leagues once again. Then they formed a totally new team with players who had not previously known each other. After this re-formation, the *hoca*s took the responsibility of creating cohesiveness in the new group. A part of a narrative interview with a *hoca* is quoted below to discuss this new formation pattern in the team:

```
N: Burda bi daha ailelik, daha yakınlık var, bize mesela cuma günleri birinci
takımda, ben yaptıktan beri, mecburen cuma günü antremandan sonra kulübe gelmek.
Adam işi varsa yine zorla geliyor, buraya bir çay içip gitmesi lazım. Çünkü,
Ağrıspora sadece futbolcu olarak istemiyorum bu adamı, ben Ağrıspor'un üyesi,
Ağrıspor'un böyle dışarı gittiği zaman ben Ağrıspor'da oynuyorum, adamın bilmesi
lazım, Ağrıspor'un kulübü kim, Ağrıspor'un başkanı kim, Ağrıspor'da neler var
bilmesi lazım, şimdi dışarda gittiği zaman Ağrıspor'u anlatması lazım, sen bana
profesyonel futbol oynamıyorsun ki (2) bağlantıyı, biz ailecek bir bağlantıyı,
bu Ağrıspora geldiği zaman bir bağlantı olması lazım
```

*N: Here it is like a family, we are close to each other, for instance, we, as
the first team, meet each other after the trainings every Friday. Even if the
players have other things to do, they must come here at least to drink a glass
of tea and then they can go away. Because, I do not want him only to be a
football player for Ağrıspor Club, I want him to be a member of Ağrıspor, he
should tell the others (in his social environment) that he plays for Ağrıspor,
he should know it, he should know the club café, the president of Ağrıspor, he
should know all of them, he should tell about Ağrıspor to others outside, you do
not play professional football, our bonding should be familial, when somebody
comes to Ağrıspor there should be bonding.*

Ağrıspor's *Nihat hoca* told about the newly established "Friday meetings" at the club café[93]. As he first became the club trainer, his first responsibility was to form a completely new squad for *Ağrıspor*[94]. After transferring the players, he decided to organise "Friday meetings" in order for the players to meet other club members as well. As he stated above, he intended to initiate the feeling of club membership through these meetings. He mentioned that "players should become 'club members'" and "not only be the football players of the club". The collective activities in Friday meetings are exemplified as "cooking and grilling together" instead of "going to a restaurant". Preparing food together generates a social atmosphere with which the *hoca* aims to construct "familial bonds" in the team[95]. He underlined that they are not playing professional football. They do not have professional relations in their club, which in this context refers to the mere task oriented relations in professional clubs lacking "friendship ties" or "familial bonds" in the group. In this respect, "Friday meetings", which can as well be termed *invented traditions* (Hobsbawn and Ranger, 1992), reinforce the notion of belonging to the clubs. He explained this phenomenon below:

N: Ben bu Ağrıspor'a niçin geliyorum? Sadece futbol değil, tabi biz de istiyoruz
belli bir başarıyı, ama bizim hedef ilk hedefimiz bu adam bize futbolu bıraktığı
zaman, 5 sene başka yere gittiği zaman, o beş sene sonra yine Ağrıspor'a gelmesi
lazım, "ya ben bu Ağrıspor'da çok iyi zaman" [geçirdim demesi lazım], gerçekten
belli bir başarıya o konuda Allaha şükür geliyoruz.

*N: Why am I coming to Ağrıspor? The reason is not only football, we want to have
a certain amount of success, but our first ambition is when a player gives up
playing football, for instance when he has played in another team for five
years, afterwards he should come to Ağrıspor once again, he should tell himself
"I had good times in Ağrıspor", thank God that we have achieved this sort of
success.*

---

[93] These kinds of club acitivities do not always exist in amateur teams. It is a peculiarity of Ağrıspor to propose to initiate a routine in the club.

[94] This club was one of the most successful football teams in Berlin founded approximately three decades ago by the first generation immigrants of Turkish origin. After a short time, they succeeded in becoming a semi-professional team and recruited several players.

[95] This term resembles Hobsbawn and Ranger's invented tradition terminology (Hobsbawn and Ranger, 1992). In this case, the *hoca* creates, or in other words, invents a collective ritual of eating and drinking in the team, which initiates a social sphere where the players develop a kind of notion of membership to the club and perceive the social environment in the club like the relations in a family.

Success in an amateur football club, according to this *hoca*, is not only measured with success in football but through the reinforcement of social belonging to the club. This is the same common notion discussed, in case of *Hürriyet-Burgund*, as the *imperishable belonging* to a group. The difference is that the friendship ties have already been established in *Hürriyet-Burgund*, but in *Ağrıspor* they have to be produced with the aim of creating a new social environment in the club. If they succeed in forming a group solidarity with the new players, they can generate a feeling of social belonging to the team.

In this construction, professional and social relations in a football club are distinctively differentiated from one another. The players in amateur teams may leave the team for professional reasons, but it is expected that they return after some time to their former team and take another role in the club. *Nihat hoca* presents himself as an example of this type of player:

```
N: hepsi benim gibi olsa, burda futbolcu olsun, yönetici olsun, üye olsun
Ağrıspor'a bağlansın, böylece bu ortamı ve böylece de Ağrıspor'u ayakta tutarız.
[...] Çünkü maddi durumu yok, o olmadığı için ancak böyle Ağrıspor'a, Türk
takımları genellikle diyorum ayakta tutunabilir, bir süre sonra imkansız. Zengin
bir adam gelir belli bir Euphorie, "ben bunu yapcam, bu takımı kaldıracam", adam
gerçekten büyük bir para yatırıyor. İki sene sonra adam diyor, yeter artık ben
bıktım. Çekilince takım komple dağılıyor bitiyor, biz de o pozisyona düşmemek
için elimizden gelen imkanlar bunlar başka bir alternatifi olmaz ve onu da
eminim biz başardık.
```

N: if every player were like me; he would start playing football here, then he would become a committee member in the club, he becomes a club member, he is bonded to Ağrıspor, in this way, we can keep this environment and Ağrıspor alive. [...] It can only survive like this, because, it does not have financial support, when there is no financial support, after some time, it is impossible for it to survive, this is true for all of the Turkish clubs (in Berlin). When a rich man comes with euphoria, when he says "I will do it, I will contribute to the survival of this team", he invests, in fact, a lot of money. Then he is frustrated after two years (normally it is the case). When he pulls out (gives up) his support then the club will totally collapses. In order not to be in a situation like this, we have generated social bonding in the club, there can not be any other alternative. I am sure that we succeed in forming this social bonding.

He played in several football clubs and then came back to *Ağrıspor* as a *hoca*. Nihat's football life is a typical story of an amateur football player, which was retold in some other interviews. The player returns to the initial football club at the end of his football career as a player. *Nihat* termed it as "the social belonging to the club" and mentioned that the major social purpose of amateur clubs should be the formation of this notion of belonging.

3.2.3. Case Analysis: Anadolu-Umutspor

Paradox of Success Attainment and the Assigned Responsibility of Social Integration

"Familial bonds" generated at *Ağrıspor* by *Nihat hoca* were observed in other Turkish amateur football clubs in Berlin, too. This solidarity pattern initiated in football clubs is reproduced by the inhabitants of the *mahalle* to which the club belongs.

Another trainer, *Ramazan hoca,* underlined that they, as a football club, attempt to integrate the "unemployed" or "outsider" youth from *Kreuzberg* in their football teams. He discusses this role i.e. social responsibility below:

R: [...] bir futbolcunun yani takımdaki gelecek kişinin bir mesleği olması şart. [...] Başıboş gençlerle calışıldığı takdirde problemler daha da yüksek oluyor. Berlin'de çok işsizlik var. Bunlar yani çekilecek durumda değil, bunların kendi *privat* problemleri var. Ondan sonra futbola zaman ayıramayan kişiler var. Çok iyi futbolcular, öyle arkadaşlar var ama işsiz oldukları zaman rahat randıman veremiyorlar. Kafaları başka yerde oluyor, bunlar hayatta problemli olan kişiler. Biz genelde oturduk hocalarımızla dedik ki ya, oyuncumuz olsun ya okula gidecek, ya meslek yapacak veyahut da işi gücü olacak kisileri alalım. O zaman biz daha rahat yapıyoruz. [...] Onların dışında her takımda çalışan, her takımın oyuncusu olmuyor. Mesela bizim Yugoslav bir futbolcumuz var, *Arbeitslos* kendisi yani bin problem [...] yani bu aslında büyük problem. Öyle kişiler yani, tabi şey değil, tutup da böyle kişileri itmek de iyi olmaz. Kötü yola giderler. Biz bir Kreuzberg kulübüyüz, Kreuzbergin işsizlik oranı çok yüksek olduğu için böyle kişilere de sahip çıkıyoruz, tabi bizim sadece birinci takımımız yok, ikinci takımımız var. [...] Ama birinci takıma böyle soru geldiği zaman genelde çalışan futbolculardan yanayımdır.

R: [...] every player who wants to come to our team should have a profession. [...] We are facing big problems when we work with the players who walk around and have nothing to do. There is a lot, a lot of unemployment in Berlin. These people are unbearable, they have private (told as "privat" in German) problems. There are people who can not arrange time for football. There are many good football players, friends, but when they are unemployed, they can not play sufficiently well. They have other things in mind, they have problems in life. We, with other hocas as well, decided to accept the players who go to school or who learn some professions or who have jobs. Then we can do it (play) in more relaxed mood. [...] But it is not always the case. For instance, we have a Yugoslavian player, he is unemployed (told as "Arbeitlos" in German), I mean, he has a thousand problems [...] I mean, it is a big problem. I mean, they are like that, of course, it won't be good to push them away. They will take a bad path. We are a Kreuzberg club, we take care of these kinds of people because, the unemployment rate in Kreuzberg is really high. We do not only have our first team, we have our second team as well. [...] But then the question is, whether we accept these players to the first team. For the first team, I prefer to take the ones who are employed.

Rittner and Breuer stated that "sport is selective like any other social system" (Rittner and Breuer, 2004:63). The players in the neighbourhood known in their social environment as "the ones with problems", face a selection process, too, in the institutionalised sports environment. *Ramazan Hoca*s, in this case, generates a second opportunity to include them in a sportive group gathering.

Portes and Sensenbrenner give the example of solidarity bonds in immigrant and ethnic communities as the modern applications of *bounded solidarity*, and dynamics of ethnic entrepreneurship as the modern application of *enforceable trust* (Portes and Sensenbrenner, 1993: 1325). The roles of the *mahalle* football clubs in the social integration of the youth in the milieu, for instance in *Kreuzberg*, is an example for a *bounded solidarity* source of social capital. With the social responsibility of the social institution, i.e. the football club, the *outsider* (Elias and Scotson, 1994), in this case, the youth with addiction problems such as drugs etc. or who are unemployed in the social environment around the football club, will be included in the disciplined environment of sport. The youth is rescued from the social spaces described by the youth and the trainers as dangerous public spheres via *bounded solidarity.*

If we apply *Parsons' Integration model* and re-think this offer made by the football clubs, the un-integrated individual receives a second chance at integration via the sports system. First, he finds himself in the *latent phase*, in the initial phase in Parsons' paradigm - *LIGA - Latent, Integration, Goal Attainment and Adaptation* where he is exposed to learning *the patterns, codes and program in a cultural system* (Parsons, 1970). In this context, the *cultural system* corresponds to the relation patterns in an organised social space under sports. This phase is enclosed within the second team for the neighbourhood football clubs. *Anadolu-Umutspor* which is considered apart from the first team is striving for professional success in football. The second team forms the *fiduciary subsystem, "*the primary zone of interpenetration between the social and the cultural system" as postulated by Parsons (Parsons, 1970: 72). In this context, the *social system* refers to the fact of becoming a player member of a football club. In this *fiduciary subsystem*, the *cathexis,* in Freud's terminology, explained by Parsons as the individual's capacity of integration, of the "outsider in the second team" will determine whether he will move on to the first team, i.e. the social system.

On the other hand, the players see this integration process of the "outsider" as risky for the overall success of the club. The captain *Kemal* (K) in *Ramazan hoca*'s first team, told about their experiences on this issue:

K: ya tabi ya bazı insanlar zaten tanıdığımız insanlar çevreden (.)huyları kötü
olur yaptığı işler kötü olur ama biz gene de onlara kapıyı açıyoruz kazanalım
diye (.) belki kötü yola girip bizim aramıza girip de (2) aklanır diye (.) iyi
yola belki çevirebiliriz (.) belki aramıza alabiliriz diye (.) o risklerle
alıyoruz arkadaşları bazılarını biliyoruz kafadan problemli yine de alıyoruz
belki düzeltebiliriz diye (.) hocayla birlikte hoca da biliyor bunları (.) oldu
tabi kazanabildiğimiz oldu ama problem yaratan oyuncular da oldu (.) ama onu
bildiğimiz için fazla şey yapmadık (.) yollarımızı iyi bir şekilde ayırdık bitti
(.) ama öyle olmayacak arkadaşlar da geldi (.) onları kazandığımız da oldu çok o
da tabi ki bizi sevindiriyor (.) arkadaş kazanmak bizi sevindiriyor (.) dışarda
gördün mü o pislikten kurtulup iyi yola döndüğünü bi de bizim biraz da etkimiz
olduğunu bildin mi tabi (.) bi de burda azınlığız (.)Türk arkadaşımızı ordan
kurtarmak tabi ki hoş bişey (.) [...] burda tek büyük takım yok burda Berlin'de
20-30 tane ufak minik çocuklar da oynuyor, onları bir kere buraya toplayıp
sokaktan uzak tutmak (.) büyük başarı (.) bi de ahlakını dersini iyi vermek
burda o da işte hocalara görev düşüyor (.)

*K: Some people who came to us are the ones who we have known before from our
social environment (.) although they have bad behaviours, they do bad things, we
accept them to our team to save them (.) they can purify themselves (from bad
things) when they join us (2) perhaps they will be purified. We accept them
because, we think that maybe we can lead them to a good way of life (.) perhaps
we can take them in (.) although we know the risks of it, although we know that
some of them have mental problems, we think that we can correct them (.) we
thought like this with the hoca, the hoca knows them as well (.) we have of
course saved some of the players but there were also players who caused some
problems (.) Since we had already guessed that some problems might occur, we did
not insist a lot. We parted ways with them in a good way (.) but there have been
some other players whom we have gained, this has made us, of course, very happy.
Gaining friends make us happy(.) When we afterwards see them outside, that they
get rid of that dirtyness and if we see that we have an influence on this change
then - (.) we are the minority here, it is nice to rescue our Turkish friend
from there (.) [...] there is not only one big team here in Berlin, there are
also 20-30 little kids' teams, it is a big success to get them together here and
keep them away from the streets. And the moral teachings should be given well.
This is the hocas' responsibility.*

The *situational circumstance,* described as part of the definition of *bounded solidarity* (see Portes and Sensenbrenner, 1993), of being the "outsider", such as a migrant youth and the football club, or as in case of the boxing gym and the boxers in Chicago, as Wacquant (Wacquant, 2004) postulates, stands in "a symbiotic opposition to the ghetto" (Ibid:56). This is a *bounded solidarity formation* with a positive impact. One can see a clear parallel in the functions of the football club and the boxing club studies by Wacquant, who describes the latter as being in *symbiotic oppositional relations to the Ghetto* (Wacquant, 2004). Parsons would have called this mechanism, which *Ramazan Hoca* introduces with his second team, the *fiduciary subsystem* where the *mahalle* forms the social space ruled by a *telic subsystem* (Parsons, 1970). The *hocas*, applied to the Parsons paradigm, act like family members taking the role of fathers and generating *fiduciary subsystems,* i.e. the second team in this context, for the youth to integrate into a sporting social group.

The team captain discusses further on this issue and stated:

K: gençler yoldan çıkıyor buraya geliyor (.) [...] onları kolluyorsun, onlarla
uğraşırken başka arkadaşları kaybediyorsun (.) işte yani çok sorun (.) futbol
artık böyle bir küçük (2) aile gibi birşey oldu burda yani [...] Berlin'de yani
çoğu futbolcu birbirini tanır (2) baya senelerdir oynadıysan (.) baya bir
futbolcu (.) baya bi- çevren olur (.) bi- de bir kaç takım değiştirdin mi zaten
(3)

K: The youngsters take a bad path (.) [...] you protect them, while you are
dealing with them, you lose your other friends (.) I mean, there are many
conflicts (.) football is like a small family here (2) [...] Most of the players
in Berlin know each other (2) when you have played for several years (.) you
meet many players (.) you will have a social environment (.) if you have already
changed a couple of teams then- (3)

However, this social task, according to *Kemal,* has both negative and positive consequences for the relations among the players in the team. He plays the role of a middle man between the existing players and the newcomers, in case they have problems with each other, in order to calm them down. During the integration phase of the newcomers, *Kemal* stated that he risks his relations with other team players when he is trying to mediate the relations between the newcomers and the old players.

Consequently, *Burak* finds these tense relations in the team stressful and added that:

B: Bizim işimiz artık futbol değil. Bu takımdaki problemler stres de yapıyor.
Şimdi biz sadece bu problemleri çözmeye çalışıyoruz zaten günlük hayatta bir
sürü stresimiz var. Eskisi gibi öyle futbol oynarken stres atamıyoruz.

B: Now our challenge is not football at all. These conflicts in the team cause
stress as well. We are now only dealing with overcoming these problems although
we all have stress in our everyday life. We can not relax by playing football as
we used to do.

Both the players in the team and the *hoca* are faced with the conflicts that the social integration of the "outsider" into the team brings about. They want to concentrate merely on football and eliminate other problems which hinder their success.

When we return to the reconstruction of "the outside" once again, the role of the *hoca*s in football teams is discussed in the citation below:

B: çocuk okuldan çıktı gençler okuldan çıktı (.) on onbeş saat dışardalar, ne
yapalım ne edelim diye düşünürkene kötü kötü şeyler geliyor aklına (.) arkadaş
çevresi bozuk oluyor (.) başında duran olmuyor (2) öyle düşünürsek gelir futbol

67

sahasına hocası yanında hocası şeyinde (2) yani (2) boş zamanı olmaz (.) boş
zamanı olmadın mı kötü şey düşünmez kötü şeye zamanı olmaz, sigarasıymış
esrarıymış (2) yok şuraya zarar verelim buraya zarar verelim onlardan biraz da
olsa kurtuluyorlar yani (2) dediğimiz gibi hocaların da büyük etkisi var elinden
tutup çocuklarıyla ilgilenirse (3) [...] bu çocuklar için evden okula çıkmak
okuldan eve gitmenin arasında birşey yani okullan evin arasında olan bu futbol
aslında yani bir de orda eğitiliyosun. Futbol yani amatör futbolu ya futbolda ya
öğrenecek ne vardır: futbolu öğrenirsin sahada, çıkarsın (2) bi de bu soyunma
odası vardır [...]

*B: The children and youngsters (.) are outside after school for 10-15 hours,
when they are thinking of what they can do (at that time), bad things pop up in
their minds if they have a wrong social environment (.) there is nobody who
cares about them (2) when we think like this, he has his hoca in the field (who
cares about him) (2) I mean (2) they can not have leisure time (.) when they do
not have leisure time then they will not think of bad things like smoking
cigarettes or hashish or they do not think of vandalising here or there, they
get rid of these things (when they come to the football club) (2) as I said
before hocas have major effects on it, when he holds their hands and cares about
these players (3) [...] I mean, football (the club) is between school and home
for these children, I mean you are also educated in the football club. There is
not so much to learn in amateur football: you learn football on the field and
then in the dressing rooms (you are educated) [...]*

Burak divides the time and social space in the everyday lives of children and adolescents into three
categories: the time at school, at the football club and at home. In his construction, the football club
as an institution fills the daily leisure time between school and home. According to *Burak*, the
young individuals should always be occupied with something. In this sense, they should not have
much time for thinking "bad things" when they are "outside" where they are not overseen by an
authority between school and home. Within this statement, he implicitly meant that the teachers and
parents are the authorities in school and home, respectively, and he explicitly meant that the *hoca*s
are the authorities in football clubs. He mentioned that the *hoca*s educate the children as well. He
lastly defined the functions of football clubs as teaching youngsters football skills and educating
them. According to him, the football field is the social space where the technique of football is
learned and the dressing room is the social space where the *hoca* educates the football players. In
this context, the dressing room is considered to be the room where the *hoca* talks with his players,
criticise them, gives them tactics and teaches them to act and behave sportively.

3.3.   Delikanlıs and their Ağbis

Besides the *hoca*s, some players, too, have responsibilities to the other players in the team. The
results of the empirical research show that age differences among the players constitute two distinct
subgroups, such as the younger and older players in a football team.

These two distinct player groups are firstly typified and then their typical behavioural patterns are reconstructed. Throughout the text, the words used in the mutual addressing of younger and older players are preserved in their genuine Turkish form to interpret their cultural significance.

3.3.1. Delikanlı: The Patterns of Unexpected Behaviour

Young players in the teams represent the age group of 18 to 25- year-olds, whereas the older players are between 25 and their early 30s. In the reconstruction of the typification of young players, the Turkish word *delikanlı* is used to refer to the "young boys". Composed of the two different word stems *deli,* meaning "crazy" and *kan,* meaning "blood", the term as a whole can be translated as "crazy blooded". This translation is crucial to interpret the behaviour and characteristics of young players. A citation from a group discussion is quoted below to analyse and reconstruct a typical young player:

```
Ü: delikanlılarin bir başka beklentisi oluyor (.) büyük ağbilerinden
(.) başka bir hırsla geliyorlar (.) "ben burda kendimi gösterecem" (.)
ama çok hırslı olunca yalnış hareketlere yol açıyor (.)

Ü: The young ones have expectations (.) different from their elder
brothers (.) they are greedy (.) "Here, I want to show what I can do"
(.) but when they are too ambitious, they do not behave properly (.)
```

In group discussions, young players were generally characterised as team members playing with great enthusiasm as they aim to show and prove themselves. This desire is positively reflected in their performances on the field. As described in other interviews, they are usually the ones giving their best, scoring goals and whose main purpose in football is to win the game.

It is obvious that with their eagerness young players bring success to the team. However, football is a team sport and, as reflected in the quote above, the *delikanlıs'* ambitious behaviour is interpreted as individualistic or selfish. In this sense, playing with too much enthusiasm generates a behaviour of boasting self-depiction in the field. This phenomenon is a typical example of a *co-operation and competition polarity type* (Elias and Dunning, 1986: 208) where the *collective aim* collides with the *egocentric aim*.

In contrast, older players expect football to be played collectively, each player in the team having a certain task or responsibility to be fulfilled, e.g. a young player acting as a defensive player should only try to hinder an offensive attack of the opponent team and should not alone aim to score a goal.

Each player on the field has a certain task and a particular place on the field is reserved for him to accomplish this task. This field division according to different tasks generates precisely determined spatial boundaries which have to be preserved. Nevertheless, it was repeatedly mentioned in the conducted group discussions that with their behaviour of individualistic self-depiction, *delikanlıs* violate these boundaries, deteriorating the space-task orientation on the field. Often, older players complain about the conflicts of task distribution among the players in the team caused by the young players' greedy behaviour.

The young players' behaviour of self-portrayal as a social phenomenon and the space-task boundaries as a football-related technical issue contradict each other. This contradiction is caused by the dual identities of young football players: being a football player and being a *delikanlı*. Being a football player is a task-oriented identity framed by the specific responsibilities to be fulfilled in a disciplinary pattern as opposed to being a *delikanlı* with impulsive behaviours.

Another problem with the *delikanlıs'* behaviour is their impulsive reactions to the opposing players' actions and the referees' decisions, which deteriorate pre-established respect patterns of social relations on the field. This impulsive "crazy-blooded" behaviour cannot be tolerated and is punished by the regulating authorities.

3.3.2. Ağbi: Mediator Between the Delikanlı and the Hoca

In order to preserve the disciplinary patterns among the players, an individual should be authorised to inspect the players' task orientations in the team. The *hoca* seems to be the only directing person making strategical plans and developing game tactics for the team that the players are obliged to implement. However, developing tactics and the implementation of these tactics take place in two different spaces: off the field and on the field. The *hoca* only has the possibility to give his major tactics to his players before the match, as well as at half-time. During the matches, he has almost no chance of coordinating the players and directing the game. In a group discussion, this limited role of the *hoca* is discussed as below:

```
A : [...] hoca, hoca, hoca olur bir de bir oyuncu olur (.) bağlantı
kurar (.) hoca o oyuncuya söyler o oyuncu da takım içinde takımın
içinde anlatır herkese (.) yönlendirir (.) öyleleri var bir de
öyleleri var (.) bazıları bağırıyor (.) bazıları sessiz (.) türlü
türlü hocalar var (.) bizim hoca da karışmaz pek yani (.) devre
arasında söyler gerçi herşeyi de (3)
C : zaten hocalar genellikle maç esnasında birşey yapamazlar da (.)
sırf ne biliyim birisi kötü oynarsa onu çıkarır yeni birisini
getirebilir (3) maça giremez
@ oynayamaz bizlen @
I :        └ tabi
C :    O yüzden sahanın içinde bir tane tecrübeli yada iki üç tecrübeli
oyuncu olursa (2) onlar da yani antrenör gibi bazı değişiklikler
yapabilirler (4)
D :    Antrenörün sağ kolu gibi
A :    evet
B :        └ evet


A :    [...] there is a hoca and a player (.) who makes the connections
with hoca(.) the hoca tells this player and this player explains it in
the team (.) he directs (.) there are hocas like this and like that
(.) some of them yell (.) some of them are silent (.) there are
different kinds of hocas (.) our hoca does not interrupt so much (.)
in fact he tells us everything at the match break (3)
C: in fact the hocas in general can't do anything during the matches
(.) he can only take the player out when he plays badly (3) he can't
enter (join) the match @ he can't play with us@
I:            └ of course
C: That is why, when there are one or two or three experienced players
in the field (2) they can also make some changes like the hoca
D: Like the hoca's right-hand man
A: yes
B:    └ yes
```

This group discussion was conducted with the players of a highest regional division (Oberliga) 4th league football team which is semi-professional. *Aslan* is the captain of the team and participants

Bora, Cenk and *Dursun* are other players in the team. The discussion was on the role of the *hoca* and the transmission of his strategies to the players during the matches. Participant (A) initially mentioned the different characteristics of *hoca*s. Then he typified their *hoca* as a "calm" person, who lets his team play on their own during the matches as compared to some other *hoca*s who interrupt the players by yelling at them. In this sense, *hoca*s were typified as the ultimate authority holders in the team.

Besides, *Cenk* underlined the limits of the *hoca*'s authority and pointed out the difference of social spaces; being on or off the football field. He describes the *hoca*'s authority as being confined to the replacement of an unfavourable player during the matches. Although it seems that the *hoca*s are the directors, the players who put these tactics into practice in the field are actually the crucial role players. He laughed and added that the *hoca*s could not play together with the team players. He implicitly meant that *hoca*s cannot be a part of the team in practice. This shows that the boundaries of the *hoca*'s authority are based on the spatial differences in football. As a result, it can be claimed that the physical boundaries of football on the field limit the social boundaries of the *hoca*'s authority.

Although the *hoca*'s authority is limited, *Cenk* mentioned the need for an authority holder on the field as well. Football is a relatively long game that has to be managed spontaneously and intensively. In some cases, new strategies should be implemented spontaneously according to the changes in the opponent team's playing style. In order to implement tactical changes, some players in the team should take the responsibility of directing the whole team, i.e. of carrying the *hoca*'s authority to the field. In this way, the *hoca*'s absence on the field is tried to be compensated by these players. The criterion for the selection of this kind of players is their level of experience in life. Only those who are more experienced, in this case the older ones, are designated to take this responsibility. The authority given to the experienced players can be named *derived authority.*

This authority is admitted by the other team players and the high social status of the older players is implicitly established in the group. *Dursun* concluded that older players were acting like the *hoca*'s "right-hand man" referring to their derived position. This common perspective was also supported by the manager of a football team. A part of the narrative interview conducted with him is presented below:

```
D: [...] ağbiler, hoca birşey dediği zaman hocanın uzatılmış eli olur
yani, sahada sağ kolu olur, direktman zaten anlar o, o konuştuğu zaman
şey yapar yani, sahanın içinde devamını iletir, o dinlendiği için o
iletir hocanın dediklerini başka birisi iletemez, bilse bile, söylese
bile değişik olur, nasıl bir baba kendi oğluna, oğlu ergenlik çağına
geldiğinde ne derse ters gelir, babasının lafları biraz ters gelir, @
"yine ihtiyarlık" filan diye @  futbolcuya da öyle gelir (.) aynıdır,
belki (2) hoca direkt dediği zaman "hoca yine başladı" öyle derler ama
o dediği zaman daha değişik olur.

D: [...] the ağbis, when the hoca wants others to do something he is,
I mean, the right hand of the hoca, he becomes his right-hand man in
the field, he tells it to the other players on the field, the others
listen to him, the delikanlıs can not transmit the things that the
hoca orders, when the other players try to transmit it then it will be
totally different, it is like when a father says (orders) something to
his teenage son, it is always interpreted as being false, the things
that his father tells him, the teenager always interprets it as @
"it's the old man again"@, it is identical for the football players as
well (.) it is the same, perhaps (2) when the hoca orders something,
the players interpret it like "the hoca has once again started to
talk" (meaning he started to talk nonsense) but if an ağbi transmitted
it to the others then it would be different (better).
```

Both kinds of players were represented as having the *hoca*s' derived authorities and typified as "the *hoca*'s right-hand man" by the manager, as in the previous group discussion.

The older players act as agents transmitting the *hoca*'s tactics to the players. During the matches, the relation between the *hoca* and the players passes through the *derived authority* of the older players. Due to the age difference between the *hoca* (approximately 40 years old) and the younger players, the older players represent an intermediate age group. In this sense, they play the role of communication mediators in a football team.

It was further discussed in the interview that the relations in the team resemble the relations in a family. According to this similarity, the players in their early twenties represent the teenagers in a family.

Above, the teenager-father relations in a family were reconstructed by the manager, where the father is presented as the highest authority in the family. It can be asserted based on this reconstruction that the father's authority is not directly transmitted to the teenagers. A mediator between the teenager and the father is required for the transmission of this authority.

Taking the culturally constructed relations in a Turkish family, this derived authority role is given to elder brothers or sisters. The authority holder who transmits parental authority or only the father's authority (depending on how patriarchal inner family relations are) to the younger ones is determined by gender and age. Thus, elder sisters take the responsibility of transmitting parental authority to younger sisters, whereas elder brothers take it for the younger brothers.

The interviewed manager emphasises this gender and age-based role distribution in the family and directly compares it to social relations within a football team. From this it can be concluded that Turkish familial (social) relation patterns are reflected in intragroup relations in a football team, by which the older players play the role of elder brothers in a family. In order to understand this phenomenon it is helpful to examine common patterns of respect in Turkish culture.

In Turkish culture it is customary to address other individuals with designations of kinship in everyday life conversations, even upon meeting one another for the first time. The main determinant of the exact address is the individual's age: those who are older than the other ones in the conversation are often called "elder brothers" and "elder sisters". Those who are significantly older are called "uncles" and "aunts". To illustrate this, a stranger at the bus stop could be called "elder brother", while a friend's father could be called "uncle", for example. These designations can be completed with other kinship titles, such as "brothers" or "sisters" for someone of roughly the same age group as the individual using the term.

Naming someone with a kinship title is of utmost importance to the social relation between individuals, as it determines the level of intimacy and respect. Regardless of real kinship ties, already in the greeting phase of communication, calling "the other" in a culturally constructed, genuine (authentic) form, sets up a peculiar form of relation between two individuals or group of individuals and generates a certain amount of respect. In this sense, the behaviours, actions and reactions of the individuals in conversation are in fact pre-structured at the beginning phase of the social relation.

For the studied case of football players this phenomenon is interpreted as an expected pattern of communication between the older and the younger players, the empirical data showing that this cultural relation pattern is indeed reflected in the football team as well. As the manager of the team stated, conflicts in social relations between the father and the son, or, in the case of the football team, between the *hoca* and the young players - *delikanlıs*, are avoided by the older players, i.e. the "elder brothers", or the so called *ağbis*.

In a football team, the *ağbi* fulfill different roles. Firstly, they have to monitor the aforementioned space-task orientation, i.e. they watch over the performance of each player and ensure that they fulfill their tasks in the space designated to them.

Football on the field generates an interactive social ambiance allowing mutual exchange of

comments and criticism among the team players. Since it is a team sport, players get in touch and *ağbi*s, in this respect, enable the team's players to talk with each other during the matches. Thus, not only the exchange of the ball among the players, but also the reciprocal exchange of words consolidates a sense of collectivity that is reflected in the rhythm of the game. The rhythm or the pulse of the game is related to the harmonisation of each player's performance. Eleven players in the team talk with each other, in order to increase and in some cases decrease the rhythm of play. This intragroup communication pattern comprises the (verbal) exchange of game tactics, corrections and recommendations to each other.

Within ninety game minutes, the players' motivation can deviate not only due to the loss of physical strength but also because of emotional fluctuations that can occur during matches. Especially the young players may easily lose their motivation and enthusiasm because they are rapidly disappointed and tend to react emotionally. Negative emotions can have major negative impacts on the overall performance. The player is torn between his own affective situation and his professional role, which, in this case, intersect with each other. Since emotions may disturb the players' task orientations, I term this situation the *affection-profession paradox*. Sudden anger of a player, for instance, may end with an aggressive reaction, described by Elias as "unpredicted behaviour" (Elias and Dunning, 1986). This kind of behaviour can be interpreted as uncontrolled action on the field undermining the disciplinary relation patterns of football. However, the players should act within the *keying* (Goffman, 1974) that a football match allows them to play. They are in a *spatial and temporal position* as Elias conceptualises in his description of "time" and "space" (Elias, 1988). Football rules have to be respected and the players cannot behave as if it were they are off the field. The players when they wear the uniform and are inside the lines of the football field and playing football actively, they have to distinguish that they have to interpret the actions of their *frame* (Goffman, 1974) particular to a football match.

An aggressive reaction can therefore not be tolerated and is penalised by the referees. The referees are the *reminders of the frame* (Ibid.) of a match and warn the player with a sanction. This can be a simple foul whistle causing the loss of the ball, or a yellow card which is a higher warning signalising that the player will have to quit the game when he acts in such a manner once again.

Not only disciplinary rules, but also culturally established respect patterns have a major impact on the stabilisation of interrelations in the team. In this respect, the *ağbis'* second responsibility in the team is to calm down the furious *delikanlıs* – crazy blooded young boys on the field in order to

75

preserve the disciplinary patterns of interrelations among the players and the referees. On the other hand, the *ağbi*s try to motivate the *delikanlı*s when they are down due to their emotional interpretation of the game. They do not show their actual performance when they are furious or frustrated during the match. In these cases, *ağbi*s take control and re-orient the *delikanlı*s so that they show their best on the field. I prefer to combine the *ağbis'* dual responsibility of raising the motivation of the affective *delikanlı*s and calming down their "crazy" manners and term it as their *motivation-appeasement role.*

It can be concluded that the *ağbis* have the responsibility of sustaining the rhythm of the whole game. This is actually a reflection of the commonly typified social role given to *ağbi*s in the social environment. The *ağbis'* social status in everyday life can be reconstructed within Schütz-Luckmann's life world analysis with their "at hand" conceptualisation and interpreted as the *respect pattern "at hand"*[96]. It means that the subjective connotation of being an *ağbi* in the *mahalle* generates a recognised social status for the *ağbis,* which is termed by Schütz and Luckmann as being "at hand". This culturally established respect pattern induces the *ağbis'* expectation of social respect from the *delikanlı*s. Nevertheless, the respect pattern in a football team may differ from the respect pattern in the *ağbis'* everyday life.

The social space of football distinguishes itself from the social space in everyday life. On the football field, players share football-related common tasks. This means each player's role is to raise the collective success of the team.

In everyday life however, unless they work together professionally, it can be claimed that older and younger individuals do not usually have common duties. In these cases, the *ağbis* are always highly respected by the younger ones. The reason behind that is that through the *institutionalised* (in a Schützian sense)[97] social status of ağbis, since they are not accomplishing a common task, their other roles, regardless of their *ağbi* role, are not relevant to the young ones. For example, for an *ağbi's* young friend*,* who came to watch his *ağbi*'s match, it is significant how his *ağbi* performs during the match, but it does not lower his respect towards him in case he does not play well. By contrast, if a younger and an older player play in the same team, the performance of each player becomes indeed crucial, whether he is an *ağbi* or a *delikanlı*. The common task of good

---

[96] Schütz and Luckmann use the term "knowledge at hand" in order to conceptualise the knowledge inherited during the process of experiencing. Following their terminology, the concept of "respect pattern at hand" was developed by the author. See (Schütz and Luckmann, 1979).

[97] (Schutz, 1975).

performance in football then threatens the culturally established respect pattern between young and old.

These types of social relations among the team players in football clubs, or *brothers* in Turkish teams, resemble the social constellations of the *segmented* and the *functional bonding* concepts of Elias and Dunning (Elias and Dunning, 1986). The groups termed under the concept of *segmented bonding* are doing *folk forms of sport* meaning that the players almost fight with each other showing an *open violence* during the match. Contrarily, the groups having the *functional bonding* are defined as they perform *modern forms of sport* where they fight with each other but with *controlled forms of violence.*

In Turkish teams, the *ağbi*s take a role in the *civilising process*, meaning that they satisfy the transition in football from the *segmented bonding* to *functional bonding* type gatherings. The age difference determines the paradigm of social relations. Although the team is not a family and the *ağbi*s are not the real elder brothers of the young ones, the team turns out to be form of family. In other words, *the team is familialised*. The *hoca* is the like the father, the *ağbi* is the elder brother in the family. With his *derived authority*, the *ağbi* carries the team to a *modern* level. When Goffmanian frame analysis is implemented here, then it can be claimed that the *reminders of the keying of a football match* are not only the referees but also the *ağbi*s who are culturally authorised to cope with the behaviours of the *crazy blooded young players,* i.e. the *delikanlı*s.

From a Durkheimian perspective, *organic solidarity* is achieved through *mechanical solidarity.* As Durkheim describes the solidarity forms, he presents *mechanical solidarity* as completely antagonistic to *organic solidarity.* When we consider the solidarity forms in Turkish football teams, an antagonism is not observed as sharply as described by Durkheim. The *ağbi*s, as the role-players carrying the solidarity pattern to an *organic* level, practice their cultural responsibilities, as the role-models in a team for the *delikanlı*s.

The *mahalle* supplies the social space for the familial role distribution, or in a Durkheimian sense, the *mechanical solidarity* (Durkheim, 1964). In the football context, the mutual solidarity among the players become *organic* when the groups are formed under a system of regulation. This regulation, in this context, has two sources meaning that the *organic solidarity* (Ibid.) is created through the football federation rules and the cultural social relation patterns.

The respect towards the *ağbi*s is high among the younger players which can be given as an example for *segmented bonding*. *The authority of the game rules* seem to be less significant for the *delikanlı*s than the persuasion power of the *ağbi*s to regulate the players in the team. From the *delikanlı*s side, it is the *segmented bonding* which orients them to a *functional bonding*. Only with the efforts of *ağbi*s, are the social relations in a football team modernised, and so the football. The cultural authority of the *ağbi*s turns the *traditional football* or *folk games* (Elias and Dunning, 1986) into a *modern game*.

3.3.2.1. On the Boundaries of the Ağbis' Traditional Roles

In the example below, it is possible to reconstruct the phenomenon of social status in a social environment in two dimensions: the *culturally supported social status* on the one hand, and *status achieved through the level of football knowledge, i.e. cultural capital* (refer Chapter 5.2.), on the other hand. The citation taken from an expert interview with a manager of a football team from *Kreuzberg*, includes the description of the *ağbi* role in a team.

```
A: tabi ki futbolda iyi olması lazım, yoksa ne derse desin ağzıyla kuş
tutsun (.) var takımda da var şimdi ağbi olarak yaşlı ama futbol
olarak (.) pek iyi değiller (.) onlar da sıkıntı yaşıyorlar (.) „Adnan
fazla dinlenmiyoruz" felan (diyorlar) ama şimdi (2) diyorum onlara siz
birşey yapmanız lazım ki benim elime,

[Dışarıdan oyuncu Menejer Adnan'a sesleniyor]

Z: Adnan ağbi, kannst du Mal rauskommen?
Ü: tamam birşey yapabilmen lazım yani, sana bir koz vermesi lazim ki
(2) mesela bir futbolcu çok iyi antremanlarını yapar, topunu oynar,
hoca oynatmaz (sa) (2) onun pozisyonundaki futbolcu kötü olur, ama o
zaman gidip derim hocaya, „hoca şu futbolcuyu oynatabilsek ne olur
acaba" ben onu menejer olarak söylüyorum, futbolcu kendisi söyleyemez
(2) ama o antremana gelmez şey yapmaz, aynı futbolcudan kötü oynar ben
diyemem (.) yani bu futbolcu oynasın diye veya da niye oynamıyor, o
zaman elimde koz yok yani, onu da diyorum futbolculara bana şeyi
vermeniz lazım (.)


Ü: he (ağbi) should of course be good at football, otherwise, nothing
he says, even if he catches a bird with his mouth (a Turkish idiom
meaning doing the most challenging thing) [will matter] (2) there are
such players in the team who are ağbis who are old but they are not
good at football (.) they have difficulties (.) they are saying "Adnan
(the manager himself) they don't listen to us (they are not doing what
we are saying)", but I tell them that they should do something

Ümit ağbi⁹⁸ [a player calls the manager] could you come for a second?
```

---

[98] The manager is also called *ağbi*.

```
Ü: in order for me to do something for them, they should give me a
reason(2) for instance when a player performs well in training, he
plays well and when the hoca doesn't let him play (2) when the other
player in his position (in the field like defense or offense player)
plays badly, then I would go and ask the hoca "Can we perhaps let this
player play?" I would ask it as the manager, the player himself can't
ask this (2) but if he doesn't attend training and so on and if he
plays worse than the player in this position (on the field) I can't
ask it, I mean I can't ask the hoca to let him play or I can't ask the
hoca why he does not play, in that case I have nothing I mean no
reason, I tell the players that they should give me a reason (.)
```

The manager mentions the *ağbis'* authority problems in the team and states that some *ağbis* were complaining about the *delikanlıs'* manners towards them. As it has been previously said, *ağbis* have the *derived authority* of the *hoca*, meaning they transmit the *hoca*'s tactics to their team friends. However, their high social status based on their authority in the team can be shattered in some cases, to the extent that they are not respected any more. Some older players complained that the young ones do not apply what they tell them to do: "*Adnan[99]*, they don't listen to us". This statement proves that the *ağbis'* perception of respect in the team is based on the culturally established respect pattern. In this sense, they always expect to receive the same level of respect from *delikanlıs.*

However, football does not only create a space of social relations, the football knowledge, i.e. *cultural capital* (see chapter 5.2.)*,* of each player also determines his status in the group. If we try to reconstruct the technical knowledge of football in the football players' social environment, it corresponds to a kind of individual capital achieved through knowledge, which corresponds to Bourdieu's *cultural capital* conceptualization. According to the manager, *ağbis* should compete with younger players – *delikanlıs* and show all their performance, in order to be selected by the *hoca* as one of the first eleven players of the team. He added that a football player should always have sufficient technical knowledge and renew it permanently.

Thus, the football club can be regarded as a football school where each player learns football. Putting the acquired theory into practice depends on the capability or the talent of each player. Thus, it is the *ağbis'* level of football knowledge and their performances on the field that determines their social status in the team; not solely their culturally established social status.

---

[99]   As the manager and the *ağbi* players are approximately of the same age, they do not refer to each other as *ağbi*.

At this point it makes sense to ask how the particular social relation pattern "at hand" (Schutz and Luckmann, 1979) will be reflected on the football field where the system of relations are based technical principles. The attempt to internalise the social relation pattern between *delikanlıs* and *ağbis* in the football team represents a typical example for Bourdieu's *social reproduction process*. The social relation pattern between the older and the younger generation tends to be reproduced for the following generations. Nevertheless, the Turkish football environment, as it is universally the case, seems to be ruled both by technical and cultural principles.

In the technically constructed football space, young players are not allowed to act like *delikanlıs* on the football field. All reactions and behaviours are expected to be perceived within the *football player identity* and not within the perception pattern of the *delikanlı*. In this sense, instead of the *delikanlı* role, the football player identity has to be the most relevant role in the social space around football.

An example is given by participant *Aslan* in another part of the same group discussion on the *ağbis'* role in directing the team. The experienced players refer to *ağbis* who have been playing football longer than the younger ones. The quotation is as below:

```
I : ne yapıyor mesela tecrübeli futbolcu takım içinde?
A :                         └ konuşuyor (2) nasıl davrancağımızı (.)
nasıl şey yapacağımızı ama (.) tek kişi de insan kaldıramıyor bazen
  (.) çünkü on kişiye birden ona bunu buna söyleyemiyor (.) o zaman
kendi futboluna da konsantre olamaz (.) o zaman (2) en az üç dört tane
olması lazım sahanın içinde böyle

I: what does an experienced player do inside the team?
A:                          └ he tells us (2) how to behave (.) how
we ahhm but (.) in some cases it is too much for a single person (for
an ağbi) (.) he can't tell all ten players to do this do that (.) then
he can't concentrate on his football (2) there must be at least 3-4
(ağbis) on the field
```

Aslan, who is an *ağbi*, complained about the insufficient number of *ağbis* in the team. As a response to the interviewer's question about the description of an "experienced football player", he meant the *derived authority* given to *ağbis*. With this authority, *ağbis* have to give directives to delikanlıs and propose simultaneous changes in play strategies. *Aslan* mentioned that a single *ağbi* in a team cannot handle this responsibility. In this respect, he implicitly interpreted the *derived authority* as giving him an unnecessary extra task. *Aslan* stated that if he had to direct the team while playing

football, he could not concentrate on his own technical task. That means that he would risk his position and status in the team for the sake of some *delikanlıs*.

In this case, the dual responsibilities of the *ağbi,* directing *delikanlıs* and playing football, intersect with each other and generate a contradictory situation for the former. As *Aslan* stated, the previously mentioned *stimulating-appeasement role* as well as *the derived authority* delegated to them should be shared among several elder brothers in the team. Thus, it can be claimed that technical responsibilities are more significant for them than the socio-cultural responsibilities.

From what has been discussed so far, it can be concluded that the elder brothers do not seem to refuse their culturally established *ağbi* role on the field. They have already internalised this role, but they also desire to demonstrate their football capacity in order to become the *hoca*'s favorite players. They do not want only to be treated as socially respected players, meaning as *ağbi*s, but also as ambitious football players who perform well on the field.

The *ağbis'* conflict here lies in their multiple responsibilities. Thus, they propose to share the *ağbi* role, i.e. the traditional responsibility, among several older players so that each *ağbi* would be capable of fulfilling his professional responsibilities as well, which is significant for those ambitious to establish professional careers for themselves. In this way, their previously mentioned authority problem would implicitly be solved as well. To sum up, it is ascertained that the social relations in a Turkish football team are based on age and authority.

3.3.2.2. Manager *Ağbi*: Cimbria Trabzonspor

Directing Organic and Mechanical Solidarity

The city solidarity club *Trabzon[100]spor* represents an appropriate case study to reconstruct the notion of social belonging to a place and its relevance in a football team. The following interview shows the decisive role the football club managers have in enforcing this sense of belonging. Together with the trainers, the managers decide which players will be selected for the team. An excerpt from an interview with the manager of *Cimbria Trabzonspor* is presented below in order to reconstruct the authority of managers in a team (re-) formation phase:

```
F : 1997'de Samsun[101]spor Kulübü vardı Berlin'de. İşte burda
ilk tanıştığım arkadaşlarım da tesadüf olarak orda
oynuyorlardı. Gittik, bir baktım, takımın yüzde 95'i Trabzon
kökenli, fakat Samsunspor adı altında oynuyorlardı, benim
fikrim neydi, benim önerim neydi? Bunu Trabzonspor yapabilir
miyiz? Biz o dönem o imzaları topladık ve Samsunspor kulübünü
feshedip, Trabzonspor'u kurduk.


F : There was a football club called Samsunspor in Berlin in
1997. My friends whom I met here were playing there. I went
there, I saw that 95% of the team were players from Trabzon,
but they were playing under the name of Samsunspor, my
suggestion was- I thought of- if we can make this club
Trabzon. We collected signatures in that period, dissolved
Samsunspor and founded Trabzonspor.
```

This story illustrates the foundation[102] of a football team through the transformation of a city solidarity club into another city solidarity club.

The manager *Fatih* underlines the significance of the social belonging to the place of birth for him, stating that 95% of the players in *Samsunspor[103]* had their origins in *Trabzon*. The word "origin" is usually used in a migration context to refer to the homeland and the nationality of the individuals. However, the manager of *Cimbria Trabzonspor* identified the origin of the immigrants with the city

---

[100] Trabzon is the second biggest city in the Black Sea Region in Turkey. They are known for their Laz population.

[101] Samsun is the largest city in the Black Sea Region and situated almost 300 km. west of Trabzon.

[102] Porro names *the foundation experience of sports clubs* as one of the three levels of analysis in the *organisation of sports* (Porro, 2001:111) . He names the other two analysis levels the *club dynamic* and the *cultural meanings of clubs,* where he indicates that research on sports must concentrate on the *social nature of the sports organisations,* i.e. the organisation of cultural and symbolic motifs should be investigated more than their functions and structural peculiarities (Ibid).

[103] After some time, Samsunspor is closed down. Now, FC Kreuzberg is the new name for Samsunspor. This team plays at the Kreisliga A with extraordinary success. They have won continously 20 matches without any break in the last season (Fußball Woche, 3. Juli 2017) (see the official their Website http://fc-kreuzberg-berlin.de).

of birth by which he implicitly typified and categorised the groups with respect to their *city of origin*. Not only the individual, but also the collective relevance of the city of origin for the football club members was reflected in the change in the naming of the football club from *Samsunspor* to *Trabzonspor*. Due to the fact that the majority of players in *Samsunspor* had their origin in *Trabzon*, *Fatih* suggested to change the name of the club and to make it identical with the city of birth of the players in the team. The acceptance of his suggestion by the majority and the changing of the club's name is a typical example of *the constitution of a sense of belonging to the fatherland.* This collective sense of belonging is reflected in the football club and symbolically presented in the club name. The regional competition in a football context between these two cities is reproduced in the immigrant city as well. Fellows from *Trabzon* seem to be more effective than their neighbouring city's fellows in this *social reproduction of solidarity pattern* in the immigrant city.

More important than the naming of a football club, for our research, is the group formation under this institution. Both, the former *Samsunspor,* and its new name, *Trabzonspor* represent a homogeneous type of group formation with respect to the ethnic origins of the players. It is a type of football team composed of friends who are, or whose parents are, from a particular city in Turkey. They are the townsmen of that city. Even if they have not known each other previously they build a sense of mutual closeness based on the shared city of birth which generates a mutual confidence following a potential social solidarity formation among the fellows from the common city or town of birth.

3.3.2.2.1. The Boundaries of Fellowship Relations

The players in this team have been friends for a long time and began to play football in their leisure time in a football club. Each had distinct specializations, such as being a defensive or midfield player. The major problem in the former *Trabzonspor* was the intragroup relations, mainly tied to the close friendship and solidarity based on the common city of birth, which did not allow the manager to form an entirely new and younger team of players who were able to bring them the ultimate success in football. As the manager, *Fatih* said:

```
F: [...] topçu alıyor Pass'ını [lisansını] (.) geliyor, tamam
buyur gel,  ama sende o mevkide oynayacak adamın var, bunu da
alıyorsun, ne yapıyorsun, bari santrfor olarak kullanayım,
kaleye koyayım. Santrfor oynamış adamı defansa koyuyorsun (2)
mecbur kalıyorsun.
```

```
F: [...] for instance, a player of acquaintance came to us
with his sports license and said that he would like to play
in our team. We welcomed him although we already had a player
in the team who had been playing in that certain position. We
accepted him into the team and then we had to use him as a
centre forward, put him in front of the goal (2) So we had to
place our former centre forward in a defensive position.
```

The close relationship of the acquaintance did not allow the manager to reject such a person with the same city of origin. He underlined that you "should" accept this friend in the team. However, a problem arose concerning the specialization of this new player. For instance, although there already was a centre forward in the team, the new player, whom the manager admitted, happened to be a centre forward as well, so the former player had to be removed to another position in the field. Such an organizational change in a team may cause some difficulties because the "right" player does not play in the "right" position. The fellowship contradicts with the professional aims of the football team. The manager cannot tell his fellow from *Trabzon* that his son with his specialisation is not suitable for the team. He is socially obliged to find a place for him and football-technically obliged to solve this problem of a mismatch in the team, which obstructs the overall success of the team. A hidden solution is proposed by the manager. He implicitly compromises both *social and technical obligations*.

The initial phase of the transformation which is proposed by the manager *Fatih* is to move the player already playing in that position to another position. It is a compromise for both sides. With this solution, the technically adequate player is still in the team and the new player as well. Following this change based on a compromise between the social and professional relations in an amateur football team, the second phase may end up being the removal of the fellow from the squad, i.e. the first eleven players in a football team. He rather sits and waits for his turn to play which is a difficult situation for the player and the decision of whether he will play or not depends on the flow of the match and the performances of the players in the squad.

Selection of players for the squad is a critical decision for the manager *Fatih*. It is hard for him to reject his own townsmen. The following part of the interview explains the process of decision and change in the group formation of *Cimbria Trabzonspor*.

```
F : [...] 1997'de kurulmuş olan kadro ile 2004'e kadar hemen
hemen aynı insanlarla oynadık. Yaş farkı gözetmedik,
"arkadaşlık, arkadaşlık" fakat başarı gelecekse, bazı
yerlerde arkadaşlığın yeri olmadığını, başarının daha değişik
```

şeylerden geçtiğini fark ettik. Bu da hep aynı arkadaşlar birbirlerine hakaret derecesine varacak duruma getirdi. Sahalarda cezalar, Verband'dan iyi olmayan çirkin davranışlar vardı. Bunların önünü nasıl alabilirdik, Verband'la ilişkilerimizi nasıl ön safalara çıkarabilirdik. Oturduk konuştuk, bunun içerisinde takım içerisinde Almanca konuşmanın, maçlara çıktığımız zaman genelde Alman hakemlerle olduğumuz için, Türkçe konuşmamanın daha faydalı olabileceğini düşündük ve bu niyetle dört tane Alman futbolcu transfer ettik. Ve baktık ki çok tatlı oldu, ve herşey rayına oturmaya başladı ve üzerinden Alman olmasın bir tane Arap topçu ile anlaştık. Tabi bunu anlaşırken söylediğim gibi bizim örf ve adetlerimize, ananelerimize uyacak kimlikleri çok aradık liglerde, yani kart görmeyen, hakaret etmeyen, küfürlü kelimeleri kullanmayan insanları seçtik. Bundan sonra arkadaşlarımız araştırmalarda dört tane de zenci olsun dedi, zencilere hakaret manasıyla demiyorum yani siyahi topçu istedik bunlar da gelince, takım daha değişik bir renge büründü. Yani sahaya çıkıyorsun bir Trabzonspor olarak ama tıpkı nasıl bordo mavi (takımın renkleri), mis gibi yani bir cümbüş oluşmuş oldu bu da yani başarıyı getirdi.

F : [...] We played with the same team from 1997 till 2004, almost with the same people. We did not consider the age differences and we always said "friendship, friendship" (meaning we played only with our friends). However, we realised that success in football can not be achieved through friendship, but through other things. The same friends playing for years in the same team caused them to begin to insult each other. We got sanctions on the field and we had bad relations with the (Berlin football) federation. We sat and discussed how to prevent this behaviour and how to improve our relations with the federation. We thought that it would be better to speak German in the team, because in general we play under the refereeing of German referees. We thought that it would be better not to speak in Turkish and with this idea we transferred four German players. We experienced that it was a really good idea, we noticed that everything began to be all right and this time we transferred not a German but an Arabic player. When we were looking for these players in several leagues, obviously we sought those individuals whose behaviour fit our customs and traditions, that means we selected the ones who did not receive any cards on the football fields, who did not insult others. Then our friends searched more and said "let us have four (African) negro players in the team". When I say negro, I do not mean to insult them, I mean black players. When these players arrived, the team became more colourful. Now when we are on the field as *Trabzonspor*, it is like dark red and blue (the colours of *Trabzonspor*), it is excellent, I mean it is really colourful and this has brought us success.

The manager of *Cimbria Trabzonspor* talks about the re-establishment of the football team originally composed of players from *Trabzon*, who had been playing there for about a decade. Not replacing any players in the team had induced some conflicts in the group which resulted in serious disputes, sometimes even ending in some aggressive (re-)actions on the field. This kind of

behaviour on the football field led the players to being penalised with red cards by the referees. The managers who could not overcome these permanent conflicts hence decided to re-form the group with the transfer of some new players.

The relations in a team may be solidified after a certain time. This may be positive in the sense that the harmony in the team is tuned, or contrarily some sub-groupings may antithetically evolve, as it happened in the case of *Trabzonspor*. The unsolved problems and unceasing struggles among the players may turn into permanent conflicts. This disturbs the co-operation in a football team. Elias and Dunning mention another side of the *endemic relation patterns* based on "solidarity" and the "fellow-feeling" in traditional societies and signify that these close relations embody, also, "an intense hostility, without giving the slightest impression that the participants themselves say anything contradictory or incompatible in these fluctuations" (Elias and Dunning, 1986:180).

In the interview, the manager *Fatih* points out not only the intragroup conflicts but the disputes with the referees as well. In order to reconstruct this part of the interview, it should be additionally explained that one of the fundamental principles under the rules of the Berlin Football Federation-*Berliner Fußballverband (BFV)* is to speak only German with the referees during the matches. Nevertheless it seems that the players stemming from *Trabzon* argued with the referees in Turkish although this was not permitted. Thus they were penalised with red cards. Here the major conflict between the players and the referees is that the referee can not understand what the player says to him in Turkish. In this case, German referees are suspicious of whether they are being insulted or not, and may penalise the players with yellow or red cards.

3.3.2.2.2. From Local Patriots to Multicultural Heroes of Trabzon

With the newly transferred players, not only was German established as the spoken language in the team, but also the conflicts among the members of the group that had been brewing for several years were resolved. An entirely new team was formed by changing most of the preceding players. The preceding players were mostly the older ones in the team who did not have any planned future careers. In this sense, the manager *Fatih* did not expel the ones who could continue to play football and potentially turn professional one day. He did not end their future football careers and rather kept them in the team. The rest of the players were replaced with the new ones.

This example shows that complete *mechanical solidarity* (Durkheim, 1964) cannot be preserved in amateur Turkish teams aiming to turn professional. In this context, the relations based on *mechanical solidarity* can merely hide the prolonged conflicts among the fellows. The permanent solution posed by *Cimbria Trabzonspor*'s manager *Fatih* was to re-form a entirely new team which is characterised by *organic solidarity* (Ibid.) from the beginning.

The name of the new team remained unchanged as *Trabzonspor*, after the initial renaming from *Samsunspor* to *Trabzonspor*. However, with the new team, the name turned into a *symbolic representation* of the *mechanical solidarity,* which it revitalised and even made eternal.

The new players in *Cimbria Trabzonspor* did not feel any belonging to *Trabzon* and some had not even heard its name before. This time, the club name stayed the same. The radical transformation from a completely homogeneous team into a heterogeneous one composed of players of "different colours", attributed to the players by the manager, brought success. The manager was completely satisfied with the harmony and the high standing achieved in the league.

The aim of the manager was to form a new team of players who has not played together before. According to him, playing football in a friendship circle for a long time disturbs the discipline and the social relation patterns in the team. This is an example of a latent conflict situation which may end with crucial disharmonies in a team as opposed to the case of *Hürriyet-Burgund* or *Anadolu-Umutspor's 2nd team* where the players in the team are almost all best friends. Football intensifies the relations between the players in a team and any conflict is immediately reflected into the field. Just like in other social groups, some people may get along better with some fellows than others. As long as the individual conflicts are not reflected on the football field, the team seems to be harmonised at least in the technical aspect, satisfying the team's professional targets.

For the manager *Fatih*, it was crucial at first to change the football club's name, *Samsunspor*, with the name of the city of his birth, *Trabzon*. Then he kept the club name and changed the players. With this change, the club name takes on a symbolic value showing the belongingness to the city of birth. In contrast, the origins of the players who contribute to the club's success become irrelevant for the people from *Trabzon*. The ultimate success, in any case, belongs to the city of birth.

This is an example of a social transformation in group formation and collective identity in a football club. The collective value attributed to the *fatherland* is reflected in the football club. It is

traditionalised through its solidification as the club's name. In this way, the fellows feel always loyal to their city of birth.

This case shows the *discrepancy between the external presentation and the inner profile of a group formation*. Football clubs are not like the town-solidarity organizations. The identification is not an origin-related notion but it is symbolised with the club logo to which the players feel themselves attached. The meaning of the club name, in a sense, is emptied and refilled with the meaning and relevancy achieved based on the collective experiences of the team players and their common history. This can be temporary for a single player due to the high frequency of player transfers among clubs, but the club name is recognised always with its accumulated success brought by the different players who played there over several years. Since the particular meaning of the club name, e.g. the city of birth, is emptied and the original meaning of the name becomes irrelevant for the players, because they do not usually play for a long time in a single team, the club name is accepted rapidly by the players without any hesitation. It is not a question of identification with the name anymore.

The duration of staying and playing in a team is relatively limited in semi-professional leagues and the players are often transferred and/or they move to other clubs. It means that the common experiences in a single team are framed in and limited to the period of time shared together. They become a part of their football lives to be remembered some day. This allows them to compare different groups with each other.

Besides the narrative interview with the manager of *Cimbria Trabzonspor*, a focus group interview was conducted with the players. They talked in German. The team players of different origins began to speak German in the club, instead of Turkish. In the group discussion, the participants were of different origins. The players denote the team as "multikulti", a multicultural team, as was stated by both a player of Turkish origin *Demir* and a German player *Michael*. *Demir* underlines the relevance of performance in sports and of smooth communication both with the executive members and with teammates.

```
D: die Sprache der Mannschaft mein- ich, miteinander reden
usw. alles geht mit dazu und auf den Spielplatz sportlich
Leistung bringen, nicht mit Schiedsrichter oder Freund oder
so (streiten), sportliche Leistung zählt. Ich bin tough da
kommt keiner vorbei, das ist unser Ziel. Wir sind richtig
multi-kulti hier, wir sind ein Paar Ausländer mit den
Deutschen in der Mannschaft und sonst geht alles klar @(2)@
```

```
Interviewer : Seit wann seid ihr hier? (Frage an den anderen
Spieler)
(Deutscher Spieler)
M : Seit einem Jahr
Interviewer : Wo warst du denn vorher?
M : Ich hab schon mal ein Stück mit Türken, das ist halt ein
bisschen  anders.  Schon  beim  Training  sind  sie  prügeln
gegangen,  rote  Karten  (2)  schätz  ich,  dass  es  an  der
Mannschaft  liegt  (2)  Wir  sind  hier  Multi-Kulti,  Türken,
Deutsche,  Araber,  das  ist,  was  es  ausmacht.  Wenn  wir  uns
nicht  verstehen  würden,  würde  ich  gleich  gehen,  aber  das  ist
halt gut, dass wir korrekt sind.



D: I mean with "the language of the team" talking with each
other etc. in the team and performance counts in sports, on
the  football  field  and  not  arguing  with  the  referees  or
friends, I am tough in my sports performance, nobody can pass
me (he is the goal keeper), that is our aim, we are really
multi-culti  (multicultural)  here,  we  are  a  couple  of
foreigners with Germans in the team and everything works out
fine @(2)@.
Interviewer: [...] Since when have you been here (in this
team)? (Question posed to the other players)
M: (a German player responds) A year
Interviewer: Where did you play before?
M: I have already played with the Turks, that was a little
bit different, there were fights even during the trainings.
The red cards I guess depend on the team, we are multi-culti,
Turks, Germans, Arabs, that is what makes us special, if we
didn't understand each other, I would go away, but it is just
good that we are correct (nice to each other).
```

Michael tells about his experiences in other Turkish teams which are in line with the typification of the manager, according to which they were faced with discipline problems when their former football team was composed only of the players with *Trabzon* roots. *Michael* underlines the particularity of the new *Trabzonspor:* They play with players from different origins, and he describes the team as *multi-kulti,* just like *Demir* does. It is important to note that they do not have any associations with the name of their football club but with the *multi-cultural social space* at *Cimbria Trabzonspor.* The common affiliation with a city of birth in the *fatherland* had been most essential to the founders of the clubs, - the naming of the clubs being an obvious sign - this part of the social identity seems to have lost its relevance for the players. This constitutes a major change in the construction of the space of belonging as a part of the group identity of first and second generation migrants. The first generation migrants who were born in *Trabzon* are proud of the success of their *Trabzonspor* football club. They identify with the success of the team although the players do not have origins in that city. In this sense, they ultimately consider *Trabzonspor*'s reputation in their social environment, not the homogeneity or the heterogeneity of the team. The name of the football club as the city of birth *symbolically revitalises the place-based origins* of the

first generation. The place of birth is reproduced symbolically under a football club which may be termed as *the social sustainment of the native origin.*

Finally, it can be said that football demands a dynamic group formation. A team can not survive a long time with the same group of players. After a certain time, the homogeneous group formation under the *townsmen* teams becomes insufficient to compete with other clubs which frequently change their players. The clubs have to transfer players from other teams to expand their player profile. Simmel termed it the *functional expansion - funktionelle Ausdehnung*, as he studied community formation in cities (Simmel, 1992: 692). The competition in football induces the movement of individuals in a group and generates dynamic social spaces.

In this studied case, the migrant organisation of the first generation intending to be more professional in football creates a heterogeneous social space for the young players in Berlin. The motive of the collectivity is playing football successfully and therefore the differences of origin among the players are disregarded. The football club, in this case study, can then be seen as an institution creating social spheres for possible social integration and mutual recognition of players who have uncommon origins.

The notions of *social place* and *social space* are reinterpreted in the context of football clubs, the football field itself generates the *place* constructed around a particular club. The group of teammates with the other members of the club create the *social space* around the associations of football. This *combination of place and social space* creates a sense of social belonging only to a football club, rather than a notion of embeddedness to an ethnic group or collective patriotic orientations under football.

This short transformation history of *Trabzonspor* stands as an example of a group formation such as a *natürliche Gemeinheit - natural alliance* conceptualised by Simmel (Simmel, 1992: 688). Simmel gives the example of cities with their city-walls and ditches surrounding the social group formation for an illustration of a *natürliche Gemeinheit - natural alliance.* In *Cimbria Trabzonspor*'s case, this *natural alliance* finds a roof in the city of migration under which the fellows of this social space come together. The roof in this context corresponds to their city-solidarity association. Not the walls or the ditches, i.e. the spatial borders, but the *seelische contents*, which can be explained as the

emotionally, mentally, psychic and psychologically perceived *contents*[104] of this shared space, generate the closeness or the distance between their inhabitants (Simmel, 1992). The inhabitants, i.e. the former inhabitants, of the city where the *natural alliance* had found a place, founded an organisation in the social space of migration where the physical distance to this shared *natural alliance* expands. The names of the shared city of birth are given to the social organisations and the groups of migrants differentiate themselves from each other, i.e. re-draw the borders once again like the walls and the ditches of the city. This bordering is this time at the organisational level under an association.

The town-solidarity organisations have no competition with each other. They have their authentic cultural norms, values, traditions, beliefs and rituals. Sometimes they resemble one another when they are neighbouring cities or regions and sometimes the groups distinguish themselves from the others so sharply that the physical closeness does not have any impact on the social cohesion between these groups. As Simmel puts it "not the place itself, but the arrangement and the subsumption of its parts by the soul, has a societal meaning" (Simmel, 1992: 688)[105]. Simmel refers in this context to "the experiences in the shared space" with his depiction of "the parts in the soul". The mentioned *seelische* contents, meaning the contents of the common experiences, are significant in determining the picture of the "other" in one's mind, i.e. distinguishing one's self from the "other".

The social relationship among the town-solidarity organisations gains a competitive character when these organisations begin to form football teams under their roofs. The name of the club stays the same as the name of the town of birth of the founders and the team's success or failure belongs to this name. Besides the name, the team colours, uniforms and the team logo generate the *symbol multiplications* (Schiffauer, 1993) among the Turkish football teams. Migrants reproduce, in a Bourdeuian sense - socially reproduce, their *natürliche Gemeinheit- natural alliance* under the city-solidarity clubs and they crystallise their *seelische* belongingness meaning the emotional, mental, psychic and psychological belongingness to their city of birth by competing under its name in its football team. When the name has already been established, or in other words the *seelische* meaning of the club has already been anchored to the club name, the origin of the players struggling under and for this spatially-connoted title has no significance. This was precisely the case for *Cimbria*

---

[104] Nedelmann explains the "contents", in Simmel's sense, as "die menschlicher Bedürfnisse, Interessen, Wünsche, Gefühle" which I can translate as the human needs, interests, wishes and emotions. (Nedelmann, 2006: 135).

[105] The original citation is: „nicht der Raum, sondern die von der Seele her erfolgende Gliederung und Zusammenfassung seiner Teile hat gesellschaftliche Bedeutung." (Simmel, 1992: 688).

Trabzonspor and its re-formation phase.

In this case, the act of symbolising makes the club name, i.e. the city of birth, immortal and diminishes any suspiciousness and ambivalence regarding the adequacy of belongingness to the "homeland". After this *social anchoring* under the name of the collective identity, the success, i.e. the results of the team performance, forever belongs to the "homeland" in a symbolic sense. The profile, i.e. origin, of the players who strive for success is not relevant.

4. The Reconstruction of the Football Players' Self- and "Other" Presentations

4.1. Some Dynamics of Group Formation in a Football Context

Football clubs generate common experiential spaces, where players can develop collective actions. As members of a football team, the players are responsible for the team's collective successes and failures. The accumulated collective performances determine the team's achievements. The players share their accomplishments just as they share the space. They are the players of a particular team with a common history, which distinguishes them from the "others". It seems that each team mutually forms borders, merely in an organisational sense, between itself and other teams, or collaborates with another in an identical form. "The border is not a matter of space with sociological consequences, but a sociological matter which is spatially formed" (Simmel, 1992: 697) and it is the players, and not the club itself, who possibly draw these borders against the "others". The structure of the border depends on the extensity of the space - *Extensität des Räumes* (Simmel, 1992) in the individual's perception. In other words, the broadening of the social space, how wide it can bear to open itself to the "others," is the major question that this research seeks to answer.

The football club has the organisational function of drawing a border which is a *formal* one. Next to this organisational arrangement of "self" and the "other" in a football context, the individual him/herself tends to determine his/her accessible space. He/She subjectively places borders since "the space has a continuous form which does not permit one to build a border objectively" (Ibid: 694)[106]. Within the borders established by the individual or the group of individuals, the individual presents him/herself.

In this sense, self-presentation is an individually or collectively constructed phenomenon. On the other hand, perception of the "other" is a more objective one and does not refer to each single individual according to Simmel's "other" conceptualisation. The "other", based on Simmel's approach, is defined from a general perspective rather than an individually oriented one (see Simmel, 1992: 770). The individuals' common history makes them identify themselves as "we".

---

[106] Translated into English by the author. Original citation is: „Man macht sich selt klar, wie wunderbar hier die Extensität des Raumes der Intensität der soziologischen Beziehungen entgegenkommt, wie [*die Kontinuität des Raumes, gerade weil sie objektiv nirgends eine absolute Grenze enthält*], eben deshalb überall gestattet, eine solche subjektiv zu legen" (Simmel, 1992: 694) - Only the sub-sentence in italics is translated.

Mead terms the "other" group as "the generalised other" (Mead, 1934). With the definition of "the generalised other", in fact, the "self" presentation is constituted indirectly. What is not described as the "generalised other" refers to the self-presentation. How one is perceived by the "other" is an essential component of one's self-presentation. Goffman terms it the *black box model,* where the individual reconstructs him/herself according to how the others perceive him/her (Goffman, 1974). In this model, the self, i.e. the individual, puts itself in the place of the "other" and reconstructs its self-presentation from the perspective of the "other".

When we think of this double-sided constellation, i.e. the presentation of the "self" and the "other", in a sports oriented group formation, it corresponds to the interpretation of the opposing team's actions, both technically and socially. Bette, who works on the philosophical interpretation of sport, explains the mutual presentations as "oscillations" between the self-reference and the "other"-reference (Bette, 1995). According to Bette, both the self-presentation and the other-presentation have a dynamic structure where each of them re-constitutes itself. This means that the perception of the "other" may revise itself permanently in the interactive social space of football. The player movements among teams, the weekly changing opposing teams, and other football organisations where the "self" and the "other" come together, collaborate with each other or compete against each other, have effects on the re-formation of both introverted and extroverted perception and presentation patterns.

These (re)formations occur, such as the previously discussed *sedimentation* (refer to Schütz on p. 20). The old and the new presentations and perceptions are compared and revised or reinforced. In this retrospective and prospective thinking pattern, *stereotypes* have a peculiar meaning.

I propose to analyse the perception of the "other" in two parts, as *primary* and *secondary perceptions*. The *primary perception* refers to the typification constructed by the individual's own experiences of the "other", and the *secondary perception* refers to the typifications heard from others about the "other". As a result, a typification is constructed in one's mind about the "other" which tends to be a complete one. This typification has a place in an individual's *consciousness*. Once a type has been established, only new and different experiences with that particular type can alter this typification.

Stereotypes in society are formed in a similar structure. These are existing social constructions.

Prejudices are also based on these stereotypical presentations of the "other". Both stereotypes and prejudices induce individuals to use their pre-existing image of the "other" in their minds to evaluate and classify the actions of the "other". In fact, this is the utilisation of an existing and previously recognised typification. This means that the individual had previously and implicitly established a stereotype in her/his mind.

Through these typifications and clustering in one's mind, a peculiar *communication type is constructed.* This kind of communication allows for the exchange of stereotypical constructions. This is the case, for instance, in highly professional or formal relation patterns, e.g. in a professional football setting, where the essential goal is to accomplish individual and shared tasks. There is no discussion in the team, and the role-players act according to the expected behaviour and communication pattern. The social actions for accomplishing the individual and shared tasks are already established and legitimised through the regulations particular to the social space formed around the game football. This is the case for professional football. Only these predetermined tasks must be accomplished in the given time on the football field, i.e. during the match, and in this time and place, recognising the "other" in an individualised way can only happen to a certain limited extent.

By contrast, the social spaces around *amateur and semi-professional football* allow intersections, overlaps and collisions of individual and common self-presentations and understanding the "other". There is space and time for discussions on the conflicts which in some cases render interactive consequences. As Collins puts it, "sports are real life, and this makes them engrossing; but real life at its most deliberately and artificially organised and controlled. It is larger than life, conflict in its purified forms, better focused and therefore more dramatically satisfying than in ordinary events" (Collins, 2008: 283).

My empirical study aims to observe the different perception and presentation patterns in this social field. In the professional world of football, the duties on the field are strictly separated from the perceptions and presentation forms in everyday life. In other words, the professional world of football is or should be smooth, i.e. without any conflicts among the players of a club. In contrast, amateur football is mostly full of conflicts and disputes which make it appealing for sociological research.

The social space established around football generates the possibility of social communication

among individuals and groups of individuals. Face to face interactions, both in *in-group* and *out-group* relations, give players the opportunity to confirm the stereotypical constructions in their minds. The common experiences collected in a team of players with different biographical trajectories, and the actions among players during the matches, stimulate the individuals to perceive the "other" in an interactive form.

Another particularity of football is that it essentially allows the players to become members of various teams. In this respect, any team can be theoretically perceived as a team of the "others" or a team of the identical "self" group. Players who move from team to team collect experiences both in the social space of the "others" and in their "own social space". In this dynamic social environment, the individuals construct and re-discover their stereotypical "self" and "other" presentations. This may allow them to get to know the "other" and the "self" more closely, which lets them socially (dis-)integrate with each other.

4.2. Competition among the Turkish Football Clubs

In order to reconstruct the "self" and the "other" presentations of the football players, the participants are expected to define the opponent teams in their league and talk about how they compare themselves with "others".

The players initially presented "the most challenging opponent teams" as the ones founded by the Turkish immigrants. This shows that the competition primarily takes place among players of the same origin. Players talked about their experiences and explained the motives of competition among the players of Turkish origin. An excerpt from a group discussion is presented below:

A: Türk takımları arasında kızışmalar daha ağırlıklı oluyor. Ama orda sportif yönden oluyor. Biz Türk takımı siz Türk takımından daha üstün gibi, yani bir şey var, rekabet var aralarında, yani ben öyle görüyorum
B: prestij, prestij, bugün derbiler nasıl geçiyorsa (2) aslında Berlin'de oynadığın bütün Türk takımlarında maçlar
C: └ Türkler derbi
A: Türkiyemspor BAK07 maçına git, adamlar 8000-10000 dolduruyorlar o maçlarda,
D: └ eskidendi onlar şimdi değil
A: öyle bir tezahüratlar oluyor dışardan, inanılmaz yani, sanki işte diyom ya, sanki fenerbahce galatasaray oynuyor, bence birbirlerini çekememezlikten, başarılardan dolayı, prestij meselesi giriyor işin içine
B: şimdi o tür maçlara, herkes, kafaları böyle o tür maçlara odaklanıyor sezonun başından, fikstür belli, diğer maçlara gidiyorsun, takımın bazen ismini duymamıssın, özellikle aşağı liglerde, ne biliyim, hayatında bilmiyorsun gittiğin yeri, yani civarı, o muhidi bilmiyorsun, herhangi bir şekilde işin düşmüyor, [o tür yerlere gittiğin zaman herkesin kafası bir karışık oluyor. Gitmemişsin oraya önceden] bu tür maçlara ezeli rekabet diyeyim herkes bilinçli

96

gidiyor, bugün oraya gideceğiz ve bu maçı kazanacağız düşüncesiyle gidiyor.
Hazırlıklı gidiyor, kavga edeceğiz düşüncesiyle değil aslında.

```
A: The matches among the Turkish teams are mostly the ones where the tension is
really high among the players. But it is a sportive tension. "We, as a Turkish
team, are better than you", the Turkish team, I mean, there is something, the
competition is between them, I mean, I see it like that.
B: prestige, prestige, like derbies go these days (2) in fact, all the matches
that you play with Turkish teams in Berlin-
C:     └ it is always a derby match with the Turks
A: If you go to a Türkiyemspor-Yesilyurt match, the guys fill the stadium with
8,000-10,000 (spectators)
D:     └ it was like that in the old times, now, it is not like that
A: There are shouts and yelling from outside, I mean, it is incredible, I am
telling myself that it is like Galatasaray vs. Fenerbahce, I think, it is like
this because, they envy each other, because prestige has come through their
success
B: everybody concentrates on such matches from the beginning of the season, the
fixture (weekly match program) is known (2) when you go to the other matches,
you have not even heard the name of the team before, especially for the teams
playing in lower leagues, I do not know, you have never known that place before,
I mean, you do not know that region and around, you have not had anything there
before, [when you go to these places, everybody on the team is confused, you
haven't been there] but everybody is mentally prepared for this kind of match
(with Turkish teams), they are aware of going there, they have in mind, today we
are going there and will win the match. You go there mentally prepared; in fact,
you don't go there to fight.
```

The players discussed the high competition in matches with Turkish clubs and described these matches as the *derbies* where they are completely motivated to beat the opponent team of same origin. Both of the teams are there only to win. The tension is really high for both teams and the players are full of strength and often end up with fighting with each other. This expected pattern of interaction between the Turkish teams turns out to become a mutual *ritual violence* scene, as Elias and Dunning describe the medieval folk game of football between neighbouring village teams (Elias and Dunning, 1986). The violence among the Turkish teams is not as immoderate as described in the *folk games*; however the reciprocal tension during the matches is often high as compared to the matches with other teams in the league.

Therefore the matches between the Turkish teams are not like *folk games*, but the particular mutual playing form can be called a traditional way of playing football peculiar to Turks. When we concern this *football type* and discuss its authenticity from a *symbolic interactionist* (Mead, 1934) approach and re-evaluate it within the *frame analytic perspective* (Goffman, 1974), we can at first begin with an ascertainment: The *keying* of a match is not the only constituent on the football field that organises the social interaction. Besides this *social space* based interpretation of *keying,* i.e. the action in the football field, the perception of the opponent team determines the contents of a *keying*. The style of play changes, for instance, according to the opponent team.

When we consider the general *keying* in the everyday life of social relations in a social world, the recognition and the typification of the opponent team by the players can be explained with Mead's "I" and "me" constellation (Mead, 1934). The presupposed criteria here in the presentation of "I" are the common origins of the individuals in a migrant context. It means that the football players of Turkish origin also represent the opponent team of Turkish origin as "I". The shared origin, meaning being of Turkish origin, which is whether self constructed or inherited, initiates the reflection of the common *keying* in everyday life on the football field. In this presentation pattern, the players classifying the others of "the same origin" as "I" leave almost no room for "me". It means that they play football with the others of "the same origin" as they do in their own club. The official rules of the football game forming the particular *keying* of a football match, may be disregarded when the *keyings* of the two teams both present each other as "I".

I prefer to call this cognition pattern the *symmetrical perception of keying*. The absence of "me" which in fact detects and controls the actions of "I", causes some unexpected contradictory actions within the physical borders of a football match. It can be concluded that the *keying* in a football match works like the "me" perception in society. Due to the congruency (equivalence) of the *keyings* of the two teams for the three *keying* forms in a football match, i.e. the *keying* of the own team, of the opponent team and the *keying* of the football game, match rules which are supposed principally to regulate the action patterns in the field are disregarded because of the *symmetrical perception of keying*.

Not only this *symbolic interactionist construction of keying* inside the borders of a football match, but also some rituals (which Goffman mentions as the fourth feature of *keying;* see chapter 2) both on and off the field reinforce the *symmetrical perception of keying*. Playing folk music with traditional instruments in the stands in order to support the teams on the field is an example for this *inter-actional ritual chain relation* (Collins, 2004) which takes place between the players and the spectators.

Each team aims to be "the best Turkish team in Berlin". Everybody knows everybody. Most of the players start to play football when they are six years old. Each player plays in several teams and meets many others which expand his friend and acquaintance circle. One of the participants states that, "football in Berlin is really good, everybody knows each other. It is like a small village here". Young players of both Turkish and other migrant origin play in Turkish football clubs. Parallel to these clubs, there are also numerous players of Turkish origin playing in German clubs. Each of the Turkish clubs tends to represent "the immigrants of Turkish origin in Berlin".

Türkiyemspor is the most prominent football club founded by migrants of Turkish origin in Berlin. Its success in football ensures its current social prestige among Turkish football clubs. The players of Turkish origin are proud to play for *Türkiyemspor.* They define themselves as "the best foreigner team in Europe". The *symbolic capital[107]* of *Türkiyemspor* and its prestigious status among Turkish football clubs allow its players to distinguish themselves from other teams. In the group discussion with the players of *Türkiyemspor,* the participants define two other clubs in their league as "imitations of *Türkiyemspor*". Other teams tend to orient themselves according to what *Türkiyemspor* is implementing as a club strategy. The participants are completely persuaded that there is no team that can achieve the success that *Türkiyemspor* has.

On the other hand, the *former East Berlin* which is today seen, too, as "the east" is presented as a place where the Turkish players do not ever go. These are the places that the players have "not even heard of" as mentioned in the excerpt above. This part of the city is not a part of their *mental map[108]* (Geipel, 1982) whereas the city-districts where the Turkish fellows are playing are well known.

The second prominent football club is *Berlin Ankaraspor Kulübü* – in short *BAK*. It is one of the three biggest Turkish clubs in Berlin. The former name of the club was *Berliner Athletik Klub[109]*. It was taken over by a football club called *Ankaraspor* from Turkey. This was the first time that a Turkish club made an investment in a football team in Berlin, an example of *instrumental reciprocity[110] in transnational circuits* (Faist, 2000). Bora (2006) writes about the effects and influences of regional politicians in city football clubs and criticises the changes in the name of a club. It is the same case for *Berlin Athletik Klub 1907. Ankaraspor* decided to invest in a team in Berlin together with another investor of Turkish origin in Berlin. They decided to become the sponsor for *Berlin Athletik Klub 1907* and rapidly changed the name of the club with *Berlin Ankaraspor.*

Everybody in Berlin was surprised about this purchase. Most of them were suspicious about the permanency of this financial support. The monetary support was so huge that they could not even guess what the amount was. A player in *BAK 07* stated that "this is the beginning of a player transfer

---

[107] For a detailed analysis of this notion refer to the related part in Chapter 5.3..

[108] Geipel explains the *mental map*s as the cognitive mapping in individuals' minds which he uses to find out the individually and collectively perceived significant places for the individuals (Geipel, 1982: 122-138).

[109] For the details about the history of this club, refer to the related part in Chapter 1.

[110] Faist gives two examples for his concept of instrumental reciprocity in transnational social spaces: the German Gymnasium in Istanbul and Chinese Children in New York for university education (Faist, 2000).

project from Germany to Turkey". During the field study, I saw that the investment from *Ankaraspor* was not a permanent one which could have initiated the frequent transfers of German-Turkish football players to Turkey. It only lasted for a single year. However, the money flow from Ankara to Berlin, especially the rapid increase in the players' incomes, generated mobility for the players in Berlin. *BAK 07* transferred almost all of the best players of Turkish origin who were playing in various clubs in Berlin. The mobility of players moved the relatively calm transfer market. The managers of other Turkish clubs criticised the *BAK 07* project as "an aggressive entry to the football market in Berlin". A clear sign was *BAK 07*'s transfer of *Türkiyemspor's* trainer, which was intended as an effort to weaken their major opponent club. The "aggressive" start targeted a club of the same ethnic origin. This is a clear example, showing the intraethnic competition among immigrants of Turkish origin. *Türkiyemspor*'s manager did not really mind the competitive challenge of the new *BAK 07*. He was confident that the financial investment, which led to the sudden appearance of *BAK 07* in the football market, was not going to be a permanent one.

BAK 07 made some transfers from Berlin to its two other sister football clubs in Ankara: *Ankaraspor* and *Keçiörengücü,* playing in the first and second leagues, respectively. The club in Ankara began to make transfers from Berlin, but it was not as intensive as previously estimated. The initial high amounts of financial support from Ankara were, in fact, merely for that first year. The ultimate target was to become more successful and to qualify for a higher league. The team could not succeed in this. The investment from the sister club was immediately reduced. The club almost collapsed due to the lack of financial support from Ankara. It could not even qualify to continue in the same league, and was relegated to an even lower cluster. Then it began to have success once again and became one of the most successful teams in its league. The player transfers still continue and a couple of players are transferred from Berlin to Ankara each year.

This initiative was one of the major transfer projects from Turkey. Before the *BAK* project, players were transferred to Turkey via managers of various football clubs in Turkey. Most of the transfer contracts had been made with the German clubs. The *BAK* project was an institutionalised transfer project where a professional football club from Turkey bought a semi-professional German club. Although *Berlin Athletik Klub 1907* had a German name, the club had been managed by migrants of Turkish origin in Berlin for a long time before merging with *Ankaraspor.*

Other semi-professional clubs in Berlin were suspicious on one hand, but curious on the other hand,

about the *BAK* project. They conceived of the idea that other professional clubs from Turkey may initiate cooperation, too, with the clubs in Berlin. Such an attempt could have eventually carried the transfer market to an institutional level, with club mergers improving football market relations between Germany and Turkey. A football club manager mentioned that the professional teams from Turkey are interested in the clubs in Berlin, but for the time being they are refraining from acting on this interest. They are waiting for the Berlin clubs to perform in more advanced leagues. At present, the most successful club founded by migrants of Turkish origin is playing in the fourth federal league in Germany. Further success in "Turkish" football may foster prospective collaborations with professional clubs from Turkey.

4.2.1. The Organisation of Competition in a Migration Context

Competition in football is based on the comparison of the performances of various teams which are clustered according to location differences, i.e. spatial clustering. The competition categories in football are formed from the street to the *mahalle*, from the *mahalle* to the city, from the regional leagues to the federal ones, and finally to the national teams. The club from a certain place represents the inhabitants of a local space. In this sense, the social boundaries of the competition are limited initially to these local spaces, e.g. to the neighbourhood. At first, one wants to be the best in his neighbourhood. Then the circle of competition expands and covers the whole city and even the region. The ultimate level of competition a team can reach is at the country level. This model of competition is a classical one.

In both the migration context and when the players migrate to other teams, meaning that they are being transferred, the model of competition transforms itself due to the complex formation of individuals' spatial feelings of belonging to a social space, e.g. to their *mahalle.*

Social spaces have peculiarities which are attached to them with respect to the characteristics of their inhabitants. The collectively constructed perception and presentation of the social spaces are taken as the basis of analysis here. There are many determinants of these social groupings: such as the common social origin and the social class which gather the individuals in a single group distinguishing them from the "others". As a simple example; some city districts are known as "immigrant" districts. The collectively constructed typification of "immigrant", which was used to describe the *first comers* (meaning the *Gastarbeiter*) to Berlin, has also been used to characterise

the following two generations in the city in a stereotyped situation. This inherited identity, "being immigrant", seems, too, to be utilised as a criterion for the competition in football.

The city-districts in Berlin typically known with their high Turkish populations are *Kreuzberg*, *Neukölln* and *Wedding*. In the 1960s, the *Gastarbeiter*, (guest-workers) were mostly accommodated in *Arbeiterwohnheim* - worker dormitories (Herbert, 2003) and not in any other places. These three districts were, in those years, at the periphery of West Berlin. These districts were just along the Berlin Wall which was the border with East Berlin. In those years, the density of the immigrant population had already begun to increase in these city-districts. After the fall of the Berlin Wall, all three districts became a part of the unified Berlin. The football clubs were firstly founded in these regions where the population was mostly dense with Turkish migrants.

Both the founders of the clubs and the majority of the Turkish players in the teams constituted a particular competition merely among the Turkish football clubs. In addition to the organised federal league, an inner-ethnic competition was constructed in parallel. This category is evaluated as the most significant classification of rivalry in football for the Turkish population. This can be termed a *niche competition form* in football. The Turkish football environment in Berlin is described as a *mahalle*, as mentioned in an interview, where everybody knows each other. The acquaintanceship in this *mahalle* has a sociological impact on the football clubs: they aim to be the best of the Turkish population.

Almost all of the football players have been a part of various teams, meaning that the players know each other independent from the club for which they are playing. They also see each other in their everyday lives. They are players from the same *mahalle*. Winning or losing a match in the village has a peculiar social significance. They are not only together during the match but afterwards as well. This situation sustains the significance of winning and losing, i.e. being beaten or beating the other[111] in a football match leaves some traces on the players such as being proud or being ashamed of themselves.

The affective rivalry during the match is re-generated in the shared social space, i.e. in the *mahalle*. In this sense, the teams and the players aim to be the best of the *mahalle* in order not to suffer from the affective impacts of losing a game, i.e. not to be ashamed of themselves. These competitive

---

[111] Meuser describes the fighting and physical aggression in football within its gender orientation where he represents "the men" as the fighters in football matches (Meuser, 2008).

relations are not more complicated than a typical intragroup competition. It can be imagined as being in a matryoshka form, where each layer represents a group of individuals. Each layer can be named with various dimensions, e.g. being the best of *mahalle,* or among the Turkish teams. These classifications are spatially and ethnically oriented for this case, but can also be for instance, gender or age based. The categories refer to the individuals' identities and the identity that will be used in the competition is a matter of preference. The choice of identity to be used depends on the conditions in the social environment. In the case of competition among the Turkish football teams in Berlin, being the best of the whole Turkish immigrant population is a struggle to be the representative of this particular ethnic group.

Instead of having a couple of good Turkish teams in Berlin, which can be the expected solidarity pattern based on ethnicity in migration context, each club desires to be the best of all. This situation illustrates that the competition among the mono-ethnic clubs increases as opposed to ethnic cohesions. Smith conceptualises features of the ethnies – ethnic communities - and mentions that "a *sense of solidarity* on the part of at least some sections of the ethnie's population" (Hutchinson and Smith, 1996: 7) is relatively low in this context. The competition path is named "the ethnic identity", i.e. the common origin, and the competition itself in this path is established without regarding the shared identity and through the acceptance of the game rules set in football.

After this initial level of competition, being the best among the immigrant teams becomes the second major target. "Being the best of the minority groups" is perceived as a measure of success. Both groupings, the Turkish club and the immigrant club, do not represent antagonistic team formations under football. Ethnicity is used here as a scale of competition, as Barth (Barth, 1969) categorises the notion of ethnicity. It is not a medium of a dichotomised relation between the minority and the majority population. In this sense, the first level of competition is among the Turkish teams and the second level is among the minority groups. The competition with the majority group is not perceived as a significant category.

Relations with the other migrant groups

The relation to and perception of the other minority groups are reflected symbolically in the football environment. Besides the competition among the clubs, the players in a team tend to present themselves, in some cases, with their ethnic origins. For instance, a player stated:

B: Avrupa futbolu öyle yalnız [olmaz](.) şimdi bizim takımda sırf Türk olsa sanırsam başka yerlerde olurduk şimdi ama bizde Yugoslavı var Almanı da var (.)

103

şimdi karışım herşeyi yapıyor sırf Türk olsa belki hani daha disiplinsiz
olabilirdi
A, I: Hıhı!
B: çünkü Türkleri biliyorsun daha offensiv oynuyorlar (2) bizim
Hırvatlar yada Yugoslavlar heryerde oynuyorlar yani

A, B, C, I: @(5)@

B: onlar da olmasa bizim halimiz perişan @(3)@

B: European football isn't like that [for playing alone], but, look! if there
were only Turks in our team, I think, we would be somewhere else, there are
Yugoslavs and Germans as well (.) the diversity in a team makes everything, if
there had been only Turks, the team, perhaps, could have been less disciplined.
A, I: Uh-huh!
B: you know Turks, they play offensive (2) our Croatians or Yugoslavs play
everywhere (in every position in the field)

 A, B, C, I: @(5)@

B: if they weren't here, our situation would be disastrous @(3)@

The football player, *Basri* is playing in a club founded by immigrants of Turkish origin. There are several players of different origins in the team. Initially, *Basri* describes the typical Turkish player as one who always wants to score a goal. He wants to be more prestigious than his teammates. The Turkish player wants to be the most prominent footballer on the field. On the other hand, it is not important for the others of diverse origins where they play in the field. The position on the field does not hold as much importance as it does for their Turkish friends. They can play in any position on the field without any goal of proving themselves permanently. The Turkish players know that playing to score a goal is an egoistic behaviour. *Basri* stated that a team composed only of Turkish players would be an undisciplined one. Even though this tendency can not be tolerated in a team game, the Turkish players seem to have already established their priorities in this team. This situation resembles Elias' conceptualisation of *internal cohesion as a source of power* (Elias and Scotson, 1994) through which the Turkish players in Turkish teams tend to achieve some priorities over migrants of other origins. This internal cohesion does not have a menacing character but it is a collective disposition i.e. tendency.

4.2.2. Spectators in the *Mahalle* and Some Divisions of Turkish Migrants

There was a *euphoric era* in Turkish football in Berlin. Every participant, especially the first generation, talked about their memories of the unforgettable matches. In the late 1980s, Turkish teams began to achieve a discernible success in football. *Türkspor* and *Türkiyemspor* were the most prominent teams of those years (see Chapter 1 as well). The players were well known and celebrated by a large supporter group. The stadiums were full, with thousands of spectators at the matches of these two teams. The supporters even rented buses, and drove to the away matches in order to support their teams there. The sports journalists, local television channels and even the Turkish national television channel reported the most challenging matches to Turkey. The cheerleaders were constantly present at the stadium to motivate the spectators to yell and cheer loudly for their team. Many players of those years became prominent, i.e. legend players, all around Germany with their "incredible" performances. They wrote *football history* which eternally lives on in the minds of the fans. The football euphoria continued until *Türkiyemspor* lost a qualification match, presented as the "most significant match of *Türkiyemspor*'s history".

After *Türkiyemspor's* defeat, the spectators were tremendously frustrated with *Türkiyemspor*. Everybody had believed that *Türkiyemspor* could win the match. The team manager stated that they would not have had the financial capability to survive in the upper league if they had qualified. The spectators speculated that *Türkiyemspor* did not qualify on purpose, and were completely distraught, resulting in a dramatic rupture that lasted a long time.

Türkiyemspor and all the other Turkish clubs have never had so many supporters since. *Türkiyemspor* continued but with far less success. *Türkspor* performed even worse than *Türkiyemspor* and were relegated to the amateur leagues, resulting in them playing at the lowest leagues. Everybody told about the striking fall of *Türkspor* which could not be remedied (recovered from) yet. *Türkspor* had only one sponsor who owned the club. He did everything for the club and was always with the team. However, he could not afford to financially support the team after a while. He was the only sponsor. The manager of *Türkiyemspor* implicitly criticised his not preferring to collaborate with *Türkiyemspor* which offered to come together under the name of *Türkiyemspor. Türkspor* chose to continue as *Türkspor* but could not survive long in higher leagues.

In the late 1990s, other football clubs were founded by migrants of Turkish origin. The number of clubs has increased to thirty in total. A former prominent player in *Türkiyemspor,* who became the director of the *youth teams,* stated that "the spectator group in Berlin is completely scattered". Now, each peculiar group of Turkish migrants supports their own team.

The names of the football clubs include indications of the spectator groupings. The initial names given to the clubs, approximately four decades ago, like *Türkspor* or *Türkiyemspor–My Turkey* - embody affirmative and nostalgic meanings. They were denotations with homeland feelings reflected on the football club. These names symbolised the homeland of the migrants. All of them perceived that they had a unique place that they belonged to. In those years, they collaborated under their common national identity. Most of them had migrated to Germany as guests to work for a temporary period of time.

After four decades, some of them stayed and did not return to their homeland "*Türkiyem* - My Turkey". The workers began to meet in other spaces in Berlin, rather than the "Bahnhof"[112] where they first arrived and where they were, at any moment, ready to leave. In the initial phase of the history of the *Gastarbeiter,* the workers met in the main train station in the city. Afterwards, they began to settle in Berlin and ambivalently constructed a feeling of belonging to the social space, gradually becoming more stable in their belonging to the "migrant land". They got married and continued to work and live in Germany. Their children were born there and, following that, their grandchildren. In this sense, the migration as a collective process for the guest worker - *Gastarbeiter* was completed and became a myth for the following generations (refer to Chapter 1 for a detailed analysis).

After this profound transformation in the history of Turkish migration, national identity was no longer used as the motif of solidarity. The elements of social group formations in the former homeland began to be reproduced in Berlin. The political, ethnic and religious motifs became the factors of social cohesion instead of the common national identity. The football clubs were named

---

[112] *Der Bahnhof* – The Train Station best symbolizes the psychological situation of the *Gastarbeiter,* because they found themselves between the factories and train stations when they first arrived in Germany in the 1960s. Franco Biondi, Jusuf Naoum, Rafik Schami and Suleman Taufiq edited a collection of the *Gastarbeiter* literature. They gathered *Gastarbeiter* literal works about their everyday lives in Germany. These works were clustered in five themes. First, a volume on the Gastarbeiter life situations in Germany-"Im neuen Land – In a new land" was published,. The second volume was about the difficulties of the Gastarbeiter in re-orientating themselves to the life in Germany with the title "Zwischen Fabrik und Bahnhof – Between the factory and the train station". The volumes that followed included the themes of the so called integration, foreign woman workers, the second generation and everyday xenophobia. (see Biondi et al., 1981).

according to the symbolic representations of various groups. Consequently, the spectator groups diversified.

Berlin is no longer the city where the *Gastarbeiter* immigrated. It is a city forming social spaces for its inhabitants, enabling them to establish groups with other motifs independent of migration.

Said discusses the various elements and dimensions of space. He mentions that the struggle among individuals sharing a common space is not only explained in geographical terms, "the struggle is complex and interesting because it is [...] about ideas, about forms, about images and imaginings" (Said, 1993: 7).

Regardless of Said's struggle analysis in the context of imperialism, his perspective of interpreting the social dimensions of group formation is taken as the analysis here. The empirical data proves that the motifs of peculiar group formations in Turkey reproduce themselves once again in Berlin. Ethnic, religious and political identities of the first generation were determined as the motifs which were mostly transmitted to the following generations. The social clustering under these motifs is re-generated and the members of the clubs were composed of mostly friends and acquaintances with common ethnic, religious and political motives. In this sense, the club profile was homogeneous, at first, with respect to these motives. The former spectator group of *Türkiyemspor* in 1990s, corresponding to the whole interest group of Turkish football in Berlin, is now divided into several different spectator groups.

4.2.3. The Meaning of the Spectator for the Player

At present, the spectator groups are mostly composed of the players' parents and friends, other acquaintances like players from other teams, *hoca*s and managers of other Turkish teams. They are all the inhabitants of the "small village". These acquainted groups can be divided into two main clusters: friends and parents, and, *hoca*s and managers.

For the first group, the son's or friend's performance during a match will instantly be evaluated. These evaluations have temporary impact on the football player. In case of a failure, the players mostly experience a "pedagogical embarrassment" (Neckel, 2008: 110). This is the psychological aspect of making a failure in a sports game. The spectator groups of this age group are mostly

composed of the parents and friends of the players.

As previously mentioned, children begin to play football when they are six years old. These teams are registered in the football federation in Berlin too. In everyday language, the children's leagues are called "pampers leagues" and the spectator group for this age group is mostly the children's mothers. They have training two to three times a week and the mothers bring their sons to the sports halls. They stay there until the end of training and come back home with their children. In this sense, the sports hall is a kind of meeting point for the mothers whose sons play football[113]. Fathers also attend the weekend matches. When a player reaches adolescence, the father takes the place of the mother and watches his son's weekly matches. In this case, the mothers come to extraordinarily important matches such as playing for a cup or a final match in a tournament.

The second group of spectators is composed of *hoca*s and managers. Their impressions of the players are crucial for the players. They can become the actors influencing a player's future football career. *Hoca*s permanently form and re-form their teams. They are always interested in successful new players. They go to matches to observe the players who have "prominent-success – Ruhmerfolg[114]". In fact, *hoca*s do not follow the whole team and prefer to observe the playing style of particular players who may become candidates to be transferred into the *hoca*s' teams.

Managers have the opportunity to transfer a player not only to a single team as in the case of a *hoca*, but to several different teams. Player performances are evaluated by the *manager ağbi*s, who then decide if a certain player will be transferred or not.

From the player's perspective, both trainers and managers are actors who affect the player's prospective career progression. The players especially endeavour to demonstrate their best performance on the field for the spectator group of managers. The awareness of a latent opportunity may even force them to play combatively. This common motif existing in Turkish teams can be explained with Durkheim's theory of *excessive individualism* which Neckel claims is rooted in the concept of the *instrumentalisation of success* (Neckel, 2008: 8). The player, in this case, in order to prove himself, acts like a single player in the field. Football is a team game and the players are expected to integrate in the group and perform collectively. This is a paradox for the case of

---

[113] Taken from the field research notes.
[114]   Neckel cited Mannheim's term „Ruhmerfolg" which is marked by the mutual attention and recognition of a public -*Meinen und Anerkennen "eines Publikums* ". In this case, the Turkish football village in Berlin represents the public.

excessive individualism. What the player of Turkish origin is experiencing is the reflection of the antithetic structure between individual and collective action.

All the spectator groups of parents, friends, acquaintances, *hoca*s and manager *ağbi*s have social significance for the players. They all support the teams during the matches by creating a peculiar social ambiance in the football stands. The players talked about "the derbies" as the most exciting matches, in which they feel that they have the highest degree of support from the spectators.

4.2.4. Cultural Rituals in Football

"Derby matches", which create a social space for the rivalry of two well-known teams, are taken as an example to accomplish the reconstruction of the interview excerpt below. The teams playing in derbies have already played against one another several times before. Each match becomes a historical meeting for both of the teams. The accumulated rivalry from both the "magnificent matches" and the "spoiled games" are the collective experiences of both groups. They are the most challenging and a well-considered opponent of each other.

Players describe the peculiar social ambiance in derbies created by the spectators. Matches among the three well-known Turkish teams, especially, were given as examples where the players sincerely feel the support of their spectators. For instance, playing Turkish folk music with traditional instruments is a typical spectator ritual. The players in *Türkiyemspor* described the social atmosphere during the derbies as below:

```
C: en önemlisi derbiler (.) her yerde güzel Ankaraspor'a (2) karşı
A:      └ onların zevki bir başka oluyor onları yendiğin zaman bir başka zevk
           oluyor
B:            └ biz …Trend'de oynarken (3) ben Türkiyemspor'da ilk kez gördüm
                 davul zurna geliyor
I:                                              └ Hıhı!
B: maça geliyosun davul zurna gene güzel oluyor
C:                                   └ son senelerde yoktu yine getirdiler ama
                                        iyi oldu eskiden önemli maçlara geliyordu
                                        davul zurna
A: derbiler felan (.) şimdi yine geldiler yani
B:                                      └ şimdi karşı tarafta bodyguardlar
                                         duruyor (2) adamların elinde bira
                                         bizimkilerin elinde çay (2) davul
                                         zurna yani @(2)@
C:                                         └ @ çekirdek @
B: çekirdek @ işte böyle durumlar yani @

A, B, C, I: @(4)@
```

```
C: the most important matches are the derbies (.) they're nice everywhere
matches against Ankaraspor (2)
A:            └ those matches have an extraordinary joy, you have
              a different  (better) pleasure, when you beat them
B: When we played as a trend team (3) I saw davul-zurna¹¹⁵ for the first
time in Türkiyemspor
I: Uh-huh!
B: When you come to the match, it is nice to have davul-zurna.
C:                                        └ they didn't have them in recent
years, it is good that they brought them again, previously, the davul-zurna were
only for the most important matches.
A: previously, it was only for derbies, now, they come once again
B: The bodyguards are standing on the other side (2) the guys have beer in the
hand, ours(our spectators) have tea, davul-zurna in the hand @(2)@
C:                         └ @ sunflower seeds @
B: @ sunflower seeds @ that's how it is @

A, B, C, I: @(4)@
```

It was about two decades ago when *Türkiyemspor* had thousands of spectators. The history of the spectators and their identification with *Türkiyemspor* was established in these years. They played "davul and zurna" to support their teams. These traditional celebrations are normally reserved for weddings, circumcisions[116] and other cultural celebrations. This tradition is carried to the football field, and even takes place against German teams. As Certeau states "collective representations turn into objects of folklore" (Certeau, 1997: 106). Through the symbolic presentation above, the bicultural ambiance at the football stadiums is interpreted by the players. Compared to the other matches, this culture oriented ritual creates an *euphoria* among the players and generates a sense of belonging for Turkish spectators and teams.

Participants describe and compare Turkish and German spectators in a humorous manner by stating that the Turkish spectators "drink tea and eat sunflower seeds". This stereotypical description can generally be interpreted as symbolising the leisure time. It also has a social connotation and typifies the utilisation of the routines of the public sphere. The traditional usage of the "outside" as a meeting place and walking around "eating sunflower seeds and drinking tea" with friends and acquaintances have already been re-generated in the streets of Kreuzberg-*Küçük Istanbul* and is a habituated routine of everyday life. There are even shops selling only dried fruits and nuts, *kuruyemişçi*, and the inhabitants buy and eat *çekirdek* there.

On the other side, the German spectators are represented with their "beer". All of the participants

---

[115]   Turkish folkloric musical instruments.
[116]   Circumcision is a traditional and religious ritual representing young boys' initial step towards manhood.

laughed together when the player described the spectators through some cultural symbols or symbolic presentations in everyday life. This laughter illustrates the representation of two completely different worlds, which come together in a football stadium. The discrepancy between the two spectator groups is represented through symbolic typologies. According to this representation, the German and Turkish spectators do not have any symbolic commonalities. Although the presence of these two contrasting groups in the common space of football may be an accustomed experience, the scattered communal spaces of the two worlds in everyday life in Berlin do not allow the players to observe them closely.

Schiffauer explains, from an ethnographic perspective, these common motifs in social groups as *symbol multiplications* (Schiffauer, 1993). Parallel to Schiffauer, Eichberg points out the role of the clubs and associations in the social gatherings creating particular traditions (Eichberg, 2001: 58).

Besides the *kuruyemişçis*, Turkish tea houses - *kıraathanes,* or with its everyday name *kahves* have connections to football clubs. Every football club has a *kahve.* It is a kind of club office for the meetings of the club management. The customers in *kahves* are mostly supporters of the football club to which the *kahve* belongs.

The supporters and the spectators of a football club founded by immigrants of Turkish origin can be better described within friendship ties. People in *kahves* do not have to be formally registered club members. The crucial characteristic of group formation here is based on acquaintances that are formed by the regular patrons: the frequenters who come to the *kahves* daily. Most of them are the inhabitants, the *ağbi*s and *amca*s of the *mahalle*, where the *kahve* is situated. They come there to play cards and see friends. Some of the guests are related to football. Some are the football players' fathers and other relatives. They all know the players and frequently follow their performances. They also know the players of Turkish origin who play in other teams. In this sense, the victory or defeat of their team is essential for them. In a group discussion, a player described the reflections of a match victory on the social environment as below:

```
B: ben bunları yenersem yani (2) bunların kahvesinin önünden ya da (2) ya da
kulübün önünden geçtin mi hani, tüylerimi kabartabilirim derim bak ben sizi
yendim felan
```

```
B: if I win, I mean, against them (.) I can ruffle my feathers when I go by
their kahve or by their club, then I can say, "look! I beat you".
```

Walking down the street in front of the opponent team's *kahve* is a symbolic representation of pride against the other club. A player who wins against another team struts around in front of his friends within the defeated side's social environment. This is a kind of local self-esteem mechanism. They become the *local heroes* of *mahalles*. This is the presentation of the collective esteem achieved under a football team. The individual who scores the goals has the heroic role of carrying the team to victory and saving them from defeat.

4.2.5. The Impact of the Local Media in the *Mahalle*

It is essential for the players to be well-known in the world of Turkish football in Berlin. The players want to exhibit their talents and performances. It is a competitive pattern that appears at the individual level. The same player continues to explain this social phenomenon as below:

```
B: herkes [...] bir gazeteye çıkayım şu televizyonda çıkayım da benim adım
duyulsun
```

```
B: everybody [...] is trying to be in the newspaper, to be on television, to
make his name heard of.
```

The excerpt above illustrates that players try to prove themselves in their local public sphere via the media. There are several magazines reporting on the everyday lives of migrants of Turkish origin in Berlin. One of the highly circulated magazines is *Merhaba*. It is published monthly in Turkish and German and delivered to shops, mostly belonging to immigrants of Turkish origin. The football news in this magazine and its social function on the construction of a local identity for the football players is significant.

Another magazine is *Fußball Woche*. It is published in German and concentrates on football in Berlin. It is a highly purchased football magazine, and has been published weekly for several decades. This weekly football magazine is read by approximately 5,000 Turks in Berlin[117], as stated in an interview. *Fußball Woche* had a crucial impact on making a prominent football player of Turkish origin a legendary player in the 1980s. *Kazım*, who currently continues as a football trainer,

---

[117] According to an interview that was made with the president of a football club from Kreuzberg. The number, in this case, is interpreted as a guess and does not indicate any precision. The crucial point here is that this magazine is read by a relatively high number of Turks who are interested in football. This can be interpreted as a sign showing the popularity of football among the immigrants of Turkish origin in Berlin.

talked about his story :

K: Berlin'in futbol magazin dergisi Fußball Woche'de beni "Mini Maradona" diye yazdılar. İşte öyle başladı. Bizim de fiziksel benzerliklerimiz var yani. Teknik olarak hiçbir bir benzerliğimiz yok ama fiziksel olarak, benim de saçlar kıvırcık (2), boylar aynı, uzaktan baktığında vücut yapımız da (3) kuvvetli aynı hemen hemen aynı oranda, ondan dolayı benzerliklerimiz var. İnsanlar da sevdiler bu benzetmeyi, ben Rapide Wedding'de oynarken (2) sonra Türkiyemspor'a transfer oldum, 86-88 sezonunda orda oynadım, Türkiyemspor'un en iyi olduğu yıllarda (2) o zaman 3. ligde oynuyorduk.

K: The Berlin Football Magazine Fußball Woche published my name as "Mini Maradona". That's how it began. Of course, we have some physical similarities you know! We in fact have, no similarities in football technique, but we have physical similarities, I also have curly hair (2) we have the same height, when you look from afar, the body is- (3) in terms of physical strength, he has approximately the same proportions, thus we had similarities. Of course, people liked it, then while I was playing for Rapide Wedding[118] (2) I transferred to Türkiyemspor, and played for Türkiyemspor in the years '86 – '88 in those good times of Türkiyemspor (2) when we were playing in the third league

This soubriquet of *mini Maradona* given to *Kazım* was altered slightly and he became *Maradona Kazım* in the Turkish football world in Berlin. *Fußball Woche* initiated a conspicuous football career for *Kazım* and because of his talent, he was transferred to *Türkiyemspor,* which at that time was a third league team; the highest league ever for *Türkiyemspor* in its history including today.

The role of the media in the construction of self-presentation through football is not limited to Berlin. In another interview, a manager of a club stated that the Germany- and Europe-wide TV channels and newspapers report news on their club.

F: Daha önce Trabzonspor'un varolup olmadığını bilmeyen insanlar da bizi arayıp buldu ta ki Kanal Avrupa televizyonu batıdan bizi davet edene kadar, medya mesela sağolsun Hürriyet gazetesi her zaman yanımızda oldu.

F: People who did not even know that Trabzonspor existed before, sought and found us. The Europe Channel from the West invited us for a TV Program, thanks to the media, the Hürriyet Newspaper has always been with us.

Cimbria Trabzonspor's manager mentioned the media support of a Turkish TV-Channel broadcasting under the name of "Kanal Avrupa – Channel Europe". The TV channel was founded in Duisburg in 2005 and presents itself as a station for "Turkish speaking Europeans". There is a special show on Kanal Avrupa called the "Black Sea Show".

---

[118] There are two major teams that all of the hocas learned and played football in Berlin. One of them is Rapide Wedding and the other is Meteor 06. Both of the teams were founded by Germans. The hocas always told about their nice memories in these teams.

Trabzon is a city in Turkey situated on the black sea coast. *Trabzonspor* is a football club of the Trabzon city solidarity association founded by immigrants who were born in Trabzon[119]. Besides *Kanal Avrupa's* crucial role in making *Trabzonspor* "known" in Germany and even in Europe, the presentation of a city – Duisburg - in Germany (where the channel was founded), as a "West" city, and the perception of other regions in Germany will next be reconstructed from the players' viewpoints.

In this interview, and also in several others, cities in the former West Germany are still being called "west-cities" by the participants. When the Turkish immigrants first immigrated to Germany, those who came to Berlin actually lived in West-Berlin. The construction of the Berlin Wall in 1961 surrounded West-Berlin and converted it into an island, which was situated in "East-Germany". In the interviews, the former west-German cities and regions, especially the *Ruhrgebiet*[120], where the Turkish immigrant population is high, are represented as a whole as "West". Some players in Berlin envy the football teams and spectators in the *Ruhrgebiet* because of their high Turkish population. The perception of regions in Germany will be reconstructed through the citation below:

```
C: Ama şimdi şeyde TGRT¹²¹'de falan gösteriyolar şeyleri batı tarafını adamlar
acayip
B: └ Ya Be-
C: güzel maclar çıkartıyolar adamlar bi?, seyirci var bi?, şey var adamlar
acayip
F: Berlin açısından ben şeyim Berlin seyirci açısından-
B: Öbür tarafta (.)
E: Berlin'de çok takım var, o gün mesela genç takımlarının turnuvası olunca (2)
oralar daha kalabalık şimdi batıda tek takım oluyo genelde bir şeyin, bizim
buralar kalabalık (.) Atatürk kupası kocaman salon (.) toplasan yüz kişi yoktu
```

```
C: But on that channel, in TGRT, they show the West side, the guys (the
spectators) are amazing.
B: └ I mean-
C: they play very good matches, there are spectators, I mean, the guys are
really good
F: For Berlin, I am-, Berlin is-, the spectators
B: On the other side (.)
E: There are many teams in Berlin, for example, the youth teams had a tournament
that day, it is more crowded there, there is only one team of a thing (certain
place) in the West, here, in our place, it is not crowded (.) the sports hall
for the Atatürk Tournament is a large hall (.) if you were to add up all the
people, there were fewer than a hundred.
```

In the *Ruhrgebiet*, there are several cities scattered all around the region. The participants stated that each team has local supporters. Every city or small town has a team founded by immigrants of

---

[119]   See Chapter 3 for a detailed analysis of the migrant city solidarity associations.
[120]   *Ruhrgebiet* is a region in the northwest of Germany lying along the river *Ruhr*. It is known as one of the most developed industrial regions of Germany and it has the highest population of Turkish origin in Germany.
[121]   A Turkish Television Channel broadcasting to Europe as well.

Turkish origin and their spectators frequently watch their local team. However in Berlin, the group of spectators is dispersed throughout thirty clubs, which lessens the number of supporters for each team. The sub-group formations in a metropolitan city such as Berlin distinguish the teams and spectators from one another. In the "west", the Turkish settlements are roughly scattered. Especially in *Ruhrgebiet*, due to the industrial and geographical particularities of the region, there are so called *Turkish villages* instead of *Turkish mahalles* like in Berlin. Within a single city district in Berlin there is likely to be more than one football club that was founded by migrants of Turkish origin. On the other hand, the supporters of *Turkish villages* represent a more crowded group for a single team. This case study shows that the factors affecting spectator groupings are diversified in larger spatial environments. The solidarity among the inhabitants seems to be more intensive in the villages. However, the spectator support is dispersed in a metropolitan city, compared to the regional solidarity forms in smaller cities.

4.3. Relations with the Referees:

4.3.1. Self-Reflexive Ethnocentrism

A trainer described the most problematic matches as the ones ruled by the Turkish referees.

R: Türk Türke oynarken bi de Türk hakemi veriyorlar, birbirlerini yesinler diye

R: when the Turks are playing against the Turks, they give (assign) a Turkish referee to that match so that they all quarrel with each other.

He criticised Turkish referees as making mostly one-sided decisions. Next, he stated that the Berlin Football Federation provokes the players of Turkish origin with such mono-ethnic referee assignments. The players, especially in lower leagues, complain about the referees. They commented that the referees decide against the Turkish players, because they have the stereotype of the "aggressive Turkish player" in their minds, in other words, they have prejudices against the players of Turkish origin. This is an example of *ethnic scapegoating* (Gans, 1999) in a football context. The participant players described the stereotypical Turkish player with their sentences below:

G: Bütün hakemler Türk takımlarına karşı bir tavır alıyor
F: Hele bir de Türk hakemi olduğu zaman
C: Baştan belli yani,
F: Türk takımı daha da ço-
G: └ Sahaya çıkar çıkmaz ilk düdükten onlardan yana çalıyorlar
*   zaten [eee] ne oluyor, biz de Türküz, biliyon Türklerin*
*   futbolunu zaten, anında sinirlenmeye başlıyosun, zaten tepen*
*   atıyor, bu sefer iyice hakem, hakemi karşına*
*   alıyon. Sarı kart, sarı kırmızı, her maç bir sarı kırmızımız*
*   vardı*
A: Yani senelerdir tecrübe ederken yani [eee] aslında alışmamız lazım yani
hakemin bize karşı biraz çaldığı, belki de bize öyle geliyordur, bize belki
dışardan Alman diyordur ki „bunlar kendileri rahat durmuyorlar onun için"
G: └@(2)@
A: Bize göre öyle geliyor, hakemler bize karşı çalıyormuş gibi geliyor [eee] biz
de bir türlü buna senedir böyle alışmamız lazım ama her zaman da gene çileden
çıkıyoruz. Yani böyle bağırmalar çağırmalar, ister istemez hakemi karşımıza
alıyoruz otomatikman, bu hafta da yine öyleydi, hakemler bize geldikleri zaman
bize karşı rahat çalabiliyorlar.
G: Bir de Türk takı- hakemi oldu mu tam yandın
A: └ şimdi normalde Türk hakemi geldiği zaman
bilmeyenler diyo ki ya tamam bu hafta da Türk hakemi var, bu sefer Türk hakemi
daha bir

A, B, C, D, F: @(2)@

D: Bize karşı daha bir
G: └ Türklerden yana olmayım?, diye sırf onlara çalıyor bu sefer
A: Onlar demesin ki Türk takı-
G: └ Hee! [onaylama]
D: └ Psikolojikman yani

```
G: Every referee is against the Turkish teams
F: And if there is a Turkish referee in a match
G: It is clear at the beginning, I mean,
F: For the Turkish team, he is more-
G:                    └ when we come to the field, starting with the first whistle,
he blows (decides) for them, and then, what comes then, we are Turks, you know
how Turkish football is, at that moment we are getting angry, you become crazy,
and then you take the referee against you, then yellow card, yellow and red
card, we had yellow and red cards in every match.
A: I mean, as we experience it, I mean, we should, in fact, get used to the
referee blowing against us, perhaps, we think so, perhaps, a German off the
field thinks "they (Turkish players) do not stay so calm" perhaps that's
because-
G:                  └@(2)@
A: we think like that, we think that the referees are blowing against us, and we
could not get used to it for many years, we should, but each time we are
completely frustrated, I mean, shouting at each other and so, automatically we
pushing the referee to be against us, it was the same this week, when the
referees rule our matches, they can freely blow against us.
G: And when the referee is a Turk, then we are in trouble
A:                                  └ the people who do not know the situation
                                     think normally that "okay, it will be easy
                                     this week" (meaning Turkish referee for
                                     Turkish teams), this time the Turkish
                                     referee becomes more-

A, B, D, F, G: @(2)@

D: Then, he blows more against us
G:                       └ In order not to be for the Turks, he always blows for
the others
A: so that they will not say that the Turkish team-
G:                                    └ Yeah!
D:                                       └ it is psychological, you know
```

Arif hoca of the team is not really sure if *Gürol* is right or not. *Gürol* represents the Turkish players with their immediate anger. The flow of ideas is mainly constructed on the stereotypical patterns of the Turkish player and of the referee. The player thinks that the referee makes decisions that are biased against the Turks. If he experiences the referee making a decision against his team, then the player would believe that he had proved his prejudice. Therefore, he regards the referee like an opponent team player.

After the establishment of this thinking pattern by the players, they begin to mention their stereotypical characteristics during the match. As *Gürol* tells us, it has already been anticipated that the Turkish players suddenly get angry. They may play aggressively or argue with the referees, ending up with punishments like yellow and red cards. This is a kind of circular perception

mechanism repeating itself during the matches. Receiving so much penalisation is habitual for this team. The stereotypes of the "Turkish player" and "Turkish referee" have already been established at the group level and accepted collectively.

The players accept the attribute of being known as "the aggressive players". This *ethnic scapegoating* is turned out to be a widened reality for the whole population of Turkish players. It is mostly internalised and becomes a part of the identity attached to them in the social environment in Berlin football. It becomes an everlasting disadvantage for the players. The stereotype of "playing aggressively" becomes a *self-fulfilling prophecy* (Merton, 1968)[122] for the ones whom this stereotype does not suit. They are the ones who have to suffer under this prognostication.

The *hoca* is not sure if the referees do have a prejudice against the Turkish players but he, as the team trainer, having the role of the mentor, proposes a pragmatic solution to this conflict: "In fact, we should get used to it". The referees' thoughts or prejudices are not significant for him. The punishments due to the spontaneous reactions of the footballers are crucial for the team. The players did not discuss further on this subject and reconstructed the conflicts based on these two stereotypes: "Turkish player" and "the referees". The question of whether the referees are discriminating against the Turkish players or the players themselves perceive it so, is left as an open question.

The players claim that the Turkish referees are always under pressure to prove their impartial decisions. They should show that they do not make decisions in favor of Turkish players. This problem of impartiality occurs when the ethnic background and the professional responsibility of the referees intersect. The two identities are crossing with each other here: being Turkish and being a referee for the Turkish teams. From the players' perspective, the Turkish referees can not exactly adjust their decisions and are ambivalent between these two roles.

The encounter of two Turkish teams ruled by Turkish referees is a particular social phenomenon. Turkish teams prefer to have German referees instead of those of their origin. The relations through social capital and professional tasks overlap with each other. The fine distinction between these two social environments raises suspiciousness. It converts itself to a social pressure which causes some fluctuations in the professional behaviours of referees.

---

[122] Merton explains a self-fulfilling prophecy as "the self-fulfilling prophecy is, in the beginning, a *false* definition of the situation evoking a new behaviour which makes the original false conception come *true*" (Merton, 1968: 477).

The referee is caught between the *mechanical* and *organic solidarity* (Durkheim, 1964) patterns. In order to be impartial, he is more oriented towards organic solidarity instead of mechanical, and exhibits an *over-organic solidarity formation.*

4.3.2. The Categorisation of the "East-Referees" and the "Other Players"

Referees that originate from East Germany are also unfavourable for the members of *Anadolu-Umutspor,* another Turkish club from *Kreuzberg.* Turkish teams travel to eastern parts of Berlin and to Brandenburg, which is the neighbouring state around Berlin. Both of them are parts of the former German Democratic Republic. The participants told of their experiences at matches against the East-Germans. These matches are divided into two categories: matches at home and matches in the former East Germany. The trainer of a *Kreuzberg* team talked about a match in the former East Germany:

R: Doğu bloğu hakemleri diyeceğim, Ost hakemlerine bakıldığı zaman, aman Allah diyoruz, yani Ostta maçlara gittik mi (2) hakemlere bakıyoruz, önceden biliyoruz hangi hakemlerin geleceklerini, isimlerine göre baktığımız zaman, yani yeri geliyor, oyuncularıma diyorum lütfen diyorum hiç ağzınızı açmayın, yani orda ne yapsak kazanamayacağımızı biliyorum, hakemler izin vermeyecek, yeter ki kırmızı kart yemeyin. Maçı verin, kırmızı kart yerseniz, iki üç hafta (ceza) yersiniz, iki üç hafta bu takım yalnız kalır. Normal topumuzu oynayalım, haftasonu öyle spor olarak geçirin. Hiç ağzınızı açmayın, itiraz etmeyin diyorum, öyle geçsin, öyle maçlarım oldu bu sezon. Yani mağlubiyeti kafadan göze almışım. Beni bir hakem ekibi dışarı attı, mahkemeye çıktık 4 saat, mahkeme hiçbir sey hesaplayamadı, kanıtlayamadı, 25. dakikada hakem beni sahadan attı (3) nedeni neymiş Türkçe oyuncularımla konuşuyormuşum, ya kardeşim öyle bir kanun yok ki, DFB veya BFV nin hiçbir kanunu kitabında yazmaz. Yani illa tek dil konuşulacak, tek dil birşey yapılacak diye bir olay yoktur. Hakem bana sahayı terket dedi. Ben takımımı 75 dakika yalnız bıraktım maç 4-1 bitti. [...] bazen kasıtlı hakemleri gönderiyorlar maçlara, yabancıları sevmeyen hakemleri gönderiyorlar

```
R: I'll say the Eastern Block referees, when we think about the East referees,
oh my God!, when we go to matches in the East (2) we check the name of the
referees beforehand, we know which referee will come to our match, I mean, in
some cases, I tell my players, please keep your mouth shut, I mean, I know that
we can not win the match there, even if we do our best, the referees won't let
us, I tell them, try not to receive any red cards. You can even lose the match,
but if you receive a red card then you will be blocked for the following two-
three weeks, then the team will be alone for these weeks (when you are not
there). I tell them to play our normal (standard) football, let us think that it
is the weekend and we are doing some sports. Keep your mouth shut, do not object
(to the decisions of the referee), let that match pass like that, I had such
matches this season. I mean, where even before starting I presumed that we would
lose the match. A refereeing crew once sent me off the field, we went to court,
it lasted four hours long, the court could not find anything, could not prove
anything, the referee had thrown me out at the 25th minute (3) the reason was
that I spoke Turkish with my players (2) there is no rule like that, my brother,
DFB (German Football Federation) or BFV (Berlin Football Association) do not
```

have anything like that written in their books. I mean, there is no rule saying
that only one language should be spoken. The referee told me to leave the field.
I left my team alone for 75 Minutes, the match ended 4-1. [...] sometimes they
assign such referees on purpose, referees who do not like foreigners.

The trainer is distrustful of the football federation's decisions and believes that the federation mostly sends referees who have xenophobia to his team's matches. He proposes that his players should not discuss the referee's decisions with him, or even talk to him during these matches. The trainer thinks that they do not have any chance of winning the match and his ultimate aim during these encounters is not to receive any red cards. He tries to persuade his players to consider these matches leisure time encounters. That is not so easy. Everybody is there to win the game. *Ramazan hoca* tries to impose on them the *amateur ethos*, that taking part in sport is more important than winning (Elias and Dunning, 1986), which they have already left behind at this point in their football career. The players have all become semi-professional. In this intermediate position, the player strives to turn professional and gives his best not to return to the amateur leagues. To stay an amateur player is unimaginable for this group of players.

On the other hand, if the players argue with the referees, then there is a risk of receiving red cards and being punished for the following two or three matches. *Ramazan Hoca* prefers to lose the match instead of sacrificing some players for the following matches due to their *overt violence* (Elias and Dunning, 1986:231), where they lose their self-control and express themselves in an *instrumental violence* (Ibid.) against the players of the opposing team, meaning they show physical aggressiveness towards them (see Collins, 2008).

As well as the trainer's complaint about the "East-German Referees", the players spoke of their experiences with the East-German spectators. Turkish teams began, for the first time, to play with East German teams after the fall of the Berlin Wall. Therefore, in comparison to the teams from West Germany, they have not been playing against East German sides for long. As reported below, the matches were not that friendly at the beginning and the spectators were more hostile to Turkish teams in comparison to the other spectator groups. A sports journalist, who went to East-Germany to report on the matches, told of his experiences there:

T: Onbir sene Türkiyemspor muhabirliği yaptım, her sahayı bilirim, deplasmanlara
da gidiyordum, bütün Türkiyemspor'un Türkspor'un muhabiriydim, duvarlar açılınca
arabalarımızı da taşladılar, „Scheiße Ausländer" şimdi iyi halleri, Mehmet
Zağlı, Temren Elmasoğlu 3 Nisan 95 de Berlin'den, deplasmandan yazıyorduk.

T: I have been the sports reporter (journalist) for Türkiyemspor for eleven years, I know every stadium very well, I used to go to the away matches as well, I was the reporter for Türkiyemspor and Türkspor, they stoned (threw stones at) our cars after the wall was opened (torn down), "Scheiße Ausländer" - "Damn Foreigners", now they are better, Mehmet Zagli, Temren Elmasoglu 3rd April 1995 reporting from Berlin, we were reporting from the away games.
(He is showing the interviewer the related newspaper articles).

He talked about the discriminative and aggressive behaviour of the East-German spectators. However, he believed that the conduct of the fans has already improved. Nevertheless, in a group discussion with *Türkiyemspor* players, they said that they are still facing the identical xenophobic behaviours when they play in the former East-Germany. An excerpt from this group discussion is below:

A: seyirciler de yapıyor (2) tezahüratlar (3) mesela deplasmana gidiyorsun (2)
duvarda şey yazmıyor (2) duvara yazı yazıyorlar (3) duvarda mesela (2)
«Ausländer dışarı» (2) «Ausländer raus» yok yani «Türken raus» (2)
I: hadi ya!
A: tabi artık onlarda psikoloji oluşmuş Türkleri kötüleme yani «Ausländer raus»
değil «Türken raus»
I: Hala var yani?
A: var tabi canım
C: var var (.) tabi taraftarda da var (2) iyileşiyomuş gibi geliyor bana ama
daha çok kötüleşiyor
A: yok yok yok o iyileşmez (2)
B: ⌐ yok yok!

A: the spectators do it as well (2) the cheers(3) for example, you go to an away game (2) what is written on the wall isn't "Ausländer (told in Turkish) out!" (2) "Ausländer raus" (told in German) - "Foreigners, get out!" instead, it's "Türken raus" - "Turks, get out!" (2) they have developed a psychological issue, of speaking badly against the Turks, it is not "Ausländer raus" (told in German) - "Foreigners, get out", it is "Türken raus" (told in German)- "Turks, get out" (2)
I: There is still something like that?
A: Of course
C: Yes, there is (.) the spectators are doing it as well, it seems to me that it is getting better, but it is getting worse
A: no, no, no, it can not be better (2)
B: ⌐ no, no!

They mentioned that the slogan of "Ausländer raus"[123] has been replaced with "Türken raus" meaning that the Turkish players are directly targeted instead of the whole *Gastarbeiter*

---

[123] For an analysis of the political and cultural aspects of this slogan, see (Bausinger, 1986).

population[124]. All of the three participants believe that xenophobia[125], directed to a single migrant group through the Turkish football players, exists in East-Germany. An extract from another interview is included below in order to portray how the typology of German teams is constructed by the players of Turkish origin.

N: Alman takımlarına güvenemezsin, sağı solu belli olmayan takımlar, adamın yüzüne güler iki dakika sonra arkada başka bir düşüncesi var. Birşey demiyorum yani bu West Berlin'de eski, Berlin'deki takımlar yine iyi, orda biraz şey yapabiliyorsun, orda tek tük yabancı oynadığı için (2) başka Ost takımlarına gittigin zaman [...] insanı o kadar bir sıkıntıya sokuyorlar ki bazı insanlar diyor, böyle insanlarla idare edeceksin. Ne yazık ki, idare ediyoruz Allah'a şükür
I: Takım oyuncuları açısından mi, yoksa seyirci felan mı?
N: Ya seyirciden başlıyor, yönet-, şimdi bir mesele anlatayım, adam sahanın içinde futbolcu bizim futbolcuya "sen pis Türksün, burda ne arıyorsun, sen bunu ne yapıyorsun" bizim de futbolcu Ağrıspor'da, bizim genelde Türkler de böyle şeylere cok hemen yatkınlar, böyle durumlarda adam hemen kızmaya başlıyor, ondan sonra dirsek atıyor, ben de hiç hoşuma gitmeyen hareketlerden birisi birisinin yüzüne tükürmek, kızdırdığı halde bizimkiler başlıyor, oraya buraya çatmaya, tükürmeye başlıyor. Gerekmiyor, biliyorsun yani orda o takıma karşı oynadığını sen de biliyorsun, gerekmeyen hareketleri yapmanın bir anlamı yok. Adam gidiyor, ondan sonra ordaki seyirciler bize başlıyorlar, atışıyorlar, bizimkiler kendilerini kaybettiği gibi, ama Allaha şükür iki senedir ben yaptığımdan beri bizde bu sorun yok. Ben dedim, bende böyle şey gördügüm zaman, saygısızlık gördüğüm zaman, spora yakışmayan bir hareket gördüğüm zaman hemen kadro dışı, bir iki tanesini attım öyle futbolcunun [...] Ama zor ben kendim yaşadım, doksan dakika orda seyircinin söylemediği lafı kalmıyor. Sen insansın yani kapatamazsın kendini, ama idare edeceksin işte, zor gerçekten bazı konularda zor ama futbolun nankörlüğü, birşey yapamıyorsun

```
N: You can not trust the German teams, you can not guess how they will
behave, they smile at your face and then, two minutes later they have other
thoughts behind you. I'm not saying anything, I mean, against the West-Berlin-,
the former West-Berlin, the teams in Berlin are relatively good, one can do
something there, while a couple of foreigners are playing there (2) when one
goes to other east teams [...] they really bother you, some people
say-, one should manage (not take them seriously). Thank God that we
have been able to manage it.
I: Is it mostly the players or the spectators?
N: I mean, the spectators begin- the presid-, okay (2) I'll tell you, for
example a player on the field tells our player "you are a dirty Turk, what are
you doing here? Why are you doing this?" Our player from Ağrıspor, our Turks
are, in general, emotional in these situations, one gets angry in these
situations, then he hits the other with his elbow, another manner that I never
```

---

[124] Stölting distinguishes the difference between the foreigner - *Ausländer* and the guest worker – *Gastarbeiter* underlines that the "Ausländerfeindlichkeit" i.e. *xenophobia* is in fact directed only to the worker population coming from Mediterranean (Stölting, 1992: 86). The "Ausländer raus – Foreigners, get out!" as a stigmatising statement is directed to the guest worker, and in its more accurate form directed to the Turks stated as "Türken raus – Turks, get out!" in the football context.

[125] Refer to Nobis (2007) for a quantitative field research on the Germans' attitudes towards the foreigners. The study was conducted with 1405 participants in Brandenburg (Data of the Brandenburgerischen Jugenderhebung 2005). The participants, aged between 16 and 20 (and members of a sports club) were asked if they (dis)agree with the statement: "Germany is for Germans - Foreigners, get out!". The results illustrate that 24.1% hardly agree, 16.5% partly agree, 5.5 % completely agree that "Foreigners must get out of Germany!". The collected data shows, also, that the percentage of complete agreement with this racist and ethnocentric orientation doubled to 9.9% when the participants were not member of a sport club (Nobis, 2007: 342). Refer to Zifonun (2007) for a qualitative social research on this topic.

```
like is to spit in somebody's face, when the others tease our guys, they begin
to get angry at things here and there, spit out here and there. One
does not need this, you, too, know that you play against this team there, you do
not need to do useless things, the player goes, then the spectators begin to
tease us, they begin to heckle, ours lose themselves (go crazy), however, for
the last two years, we haven't had this problem anymore, since I started
here. I told them, if I see something like that, when I see disrespectful
attitudes, when I see manners improper in sports, then he (the one who behaves
differently from what I say) will be out of the squad, I've already fired one or
two players like that [...] nevertheless it's really difficult, I've experienced
it myself, the spectators call you everything, ninety minutes long. One
is human, he can not isolate himself, but you should manage it, it is really
difficult on the other side, it is the ingratitude of football, you can not do
anything against it.
```

The trainer mentioned that they are distressed when they play against the East-German teams. This time, the conflict between the East-Germans and the Turks is at the player level. The relations among the players are composed of mutual direct interactions. The players can provoke each other during the matches. The character of a Turkish player is once again emphasised here, as they spontaneously get angry through provocations. It is the main reason why they receive red cards. In the excerpt above, the trainer considers merely the consequences of insulting on the team's success during the match, rather than discussing the social impact of ethnically oriented insulting.

In competitive football, the main aim is to win the game. How one can win is regulated by the rules of the game. Because a football match is so fast-paced, it is not easy for the referee to follow the verbal communication among the players on the pitch. Most of the insulting cases are not conveyed to the referees. The significant point here is that the players accept "the characteristics of the German players" and "the spontaneous reactions of the Turkish players", and also "the presumed decisions of the East German referees". Neither the trainers nor the players of Turkish origin discuss the ethnic dimensions of this struggle between these two groups. They try to persuade their players to ignore these provocations and discriminations, and get them to concentrate on their football on the field. The principal activity of the *hoca*s is to remind their players that they should play in a disciplined way.

A player who played for Hertha BSC, one of the most successful teams in West-Berlin, stated that he faced the same abusive manner during matches against the East-German teams, although he was playing in a German team at that time. He stated that his hair colour was the main cause of discrimination. In this case, the prejudice against the Turkish teams repeats itself at an individual level. Here, it is the individual's physical appearance that is discriminated against, instead of the team he plays for.

B: ben maçlara gittiğim zaman (.) ben Hertha'da oynarken bile bizi görüyorlar kara kafalı hemen (.) tükürüyorlar yok işte- (2) alışıyorsun ya

B: When I go to the matches (.) as I played even at Hertha, they saw us with our black heads (.) they spat at us and then- (2) you get used to it, man!

The participants, on the other hand, perceive this discrimination as an existing social conflict, but they merely consider its reflections on football. In a football match the aim for the players is not to solve the social discriminatory conflicts, but to win the game. Football creates a social space for *pragmatical perception patterns*. In this sense, the racist and discriminatory insults among the players, when not noticed by the referee, should be pragmatically perceived as game tactics, with the aim of provoking the opponent players.

The *hoca*, in the previous excerpt, stated that it is really difficult to stay calm in these cases and he declared that `"One is human, he can not isolate himself, but you should manage it, it is really difficult, on the other side it is the ingratitude of football, you can not do anything against it"`. Here the notion of "being human" is represented to demonstrate the boundaries of the patience of an individual. According to the trainer, one can only tolerate these provocations to a certain limit. Elias explains sports groups as being in a changing pattern of action (Elias and Dunning, 1986). He states that sportive games form patterns intellectually and emotionally and not just physically (Ibid: 207).

Football rules structure the frame of sportive behaviours in the field. Unless the players respect these obligations, they are punished. The trainer presents this social phenomenon as a paradox between "`one is human`" and "being a football player". He concludes that "football is ungrateful". A social conflict arises for the Turkish players when there is a discrepancy between their emotions and the rules of the game. This creates a difficult situation for them.

It may be challenging for the players to perceive the actions on the field with their dual identities: being a football player and a human. According to the presentation of the trainer, these identities contradict each other. Being a football player has the connotation that the player has to ignore abusive attitudes against him. In the social relations around football, the orally presented external effects, in principle, have to be perceived as part of a strategy of provocation by the opponent team. As the trainer stated, a human being can not easily shift to this kind of perception pattern. On the other hand, German players do not have such trouble on the field. The same trainer added below:

N: Almana gitsen, Alman provozieren[126] olmaz. Örnek, Alman bizim Türkün ayağına vurdu, olur, Türk Almana 90 dakika küfür etti, acayip çok, ben bizim oyuncuya yapma dedim (2) Alman hiçbir şey yapmadı, adam sonunda durdu (2) ben senin ailene aynı şeyleri diyorum dedi, sonra bizimki ona tekme tokat girdi. Heißsporn!

N: When you think of a German, he is not (cannot be) provoked. Example, (once in a match) a German kicked the Turk, it can happen (in a match), the Turk insulted the German ninety minutes long (.) this was too much (2) I told him not to do so, the German did not react, but at the end, he stopped and said "Everything that you have said to me, I now say about your family", then our player began to kick and hit him (.) Hothead!

The Turkish player received a red card in the last minute of the match. The citation above describes the discrepancy in perception patterns between German and Turkish players. The two groups react very differently to provocations. In this excerpt it is important to whom the insulting is addressed. The individual is far more provoked, and sees it as a much greater insult, when his family is mentioned. The German player was able to retain his professionalism on the field and tried not to react to the Turkish footballer's insulting. However, the Turkish player could not ignore the German players' response. He could not hold his tension and reacted aggressively.

A solution is proposed: The players should try to control their emotions in a way that is described in Turkish as "idare etmek", as mentioned in the citation on the previous page. These words do not simply mean "managing", but rather they have the connotation of "ignoring". Here, the common aim is to reduce the effects of provocation. According to the participants, the content of the provocation does not need to be discussed, and it can also be discriminatory or xenophobic. One should "manage this situation" during a football game.

---

[126] Told in German, although the interview was in Turkish. "Provizieren" means "to provocate" in English.

4.4. Legitimation of Discrimination

The *hoca* continues to tell about the current relations with Germans and tries to explain the reasons of the discriminative manners of East Germans.

N: Şimdi daha da arttı, o zaman Ost takımları yoktu, [...] iş vardı, güç vardı, (2) şimdi iş olmayınca, adamlar onların işini kaptığımızı düşünüyor.

N: Now, it is much more than it was before, there weren't any East teams in those years [...] everybody had work (2) now, there is no work, the guys think that we took their jobs.

Due to the high unemployment rate, *Nihat hoca* thinks that "the East Germans think that the Turks are taking their jobs". This is the economic aspect of the polarisation between the East Germans and the Turks. The trainer compares Germany's economic welfare status with the situation today, where the unemployment rate is relatively high in Berlin as compared to the times before the unification of Germany.

Another factor creating social conflict between the two groups is that the Turks think that the East Germans envy their play. The Turkish players discuss this theme as illustrated in the part below:

```
A : ya çoğu Osttakımları var (.) yani böyle Türkleri sevmezler yani (.) böyle
laf atarlar filan
D : oyun içinde bizle böyle
A :           └ onlar bizle böyle laf atarlar
D :                                  └ bizim de iyi oynadığımız için kıskanma var
                                      yani
C : bizim takımımız daha iyi Alman takımından (.) bi de Alman memleketinde
(.) yani o yönden kıskançlık var yani
```

```
A: most of the East teams (.) I mean, they do not like Turks, I mean (.)
like, they tease us and so on
D: during the match, they are with us-
A:         └ they tease us
D:           └ I mean, they are jealous that we are playing well
C: Our team is better than the German one (.) we are also in the land of the
Germans (.) I mean, there is enviousness in this sense.
```

The players mentioned that East-Germans envy their success in football. *BAK*'s players present their team as a "foreign team" which has more success than the East-German teams. It is the reason why East German players are jealous of the Turkish players and try to provoke them at matches.

In another interview, the group members discussed the same issue and underlined that they mostly

face this kind of provocation from the spectators when they are playing in East Germany. One of the participants added:

A: İşyerinde Doğulu insanlarla birlikte çalıştığım için onlara da söylüyorum, sizin orda yabancılara karşı bir tepki var, maçlarda çok oluyor çünkü, fazla tepki doğu bölgede oluşuyor. Orda rastlıyoruz, burdaki maçlarda hiç öyle tepki göremiyoruz. Ben görmedim de şimdiye kadar

```
A: Because I work together with "Eastern people" at my workplace, I tell
them too, "there is a reaction to foreigners in your place (in the East), it
often happens at the matches, most of the reactions are in the eastern
regions. We are faced with such things when we are there. We do not see any
reactions like that at the matches that are here. I have not seen such things
until now.
```

This player states that the insults and provocations from the East Berlin spectators are "reactions". He underlines that he has colleagues from East Germany and adds that they face these kinds of "reactions" at their matches in East-Berlin[127] and not in West-Berlin. Turkish players face the problems of discrimination depending on the city-district where they play.

The players in another interview argued with each other on the same issue. In this part, two different player biographies should be taken into consideration. One of the players has been living in Berlin for only five years. He has only played football for *Türkiyemspor.* The other two players were born in Berlin and have been playing football since they were six years old. They have each been playing for approximately fifteen years and have had experiences in various teams in Berlin. They have played mostly in German and Turkish teams, composed of German, Turkish and other players of different immigrant origins. These three players talked about the characteristics of German players.

```
A : En ufak bişey arıyolar yani Türkleri kötüleyebilmek için yani rezil
edebilmek için (2) bu takımda da görülüyor (.) takımda da var yani (2) ne kadar
sıcak dursalar da en ufak şeyde Türklere bastırıyolar yani (.) kötülemeye
çalışıyorlar (2) [...] en ufak şeyde Türkiye şöyle Türkiye böyle (.) Türk
futbolunu kötülüyolar (2) işte diyor Türkiye'de oynanan futbol üçüncü lig gibi
felan saçmalıklardan bahsediyolar
A :             └ yani en ufak şeyde kötülemeye çalışıyolar
I :                        └ Hıhı!
B :                          └ hepsi değil ama yani
A :                            └ çekemiyolar yani çoğu
B :                              └ öyle bişey var
A :                                └ öyle zaten
C : hepsi değil de (.) ben dört sene Hertha'da oynadım (.) baya ilk
zamanlar tabi Ost'dan oyuncular geliyodu (2) Berlin'deki biz Türk
yabancılar yani İranlı olsun (2) ilk önce tabi insan birbirine soğuk
B :                                              └ ya ağbi !
```

---

[127] For a detailed study on west and East German spectators see (Merkel, 1999), in which East Germans are called Ossi by the west Germans. Merkel explains Ossi as a deragotory term for East Germans used by many West German fans to insult opposing players or referees.

```
C : ama sonradan onlar bizi tanıdığında (.) biz onları daha iyi
tanıdığımızda (.) baya benzerlikler oluyor yani fazla da yani şey (2) pek
hani (2) hani duyuyorsun ya dışardan (.) yok Almanlar böyle Türkler
böyle yani önyargılı oluyosun ama sonradan tabi şey (.) görüyosun yani
```

```
A: They seek every little occasion to badmouth the Turks, I mean, they try to
humiliate them (2) you see it inside the team as well (.) I mean,
this exists in the team as well. Although they seem to be warm, they
pressure the Turks on every little occasion (.) they try to badmouth
us (2) [...] on every occasion, they say that Turkey is like this and Turkey is
like that (.) they badmouth Turkish football (2) they tell that the
football played in Turkey is like third league football, such bullshit!
I mean, they try to badmouth the Turks on every occasion
B: But, not all of them
A:      └ they envy
B:         └ yeah, there is something like that
A:                └ it is exactly like that!
C: not all of them (.) I have played at Hertha for four years (.) at first,
there were players coming from the East (2) we, the Turkish foreigners in
Berlin, I mean, or the Iranians, (2) at first, everybody is cold to each other.
B: come on, my brother!
C: But, when they get to know us and when we get to know them better (2) we see
many commonalities, I mean, you hear outside that the Germans are like this and
that, Turks are like this and that, you become prejudiced, but, afterwards
(.) you see it
```

Arda is the player who has been in Germany for five years. He complains that the German players constantly try to slander the Turkish players and Turkish football. This time, the theme of the conflict is different from the ethnically oriented discursive discrimination as discussed previously. Rather, the disagreement centres around the players' performances. However, other players do not share the same ideas with *Arda*. They added that he can not generalise that all German players try to defame the Turks.

Coşkun talked about his experiences in Hertha BSC, one of the most successful teams from Berlin. This team was composed of German players and other players of Turkish and Iranian origin. He believes that it is normal in the initial phase that there is no immediate harmony in a team, before the players know each other. He underlines that neither German nor Turkish players are necessarily influenced by the existing prejudices towards German and Turkish players. After some time, when both groups get to know each other, they notice that they have commonalities. The football team allows them to meet and to recognise each other more closely.

Arda, who has been in Berlin for only five years, did not agree with the others. He claimed that all of the German players, without any exceptions, always condemn Turkish players. He has been living in Berlin for five years. He is relatively new in Germany compared to his teammates, who

were born in Berlin and have always lived there. In this sense, until now he has had fewer common experiences with Germans, so his prejudices are, therefore, affected. In contrast, other Turkish players question existing prejudices due to the time spent with German players, and their accumulated experiences over the years. Therefore, based on their own accumulated experiences with Germans, they can test the severity of these stereotypical representations.

4.4.1. The "Other's" Perception of "Us"

In the same group discussion, the players not only spoke about their own prejudices but also German prejudices as well. The players mentioned the German players' suspiciousness of the Turkish teams, mentioning that Germans question whether they are able to leave a Turkish team whenever they want. Turkish teams are known as "closed communities" as illustrated below:

A: demin dediğimiz futbolla alakalı olarak başkasının takımına dışarı gidebilirler mi?
B: saçma sapan sorular soruyorlar
A: gerçekten de öyle (.) başka yerden gelenler var, burda dışarı çıkabilir miyim bilmem ne?
C: hep yerici sorular hep baskılı sorular böyle yani hep altta kalsın Türkler hep bu şey içerisindeler
I: Hıhı!
B: ama değişiyo ya!
A: abartmayın şimdi (2) arkadaşlarım da var öyle değil yani (2) onlar öyle değil yani çok iyi Alman arkadaşlarım da var yani okul zamanından görüşüyorum onlarla felan ama (2) Ost tarafından gelenler yani pek (2) doğu tarafından gelenler (.) onlar hep önyargılılar çoğu önyargılılar

```
A: as we have just said before, related to football, "Can the players, playing
in Turkish teams, go to another team afterwards?"
B: foolish questions!
A: It's really like that (.) there are players (in our team) who came from other
places (teams), "Can I go out of here (leave the team)?" And so on
C: They have always condemning questions, always to pressure us, so the
Turks always stay at the bottom
B: But, it is changing, man!
A: do not exaggerate now! (2) I have also friends, it is not like that, I mean
(2) they are not like that, I mean, I have (got) very good German friends as
well, we have been seeing each other since we have been at school together, but
(2) the ones coming from the east (told in German) side are, I mean, the ones
coming from the east side (told in Turkish), they all have prejudices, the
most of them have prejudices
```

The German players think that the Turkish clubs are like "closed communities": The Turkish players do not have any chances and possibilities to leave the team. They should stay there for a long time. The Turkish managers and trainers do not let the players go away. This is one of the reasons why the German players do not prefer to play in Turkish teams. They are scared of not

being able to go to another team. This presentation hinders the mutual recognition of both player groups. *Arda* believes that this is only an East-German prejudice. He gives his German school friends as an example, to persuade the others that they do not have to generalise this prejudice to all of the Germans. *Arda* suggests a case where East Germans and the Turkish players play in a team together, letting them overcome their prejudices to each other.

```
C: Doğu takımlarına bakarsanız tek tük
B:                   └ tek tük
C:                       └ belki bir Türk yok yani sadece Alman [...] ama orda çok
                          Türk de yaşamıyor diye anlıyor musun? (.) çok
                          Türk yaşasa orda (.) gider Türk oyuncular oraya
```

```
C: when you look at the east teams, there are one or two
B:                   └ one or two
C:                       └ there are perhaps no Turks playing there, there are
                          only Germans [...] but, the reason is that there are
                          not so many Turks living there, you know (.) if more
                          Turks lived there (.) then Turkish players would go
                          there (to the teams on the east).
```

Most of the Turks are living in West-Berlin and not in the East part. It is rare that they play in the East-German teams. The city district where the football club is, is significant for the players when they chose a team for them to play. Most of them, at least at an early age, play for the *mahalle* team and the "East Germans" do not live in their *mahalle*.

Another important factor in club selection is friendship ties. The players choose or change their teams according to their friends' decisions. They prefer to play in the teams where their friends play. In this sense, their social environment is the main determinant of their choice of a football club. This is a crucial factor which can initiate the social cohesion of East-Germans and Turkish players under a single football team. Nevertheless, this is rarely observed in the empirical study. A single example was a player of Turkish origin playing at FC Marzahn[128] – Marzahn Football Club. The participants added that this case is an exception. He merely plays in an East German team because he works in Marzahn. He has an Imbiss-Bistro there.

Due to this lack of interaction in the common space between the East-Germans and players of Turkish origin, the impact of the stereotypical presentations is relatively high. It means that both groups know each other merely through stereotypical constructions. The participants mentioned that they do not even go to the city-districts in East-Berlin or Brandenburg, the former East German

---

[128]   Marzahn is a city district in the former East-Berlin.

state close to Berlin. Football matches seem to be the main reason to visit "East-Berlin". This shows that the former national border of West and East Berlin has social impacts on the inhabitants of united Berlin. Stölting stated that "although the state borders may be artificially drawn, they become socio-historical phenomena of their own. If they are abolished, as they sometimes are, they leave traces which hardly ever disappear" (Stölting, 2000: 87). The social impact of the former state border dividing Berlin still exists, although the physical border was torn down.

The East German players and spectators are the only groups that the players of Turkish origin meet when they go to the matches. The players presented the spectators as the most problematic, insulting group. The sportive meetings are the social interaction spaces for the participants. Both groups have stereotypes in their minds and they can test its severity during these encounters. As Bourdieu states "[...] one can hardly differentiate between partial expression and stereotype" (Bourdieu, 2000: 96-97)[129]. A player spoke about his experience with an East-German player:

B: şimdi biz de doğu takımlarına çok (.) gittiğimiz için maçlara orda da çok hoş karşılanmıyoruz (.) çok nadirdir bazen oluyor (.) sonra şaşırıyorlar zaten oynadık mı disiplinlice (.) yenelim yenilelim berabere kalalım hiç önemli değil (.) adamlar diyor siz Türkler yani sizlerle Almanca konuşuluyor (.) artık düşünün onlara ne anlatılıyor (.) çok korkunç çok üzücü bir olay yani (.)

```
B: we often go to the east teams (.) we are not welcomed there so much (.) it is
really rare (.) perhaps sometimes (we are welcomed well) (.) they become
surprised when we play in a disciplined way (.) it is not important whether we
win or lose (.) the guys tell us, one can speak in German with you (.) then you
can imagine what has been told to them (about us) (.) I mean, it is really
terrible, it is really sad
```

In this part, the stereotype is implicitly indicated once again: "Turkish footballers play aggressively". This participant stated that when they play in a disciplined way, which is contrary to the stereotypical presentation, then a social contact is initiated between the East-Berliners and Turkish players. Therefore, if there is unexpected behaviour on the field, then there is the possibility to disprove the existing image of the "other", i.e. the stereotype. An interaction based on stereotypical behaviours seems to be only broken down with unexpected behaviours of the "other".

The score is not so important in these displeasing matches. As mentioned in another interview, the only aim is to have a "fair-play" without any arguments and punishments. The player above

---

[129] The original citation from the German edition (Bourdieu, 2000: 96-97) is: „[...], dass man oft nur schwerlich zwischen partiellem Ausdruck und Stereotyp unterscheiden kann".

observed that East-Berliners may discard the negative connotation of the typology "Turkish players" when they play a "fair play". Following the surprising, i.e. unexpected, "fair play" on the field, the German player wonders that the Turkish player can speak German. As opposed to this positive impression of the East-German regarding the player of Turkish origin, he, the Turkish player was disappointed when he heard what the East-German told him, which was meant as a compliment by the East German. With a completely contrary outcome, the Turkish player was frustrated that the "other" thinks that "he cannot speak German".

Although it is a disquieting situation for the Turkish player, it is, in fact, the beginning of a reciprocal communication from the East-German's side. For him, the imaginary relation based on stereotypes diminishes after this phase. His prejudice is broken down after the unanticipated behaviour by the "other"". The articulated images constructing a stereotype are questioned and the person who questions can come up with two different individual levels of analysis: the dis-stereotyped action can at first be interpreted as an exception, or the individual can begin to question his existing preconception of that particular stereotype. The individual's face to face interactions with the stereotyped "other" and anti-stereotypical behaviours of the "other" will help to dismantle the accumulated stereotyped image.

Bourdieu describes a *stereotype* as "a discourse which settles on the half way between fiction and experience, i.e. between the constructed and the chance" (Bourdieu, 2000: 97)[130]. The frequency of encounters raises the possibility of social confrontations where both groups may investigate the labels that they stereotype others with. Football matches offer this opportunity for just ninety minutes of time. The case above proves the collapse of a prejudice in this short period. The stereotypes are, in fact, concretely constructed typologies built through individuals' everyday life experiences. Regardless of the negative or positive aspects of a prejudice, the analysis of its *sedimentation* (Schutz, 1975)[131] can be reconstructed based on the social relation presented above.

The stereotype, "Turks do not speak German", is an "experiencing activity" of the individual. Until now, the image of Turks by this group of German players is what Schütz conceptualises as an *indirect we relationship* (Schutz, 1975: 222). The face to face contact of the players carries this indirect relation to a direct one. Lippmann claims that "our stereotyped world must not necessarily

---

[130] Original citation from the German edition of Bourdieu (2000) is: „[...] ein Diskurs, der sich auf halbem Wege zwischen Fiktion und Erfahrung, zwischen dem Konstruierten und dem Zufälligen ansiedelt [...]" (Bourdieu, 2000: 97).

[131] Refer p. 20 for a profound definition of the term *sedimentation*.

be the world, which we wishfully have. It is simply the world of our expectations." (Lippmann, [1922] 1980:12). Lippmann implies that the stereotypical constructions include social anticipations. This means that the sedimented negative stereotype image hinders the social interaction. The individual has already been persuaded that his prejudice is accurate. Allport claims that prejudices have two components: *Einstellung* - orientation and *Überzeugung* - persuasion (Allport, 1954). The *Überzeugung* - persuasion that "the Turks can not speak German" is abruptly transformed when the German players experience a behaviour that is contrary to the pre-existing prejudices about the "other". If he expresses his astonishment, the "other" notices that he has a strongly negative prejudice against him although it is at that moment broken on the East-German's side. He states that he had simply had another typification in his mind about the Turks. The German player merely repeated the stereotype in his mind without any intention of maligning the "other" one. The German player, in fact, tends to praise his opponent in a way. However, at that moment the Turkish man realises "exactly" what the German player has previously thought of him and other Turks in general. In this case, the Turkish player is negatively surprised that the German has always had prejudices against individuals of his origin.

This is the *paradox of a social relation beginning with a retrospective judgement*. In fact, both of the groups already have stereotypical constructions of the "other" in their minds. In the case above, the German player falsifies his prejudices through his own experience. Contrarily, the Turkish player proves his self-representation in the "other"'s mind (refer to Chapter 2). Both players are surprised; the German one is positively and the Turkish one is negatively surprised in a situation that is not expected by either of them. The German amends his image of the Turks but the moment that he shares it with the Turk, the Turk has not only proved his *black box model* but also made it worse.

In the case above, there is a double and an antagonistic *meaning* interpreted by the dialogue partners. One aims to praise the "other" and the "other" perceives it as contempt towards him. Schütz explains the understanding of the "other" in his conceptualisation of *Äquivokation - equivocation* (Schütz, 1974) and underlines that constitution of the "self" and the "other" is based on a reciprocal process (Ibid: 149). As discussed above, the *sedimentation* of knowledge or experiences in case of the perception of the "other" has a more elaborate structure which Schütz explains from the perspective of the "self" as "[The self] builds its perceptions on polythetical synthesis which he recalls from a monothetic perspective. He arranges them in a complete entity

and describes them with a single word"[132] (Schütz, 1994:152). This focused explanation illustrates the background of the picture of the "other" in one's *consciousness*. The *Äquivokation - equivocation* between "I" and "you" and their mutual presentations will now be discussed based on the empirical data taken from a group discussion.

4.4.2. The Reconstruction of Self-Presentation by the "Other"

General prejudices and stereotypical construction of the "other" for both Germans and Turkish players were observed on the football field. Another social phenomenon is mentioned in a group discussion, which further analyses the overall presentation of the Turkish football players.

Hoca[133]: [...] das gibt von allerdings in unsere Schachtel, Hürtürkel ist die erste (.) wir sind die zweite (.) ich denke mal, dass das nicht gut gesehen wird, dass zwei türkische Mannschaften in einer Schachtel hoch kommen (.) das will doch kein (3) Verband will (2), nicht, dass viele türkische Mannschaften Erfolg haben wollen, sie auch nicht (.) es ist doch logisch, wenn man anders umdenkt (.) in der Türkei @was weiß ich@ FC Augsburg oder so spielt, da was weiß ich, wo man in einer Schachtel spielt einmal in der dritte Liga
I: Wird es das gleiche werden?
Hoca: Ja, natürlich

```
Hoca: [...] there is, by the way, in our (league) cluster, Hürtürkel is the
first (.) we are the second (.) I think, it isn't be appreciated that two
Turkish teams succeed and have a higher rank in the same cluster (.) nobody
wants it (3) the football association does not want (2) that too many Turkish
teams have success, they, too, do not (.) it is, of course, obvious, if one
thinks the opposite way, @I don't know, like, @ FC Augsburg or so played in
Turkey, there, I don't know, when one once plays in the same cluster together,
in the third league (4)
I: Will it be the same?
Hoca: Yeah! of course
```

This part of the group discussion shows that the players of Turkish origin present themselves as members of a minority group. The *hoca* mentioned that even *der Verband* – the Football Federation does not want two Turkish teams to be the best teams in the same league. He exchanges the place of Germans and Turks and considers once again if the Turks would do the same thing the Germans are doing; meaning envy the Germans when the German teams in Turkey achieved high success. *"Es ist logisch"* - it is obvious for him that nobody (Germans) wants two Turkish teams in a single league

---

[132] The original citation in German is: "[Das Selbst] formt seine Wahrnehmungen in polythetisch aufbauenden Synthesen, auf die er in einer monothetischen Blickwendung zurücksieht und ordnet diese seine zu einer Einheit geformten Erlebnisserien in den Gesamtzusammenhang seiner Erfahrung ein, wobei er sie mit einem bestimmten Wort bezeichnet." (Schütz, 1994:152)
[133] This part of the group discussion was in German.

to succeed".

In this perception pattern, even if a minority group in another contextual and spatial social environment becomes the majority in society, it will treat the existing minority group in the same way that it was previously being treated before it became the majority[134]. In our case, football teams of majority and minority populations are represented as antagonistic groups. The success of the minority is *naturally* envied and not appreciated. The *hoca* and the other group members interpret this social situation in a naturalistic perspective as well. In this orientation, the major groups should always get to be the best in society. This point of view is accepted by the minority groups as well. It is a typical social grouping pattern where the groups recognise the pre-constructed social boundaries. The power of the majority is reflected in the everyday life discourse in the presentation of the self and the other in the social environment. As Bourdieu states that "the power of annexation constitutes the habitus as an *esse in futuro*, as the permanent principle of lasting occupation" (Bourdieu, 2001b: 301)[135]i.e. in other words, the power of the majority over the minority is, in this context, naturally accepted in interpreting the competitive patterns in the social space of football. The existence of this power is not only practised further in the future, *esso in futuro*, as Bourdieu ascertains, but also its implicit effects are perceived as an absolute pattern of relations between the majority and the minority. This micro-level constellation, including the self-presentation and the perception of the "other", is in conformance with *Elias' figuration theory* (Elias, 2009) and especially *the established and the outsider figuration* (Elias and Scotson, 1994) where status and power are the main elements of discussion and at a macro-level, it can be interpreted as *Kausalität des Wahrscheinlichen* conceptualised by Bourdieu as "by trend, the adaptation of one's aspirations with the chances that one has is the most powerful factor for the perpetuation of social order […] the implicated i.e. unconditionally subjugation under the dominant group is an unquestioned consent"[136] (Bourdieu, 2001b: 297).

In the enviousness form discussed above, the phenomenon of "being envied by the majority"

---

[134] This resembles Bogdal's postulate, where he reconstructs the worker typologies from the perspective of the higher social class. In the citation above, the social phenomenon is almost identical to that discussed in Bogdal's re-constructive study. According to him, the *naturalist writers* define subjectively constructed "boundaries of thinking patterns" where it is not "imaginable" that a woman of middle class marries a man of working class. This example is taken here as a paradigmatic staging of the middle class and worker class relations. (see Bogdal, 1978).

[135] Original citation in German edition is: „Die Macht des Einverleibungsprozesses konstituiert den Habitus als ein *esse in futuro,* als dauerhaftes Prinzip andauernder Besetzungen [...]" (Bourdieu, 2001b: 301).

[136] The original citation in German is: "die tendenziell die Anpassung der Hoffnungen an die Chancen begünstigt, ist gewiß einer der mächtigsten Faktoren bei der Aufrechterhaltung der sozialen Ordnung. [...] die implizierte bedingungslose Unterwerfung der Beherrschten unter die bestehende Ordnung, eine fraglose Zustimmung" (Bourdieu, 2001b: 297).

actually promotes the minority position of the Turkish football teams. This perspective proves that the minority groups are seen as "disadvantaged" and their "actual success" is more valued than the majority group. Actual success here refers to a certain amount of achievement which is valued differently from majority groups. For instance, being the leader of the league as an immigrant team is perceived as a bigger achievement than it would be for a German team.

If the minority group takes the perspective of the majority group, which is the case above, they will perceive the minority's success as more valuable as well. This *naturalistic perception pattern* may generate a perception pattern, where the football players of Turkish origin may exaggerate their "actual success" generating an obstacle for their further success in football. This is identical to the social phenomenon of "high importance of the matches with Turkish teams".

Here, a different competition category emerges to that of the location-based classifications established by the football federation. This category is based on ethnicity. It is a double-sided social mechanism. The majority groups see the success of a Turkish team as extraordinary because they perceive them as a disadvantaged group. Simultaneously, the minority group recognises and accepts this social situation. It is true that these players have Turkish origins; however, it is a constructed prediction that there is ethnic competition in football. The measure of success in football is the collective performance of a team and has no relation to the ethnic origins of the players.

4.4.3. Self-Presentation in Criticism

"German clubs have already been institutionalised i.e they have an established organisation and division of labour in the club. They have a regulated system of relations in the club. They implement plans for their teams which are particularly significant in football." is a positive stereotype generated in this social field for the typical "German clubs". In an interview, a player said that "Turks have daily plans and Germans have annual plans". *Ziya Hoca* explained the time-conceptualisation of the Turkish players as illustrated below:

Z: Bizim Türklerde hedef yok, hani günlük hedefler var, hani şurayı yapayım da yeter. Böyle olmaması lazım, bugün yaptığının yarın daha iyisini yapmaya çalışacaksın, yarın onu yaptıysan, yeni bir hedef çizeceksin kendine, bizde yok. Bizde diyorsun mesela, yarın şunu yapacağım diyorsun, yarın onu yaptın mı dünü düşünüyorsun, „yarın bunu yapcam demiştim tamam" yaptım bitti. Hani benim için o gün bitti, hedef bitti, ama hedefin normalde bitmemesi lazım, hele futbolda hiç bitmez, futbolda her zaman bir hedef vardır. Birinci ligde ol, birinci ligden şampiyonlar ligini al, yine bir hedef vardır yani, her zaman yeni bir hedef

vardır. Futbolda o var, biz bunu öğrenemedik daha. Günlük işimiz, böyle 6-3 maçı kazanalım dünyalar bizim. Bitti, şimdi bizim futbolcuların kafasında gelecek pazar ilk golü yiyene kadar uyanmazlar, daha bu 6-3'de kafaları kalır. Uyuruz, yani o zamana kadar yani bunun hayaliyle yaşarız.

Z: our Turks have no goals, I mean, there are goals, I mean, "when I do this and that", it is enough. It should not be like that, one should try to do better the next day, (additionally to) what one accomplished today, when you do it, then you should choose another goal for yourself, there is nothing like that with us. With us, one says, for example, "I will do this tomorrow", when you do it on the next day, you think of the day before (the previous day), "I said I'd do this tomorrow, and I've done it" then it is finished. I mean, that day is over for me, the goal is done, but, normally, goals should not come to an end. And, in football, they never come to an end. There is always a goal in football. If you are in the first league, then (try to) become the first, and after that win the champions league cup, again (even then) there is always a goal. There is this (principle) in football, we have not learned this yet. Our daily work is, if we win a match with a score of 6-3, we are up in the clouds. It is over, look, our players have this in mind, till they concede the first goal against them, they won't wake up, they keep that 6-3 in their minds. We sleep (day-dreaming), I mean, we live in this dream till that moment.

Goals and their time frames are discussed in the excerpt above and the *hoca* concludes that Turks do not have long term goals. He also includes himself in the group and admits that they have not yet "learned" to have long term plans. He gives the example of a match that the team had won and mentions that the impact of the triumph on the players *would* prevail for almost a week and only end when the team concedes a goal against them. It is only then that they will realise the danger of losing the game. In the other interviews, this phenomenon was also observed. It is one of the major problems in Turkish teams. They plan for the short-term and mostly do not implement long term goals.

On the other hand, Germans are known for their football philosophy of "Nach dem Spiel ist vor dem Spiel – After the match is before the match". In this perception pattern, the social impact of the victory is set aside and preserved and the players set new objectives for the next match. On the other hand, Turkish players refer to the former victory and motivate themselves with the emotional side of this triumph. In comparison to the German teams, a victory impacts the Turkish players for a much longer period.

It is obvious that both the *hoca* and the players train and prepare themselves for the next match after a victory, but, here the analysis is on the affective aspect of the sportive preparation. The importance of each match is the motivating factor here. The element of chance in football is relatively strong and the affective motivation of the players plays a significant role in the team's success. The *hoca* explained that "the players sleep with the happiness of the former match". The elating effect of the

former match, in this sense, is not used to promote long term plans, but is utilised until the players face a defeat.

On the other hand, German players are attentive to the next match and make plans for the following week. It implicitly means that they forget the former victory, or that they preserve the feeling of elation for the motivation of their long term goals. In the case of the Turkish players, this motivation through the feeling of elation is crushed at their next defeat. This is a crucial perception difference.

The elating effect of the victory is preserved in different perception frames. One of them is relatively short: for a single week or some more weeks until a team is defeated. The other is longer: until the end of the football season. The emotions prior, during and after the match can be identical for the players in both teams. Nevertheless, continuous focus on a previous match, or an incident within a match, can negate the ability to prepare emotionally for the next step. This retrospective self-evaluation mechanism has negative effects on plans for a progressive success pattern in football. Here, both groups are playing at the same level, therefore showing that this thinking pattern is not simply a difference in amateur versus professional football teams. This typical behaviour includes spontaneous emotional fluctuations. It is not only victory, but also defeat which has the same long term effect on the players. In football teams, this is carried to the group level and affects the relations among the players.

This common retrospective analysis is a type of permanent self-judgement. In the case of a triumph in the previous match, the reflexive effect of this thinking pattern generates a retrospective rise in the player's self-esteem. The development of this common attribute in the group induces a collective awareness of self-esteem. The consequence is the motivation it gives the players for the next match. In this sense, the common feelings experienced in the field endure when the match has ended. A manager explains this type of perception in football as being peculiar to the Turkish players. He described this common attribute in his own words: "It is like a shooting star, the trace of the star remains, although the star is out of sight", implying that the emotional impacts of the experiences on the football field disperse outside the field and are also preserved after the match.

The permanence of the affective impact of a victory or a defeat depends on the implicit discrepancy in the time conceptualisation of the two groups. Although the football match finishes, both the subjective and the collective traces of the emotional fluctuations during the match remain. Time itself can be interpreted according to two perception patterns, which Henri Bergson conceptualises

as *durée* and *homogenous time* (Schutz, 1975). "Living within a space and time" refers to the *homogenous time* told by our watches. The *durée* is the time that passes during the stream of experiencing (Schutz, 1975: 60). The termination of *durée* is realised, is become aware of, when the players experience a dramatic affective alteration, such as conceding a goal. This is a sort of breakdown in the stream of experiencing, where *durée* intersects with the *homogeneous time*. The team then realise that they have lost the affective impacts of their former victory. Schütz describes this moment:

> I cannot become aware of growing older while I am still immersed in the stream. As long as my whole and consciousness remains temporally uni-directional and irreversible, I am older or of any difference between present and past. (Schutz, 1975: 62)

The *homogeneous time* is realised when it terminates. In a game such as football, the homogeneous time is the major determinant of the game result. When the player lives in his *durée* instead of the *homogenous time* "he wakes up from sleeping, when he receives a goal". This striking instant stuns the team players. They realise that they have limited time left to re-gain their "winner title". After they have conceded the goal, the players, initially, try to determine the causes of this failure. It is each player's simultaneous analysis of the group performance which starts to deteriorate the collective cohesion of the team during the continuous flow of the match. When this happens, the *ağbis*, the elder brothers, are the role players re-coordinating the team's players. This phase of football is played based on affective social relations. Football is not a team game like basketball, where the trainer has the right to stop the game and have a short break to give the players spontaneous technical tactics. In football, the *homogeneous time* runs as the ball runs.

Another attribute typical of the Turkish players is that "they do not play a team game and only want to score goals themselves". The players, too, accept this generalisation and present themselves as "single players". In contrast, it is expected that the players play collectively as a team. This is a sign of discipline in football. Every player has a place on the field and a task to accomplish. Defenders or midfielders should fulfill their responsibilities and play in a certain position on the football pitch. Theoretically, the game is practised in this way.

Turkish players are known as "offensive players". They want to play in a position on the field where they are able to score goals. In order to interpret the social consequences of scoring a goal, two social spaces have to be taken into consideration. One is the team itself and the other is the spectators. The social prestige inside the team and outside the team differs from each other. Within

the team, each player has a role to accomplish, and defending against the opponent is seen as being just as important as scoring a goal. However, the significance of scoring a goal is higher outside the field. It is assumed in popular culture that the spectators, meaning not only those in the stands, but also those who observe from a secondary source, such as media channels, place more value on the player who scores the goal. Turkish players, in this sense, strive to be popular in the football market, which is presented as a significant *exogenous social factor* (Douglas, 1975) having major consequences on the playing styles.

The collective playing principle of football contradicts with its display (Stone in: Dunning and Sheard, 2005) peculiarity. Stone illustrates that sport has two social aspects: display and play. He states:

> All sport is affected by the antinomial principles of play and display. [...] it seems to us, is not simply a question of the presence or absence of spectators or, where the latter are present, of the interaction between them and the players, but, more importantly, of the values of the participant groups and, more importantly still, of the patterns of interdependency among them. It is not, of course a question of interdependence simply between players and spectators but among all the personnel involved, e.g. players, spectators, managers, coaches, trainers, club officials, representatives of sports associations, pressmen, the police etc. (*Gregory P. Stone cited in:* Dunning and Sheard, (2005: 10).

As an addition to the social actors of display presented by Stone, the acquaintances and friends in the "small village" represent some other role-players in this social constellation. It seems that it is the social prestige in the "small village" that the Turkish players desire to achieve.

The participant group of players were not the professional players and did not play in higher leagues. Nevertheless, some of them felt the traces of becoming prominent in a wider environment while they were playing against the semi-professional teams in Berlin who have masses of spectators. For instance, a player stated in a group discussion that they feel themselves special and prominent when they play against BFC Dynamo who has thousands of fans, although generally stereotyped as East-Germans who have xenophobic tendencies, coming to watch their matches. Even though these spectators are not their own, the Turkish players also take part in the enthusiasm generated in the football stadium. The players share the common euphoria there. This experience represents a symbolic simulation of a part of "professional football life" having high significance for the player.

5. Football Players' Prospective Career Plans

5.1. The Significance of Football in Everyday Life: Living with football

Football is both a local and a global game. The effect of the media, the fan groups at the local, national or even at the global level, as well as the collective identities generated through football, are some of the factors creating the widespread interest in football (see Lanfranchi, 2002). Football presents itself as though it always generates an opportunity for a professional career. The football world is full of affirmations and excitements. The dream of "becoming a professional player some day" is always the ultimate desire of every player.

Football is a part of life of the young players of Turkish origin in Berlin. They begin to play in a team at six years old and they continue to play until their thirties. Training twice a week and the regular weekly matches occupy a relatively high amount of time, where the player is physically involved in football. For the rest of their leisure time, after school or work, the day is mostly filled with watching matches, talking about the performance of other players in their favourite teams. They follow the weekly matches both in the German and Turkish leagues. Qualification matches, such as those for the UEFA Cup, the Champions League, the European or World Cup are some other events for which the players come together, to feel and share the *collective effervescence* (Durkheim, 1981) in the social sphere of football. Football creates social spaces for affective fluctuations during the matches. The significant of football is that it *makes routine* and *ritualises* these *collective effervescence* moments. The weekly matches and the derbies or qualification matches for cups are the moments where the football players and the fans breathe together and feel the same strong emotions together. Football generates a *ritualised common experience of shared time and space* for the fans both in the medial and factual sense.

The amateur players have professional life plans as well. They, too, have professional desires and ambitions and they move towards these goals through their educational path selections. The amount of success, in football life or in educational attainment, is the major decisive factor affecting a player's future choice of an occupation. There are simply two main options which the player may choose for his future: to learn a profession in institutions such as school, *Berufschule,* or university, i.e. with a certified *cultural capital*, or to choose the professional football career, i.e. with talent and

his own performance-oriented capabilities, or entrepreneurship[137]. This means that the player is between actual life and the "desired life of the professional football player". The success in the team, being the best and better than the others, and its appreciation in the social environment slowly pulls the young player into the magical sphere of professional football.

A player who went to Beşiktaş Football Club in Istanbul described the facilities there with his wide opened eyes. He was so impressed by the football fields, restaurants, swimming pools and whirlpools in the club that he felt himself just like in "a dream". The large white leather armchairs in the club's meeting hall appeared to him like the prime minister's armchair.

Another player who went to Antalya-Turkey for a sports camp said that "he could smell the professional life there". During their football camps they meet the players whom they normally watch on television. These professional players, too, watch the matches played by the amateurs. Sometimes they play against them in the trainings; this would be a fabulous compliment for them that they will never forget. When they are praised by the professionals with a couple of words, it is adequate for a young player to believe in the idea of "becoming professional one day". The successful player feels himself closer to the professional after the sports camps. The overwhelming attractiveness of "becoming a football star" can, in some cases, lead the player to re-evaluate his own capability, broadening the amateur player's, i.e. local hero's, perspective on his football career. The camps are the temporary social spaces where the player re-evaluates his talent, capability and performance. He re-positions himself in the competitive world of football and re-defines himself with comparison to the other players. The perspective and self-identification are revised after this mutual experience exchange space. The compliments of the professional players and trainers play a primordial role for the *local hero* in re-forming his football career. Football camps in Turkey are like a theatre stage for the standing candidates for fame.

Becoming a professional player can be, in some cases, abrupt and not in a step by step progression. Due to the social environment created by football, young players can imagine moving directly up to a professional league. Through the social capital generated in this social environment and social networks among clubs in different city-districts and cities or even countries, the career path for a *local hero* may be broadened and the chances and opportunities may become numerous. The *local hero* has a strong *social capital* behind his back. This *social capital* is sometimes even bigger than his talent and the performance that he showed on the field. The *social capital* generates a widening institutional infrastructure for the *local hero* to imagine that he will *become a star* soon. The *social*

---

[137] In an interview, a player stated that he works in his father's firm in the car-trade sector.

capital, in this sense, symbolises a *concealed power* for the professional player candidate. The *social capital* initiated in a social space making a player a "local hero" carries him to the other social spaces where he would become a "global hero". *The locality generates a sociological energy* (Simmel, 1992). In this constellation, the individual's talent and performance are reflected by the collective *social capital* and the *social capital* has a trans-spatial effect providing the player with social mobility carrying the "hero" from the local to a global sphere.

Bourdieu and Passeron explain the youth's future anticipations and determine that young individuals' experiences are an *illusion of equal chances* in imagining their prospective professional lives (Bourdieu and Passeron, 1971). However, for some players, the chances and hope of becoming a professional player seem to be greater, more realisable and certain than a formal profession that is taught at an educational institution. The interest, *illusio* (Bourdieu, 1990)*,* is so high in football, which increases the young players' anticipation, *lusions* (Ibid.), to become a professional player. The future anticipation of equal chances of becoming professional are not *illusions* in the case of football. The players do have equal chances. In football it is not the *cultural capital* which is inherited by the following generations, but the *social capital* surrounding the player's talent and performance i.e. his *corporal capital,* that generates equal chances for the professional player candidate. Only the *corporal capital* augmented with the *social capital* makes the *illusion*s come true.

An Impact of Medial Football: Abrupt Decisions in Football Life
On the other hand, players do not have so much time or they have only limited time to prepare themselves for becoming a professional football player. The life cycle of the profession "football player" is relatively short in comparison to other occupations. The professional life starts at the age of eighteen or twenty and ends when players reach their thirties. In total, it is a profession lasting no longer than fifteen years. The players have to give their best to become professional which leads them to make rushed decisions on their future.

Teams are classified according to age groups, from teams for six year olds to teams for eighteen year olds, up to the point when the footballer begins to play for the first men's team in a club. The classification in the first men's team is based on the players' performances, without regard to their age differences. The first team is the highest level that the player can reach in a club. The selection process for this team is tough. Not only the challenging qualification-period spent in the team among teammates, but also the arrival of newcomers from other teams makes the young player

doubt his own competitiveness. It is the most crucial phase in the football life of a player. The player's self-preparation and the expectations of the others in the social environment exert a social pressure on the young candidate. This period is the final point of everything that he invested for football. He has played football his whole football life, in fact, merely for this moment.

5.2. Football Knowledge as Cultural Capital

A group discussion is held with the players of a semi-professional club, BAK 07 - Berlin Ankaraspor, where they tell about how they generally interpret football in Berlin. The aim is to reconstruct the common perception of football and its relevance for the group members. The participants initially divide football into two types: street football and club football. Street football is simply categorised as a game played by "children on the streets". The players talked about their childhood when they played football on the streets.

```
B : Mahalle´de toplanırdık haftasonu olsun (.) oynardık yani beşe beş (.) dörde
    dört öyle maçlar da yapıyorduk
A :                    └ adam olmadığı zaman zevkine oynanıyor yani
B : Zevkine oynuyorduk yani
A : Bazen baklavasına (.) kola´sına yani
C : Okuldan sonra biz (.) hep oynardık
B : Fenerliler Galatasaraylılara karşı felan
C : Güzel olan bişey
A : Futbolun da hoşluğu bu yani (.) çekişme de olacak yani


A : We got together to play football in our mahalle on the weekends (.) we had
    teams of five or four
A :              └ we played for fun
B : for fun
A : we sometimes played for baklava (.) or for coke
C : we always played after school
B : the Fener fans played against the Galatasaray¹³⁸ fans and so on
C : it was so good
A : it is what is nice in football (.) there should be some rivalry, man!
```

Football in the mahalle is interpreted by the participants as a street game. It is for fun. The teams scuffle with each other. They transpire together; sometimes they become excited, sometimes they get angry. They play for "cola" and occasionally for "baklava" in the most challenging matches. They identify themselves with their favourite team and run like their role-model football stars. When the sun sets, the game is over and they go home for dinner.

On the other hand, playing football in a club is perceived as a disciplined way of learning football.

---

[138] Two of the most successful football teams in Turkey.

The following citation reveals that football clubs are commonly perceived as the only institutions where football can be taught and learned:

```
C : [...] zaten herşey orda başlıyor (.) orda futbol öğreniyorsun (.)
gelişebilirsen zaten ordan gelişiyorsun (.) başka yerde futbolculuk okunmuyor.


C : [...] football begins in the youth teams in football clubs (.) one learns
football there (2) if you can develop your skills, then it is at the football
club (.) one can not learn football other than in football clubs.
```

The interpretation of institutional football as the only true avenue of learning distinguishes football in a club from that on the streets. The club is seen as an institution where young players build up a kind of self-distinction through their acquisition of football knowledge. The football club is perceived as the institution for learning both the theory and the practice of football, something which street football obviously fails to deliver.

This assessment then signifies that learning football in an institution is commonly seen as a long term process, and being a football player is equated with a profession that has to be apprenticed and learned. This learning process begins in childhood. Most of the interviewed players began to play football in a club at the age of five or six. This age is commonly represented as a constructed expectation, i.e. normality, by participants and trainers likewise, who ascertain that individuals should begin football in their childhood.

The theoretical and practical learning of football and the accumulation of collective experiences in a football club allow for usage of the collected knowledge as *cultural capital* (Bourdieu and Passeron, 1971), which is interpreted by the participants as a means to form their future career.

Bourdieu and Passeron's conceptualization of cultural capital is mainly "the educational capital achieved in institutions" (Ibid.). In general cultural capital is accumulated with the forms of knowledge, skills, education, and advantages that a person has, which give him/her a higher status in society (Bourdieu, 1983). Bourdieu and Passeron conceptualised *cultural capital* in three types as the *embodied, objectified* and *institutionalised cultural capital* (Bourdieu and Passeron, 1971).

Regardless of the embodied cultural capital consisting of both the acquired and the passively parentally inherited properties of one's self[139] and the objectified cultural capital referring to the physical objects that are owned by the individual and the symbols of his/her cultural capital, the *institutionalised cultural capital* is the most relevant type of cultural capital that is applicable in the analysis of the football knowledge achieved. Cultural capital consists of "institutional recognition, most often in the form of (academic) credentials or qualifications, of the cultural capital held by an individual" (Ibid.).

Here, the football clubs serve as the institutions generating cultural capital of football knowledge for the players while the medallions and cups won correspond to the professional achievements such as academic certificates.

5.3. The Symbolic Capital of Football

The participants have also classified the different teams in Berlin according to their "reputation in the football environment", i.e. their *symbolic capital.* The consequences of this heritage as symbolic capital on the biographical football background of the players are expressed in the excerpt below:

```
A: ben Alman takımından geldim ya
D: ben Alman takımlarında oynadım (.) tek A Jugend'da Türkiyemspor'da oynadım
(.) Türkiyemspor'dan da Yeşilyurt'a gittim (.) Yeşilyurt'tan da buraya geldim
(4)
C: @ zaten Almanya'da yaşıyoruz @ Almanya'da da altyapı şeyleri takımları
Alman takımları oluyor genellikle (3) bi Türkiyemspor vardı eskiden (.)
onların altyapısı çok iyiydi (2) onların harici zaten Tasmania (.) Füchse
olsun TeBe olsun (.) bi de Hertha (.) bu dört takım altyapı kuruyordu yani
(2) genellikle çoğu futbolcular o altyapılardan geliyor (.) Füchse olsun
TeBe olsun
D :      └ Tasmania
C :         └ Tasmania


A: I came from a German team, man!
D: I have played in German teams (.) I played in Türkiyemspor only in the A
youth (told in German) team (.) I went (was transferred) from Türkiyemspor to
Yeşilyurt (.) and I came here from Yeşilyurt (4)
C: @ we are already living in Germany@ the teams with youth programs are usually
the German ones (3) there was once only Türkiyemspor (.) they had a really good
youth program (2) other than that, Tasmania (.) Füchse, TeBe (.) and also
Hertha (.) I mean, these four clubs formed youth programs (2) most of the
players come from these youth programs (.) Füchse and TeBe
D:                                                       └ Tasmania
C:                                                          └ Tasmania
```

---

[139] In some cases, we can talk about the *embodied cultural capital* for this research where the football players' fathers have the expectancy that their sons will become a football player one day. It is even observed that a former professional football player in his forties returns actively to engage in football as a trainer with the aim of preparing his eight-year-old son for becoming a professional player in the future.

Not only these players, but almost all the players of Turkish origin in this study played in various German and Turkish teams. They begin at German clubs. "The football infrastructure in Berlin" refers to the German clubs which have several teams for every age group of players.

A player describes the football in Berlin as below:

```
A : altyapı çok iyi yani (.) Berlin'de Almanya'nın en iyi alt yapısı bence
Berlin'de yani çok iyi çok takım var bi de Berlin'de oynanan futbol yani
gençlerin oynadığı futbol hiç bir batı takımında veya başka bir yerde yok (.)
sert, kuvvet, vücuda dayalı hiç bir yerde böyle futbol oynanmıyor (.) Berlin'de
çünkü vücuda dayanık futbol çok oynanıyor yani güç de çok önemli
```

```
A : the football infrastructure is very good in Berlin (.) I think the best
infrastructure in Germany is in Berlin (.) there are many teams in Berlin and
the football played in Berlin is distinct and it does not exist in the West or
elsewhere (.) it is rough and based on the strong performance of the players (.)
this means that being tough in Berlin is very important (.)
```

The football infrastructure in Berlin is presented by the participants as a particular privilege for them. The term "football infrastructure" means the presence of football teams for children and young players in a club and not only the football stadiums. In general, football clubs are composed of several teams appropriate for different age groups. Berlin is presented as a city with many football clubs with youth teams playing football well[140]. Youth teams in this common perception pattern signify continual football learning and practising for the players. As it has been mentioned previously, learning and practising football is perceived as a long term process and the youth teams are therefore seen as the social gatherings to acquire football knowledge.

---

[140] The clubs which are in semi-professional leagues try to form youth and children teams in order to join their first men's team in the future. A typical amateur football club has only a single team for the first men's team. It is their squad. Next to the main team, it is observed that almost all of the Turkish clubs also have senior teams. These teams are for the older players where they get together to spend their leisure time. Most of the players in senior teams are former players who gave up playing when they got older.

In an ordinary team, the older players are usually replaced with the young ones after a certain time. The physical performance of the players is significant for the permanent success of the teams. This is the expected circulation of the players in football teams which can be termed as the *rejuvenation phase* of a team. Only with this circulation, can clubs survive and achieve success in football. This generates the opportunity for the youth to be a part of different groups and collect experiences in several social spaces around football. This peculiarity of football allows young players to share a competitive social environment with the other players whom they do not know before. Otherwise, the football clubs, especially in amateur leagues, are the meeting points for the youth in a certain city district where the players have known each other since their childhood. Being transferred to another team, in this sense, expands their acquaintance, i.e. friendship, circle and implicitly their *social capital*, too (see Seippel, 2006). This represents one of the most important features of football allowing the mutual social integration of youth groups into each other who are from different milieus.

Most Turkish football clubs are composed of only one team and do not have groups for children and young players except the teams in higher leagues.

"Türkiyemspor is the best known Kreuzberg team founded by migrants of Turkish origin" said the manager, Fikret Ceylan, who for many years has contributed to the efforts made to bring Türkiyemspor to the successful and prominent position that it has today. *Türkiyemspor* was the first famous migrant football club not only in Berlin, but also in the whole of Germany and even in Europe. In the 1990s, they were at their peak, winning the DFB Pokal - German Football Association Cup in Berlin and the regions around it. In those years, the club was only composed of a few teams. Now, *Türkiyemspor* has several children and youth teams and has become one of the well-structured football institutions in Berlin.

Among the Turkish football clubs, playing at *Türkiyemspor,* has two meanings for the players of Turkish origin. One is to achieve *symbolic capital* (Bourdieu, 1983) of prestige in football by inheriting the successful history of the club. The other one is being part of a well-organised club of which there are not too many among the amateur and semi-professional teams[141]. Playing for *Türkiyemspor* means that the players both in the club and outside the club have better chances of continuing their football lives. The players have the possibility to be promoted to higher teams within the club body and they have always the symbolic capital of being a part of a prominent club which makes them become celebrated in the social environment of football in Berlin.

The players often move from one club to another in the highly competitive semi-professional leagues as compared to the amateur ones. The young professional football player candidates feel ambivalent when considering the infinite number of better prospective opportunities in various teams and the scepticism of permanent adaptation requisite to new teams or in some cases the fear of becoming a player without a team. An organised club generates a serene social environment and

---

[141] The fluent management of a football club is what is meant by the phrase "organised club". Staying well organised and sharing work among volunteers is one of the major problems of amateur clubs. The members, who are mostly close friends, often fail to accomplish their duties at certain times. Missing the deadline for the payment of a sanction caused by, for instance, a red card, can cost the club some amount of money. The cumulative value of such fines may rise to high amounts that the clubs cannot afford to pay. *Türkiyemspor* is an organised football club which is managed ordinarily. The meaning of playing in such a club means for a player that he is mostly paid regularly without any delays. Almost all of the football clubs founded by migrants of Turkish origin are managed based on the voluntarism of friends and acquaintances in the club. The relations in this social environment are completely informal and based on friendship ties. However, the club as an institution has to be managed ordinarily and the work for each person has to be delegated. This means the duties have to be organised. If, for example, they miss some deadlines and forget to deliver some official papers to the federation on time, they will be fined to pay certain amounts of money. This is the major problem of Turkish clubs who try to organise the things for the club in an informal way where some friends forget to do what they have to accomplish for the club. This organisational paradox based on the voluntary sharing of work at the club cause some extra-costs for an amateur football club which faces financial difficulties in its struggle to survive. Clubs become, in most cases, incapable of paying their players. This is a major conflict in most of the Turkish football clubs in Berlin, (Refer to Chapter 5 for a more close observation of player payments at clubs).

renders an assured social space for the young players.

Having more than one team in a football club is a matter of investment. It is only recently that Turkish clubs have begun to invest in their football infrastructure. The clubs have started to build up a kind of football school where the players can get promoted to higher teams as they get older. There is also competition among the players in the club to be selected to more successful teams. In this intragroup competition, some players succeed in being promoted to a higher team in their club with the ultimate aim of moving on to "the first team" some day. With regards to their football education opportunities and progression, the participants think of the German clubs as being superior to the Turkish clubs. The above stated German clubs and also *Türkiyemspor* are perceived as the established organisations in Berlin offering technical football knowledge to their players.

Cultural capital and the *symbolic capital*, meaning the football knowledge of a player and where he has achieved this cultural capital, are a privilege when he is being evaluated in the football environment. The collective interpretation of football in Turkey and in Germany is mainly based on the different football infrastructures of both countries. The significance of football learning and the football infrastructure were clearly expressed by group members. The difference is caused by the insufficient number of football fields, i.e. football clubs, in Turkey where children and young players can learn football as mentioned in an interview with a BFV - Berlin Football Federation member. In comparison to Germany, children in Turkey have fewer opportunities to start playing football in an institution, i.e. a football club, such as it is the case in Berlin. The excerpt below concentrates on the differences of football learning in Turkey and in Germany.

In a group discussion, the difference in learning football in both countries is further discussed. The quoted part below is about a player who came to Berlin from Turkey a few years ago. The excerpt explains his integration phase to the *Berlin-Wedding* team - *Hürriyet-Burgund:*

```
E : Coşkun bizim aramıza yeni katıldı (.) futbolu takımda oynamamış
C : Türkiye'den geldim ben (.) yedi seneden beri burdayım ben yani
    Almanya'da
F : Antepspor'da oynuyodu @(2)@
C : Direkt olaraktan yani altyapı olaraktan hiç yok (.) eğitimi yani futbol
    eğitimi olarak hiç yok ama (.) istek arzu var ondan sonra (.) azim var onun
    için
F : Belli oluyo da maçta da belli oluyo @(3)@
E : İstekli yapıyo bence Erol'un en büyük özelliği hem mücadele olarak en çok
    mücadel- bi de takıma uyum sağlama açısından (.) antrenman kaçırmaz (.) geç
    kalmaz, o yönden takımda örnek kişilerden birisi futbola biraz sonradan
```

```
    başladı ama ilk senesiyle kıyaslarsak baya bi ilerleme de var yani


A : Coskun has recently joined us(.)he has not played in a football club till
    now
I :                            └ Hmmh!
E : I came from Turkey (.) I have been in Germany for seven years
F : He was playing for Antepspor before he came to Germany @(2)@
E : I do not have any football background (.) I did not have a football
    education(.) but I have the desire to play and I have a high
    motivation that is because-
F :                      └ his motivation is remarkable in the matches
A : Coskun plays with high motivation (.) his most important characteristic is
    his continuous struggle (.) he is totally integrated in the team (.) he
    participates in every training (.) he is never late for training (.) he
    is in this respect a role-model in the team (.) he began to play football a
    little bit late but he has improved himself a lot compared to the way he
    was last year
```

Coşkun (C) started relatively late with football. Due to this he had difficulties integrating into the team at the beginning. *Erdal Hoca* (E) mentioned that *Coşkun* had not played in a team for a long time before he came to *Hürriyet-Burgund.* The other players in *Hürriyet-Burgund*, expected him to have started football at the age of five or six, which, as it has been mentioned before, is part of the common normality for the Berlin football players. A late start is interpreted as a lack of football knowledge i.e. lack of *cultural capital. Coşkun* himself accepts his lack of knowledge by saying that he compensated his insufficiency with his high motivation and discipline, which the others in the team are aware of as well. They notice his progress in football and his rapid integration into the team, not in the technical sense but through his physical performance and psychological motivation, which compensate for his technical insufficiency.

This example illustrates a double-sided compensation mechanism in a football team. Only through parallel individual peculiarities such as disciplined participation in trainings and a high motivation and orientation to play successful football, can the lack of cultural capital be compensated. Otherwise, the cultural capital is the most significant factor determining the a player's status in the football environment. The second category is where, i.e. in which institution, this cultural capital has been acquired. This institutional level of marking provides players with the cultural capital they can utilise when they present themselves in the football market.

In this evaluation, the country level is important if the cultural capital is compared with the cultural capital acquired in another country. *Antepspor* is a well known club with several teams in different leagues and *Hürriyet-Burgund* is a football club performing in the sixth league in Germany. However, the renowned and well-established high level of German football knowledge leads the

players in Berlin to assess their new team friend's cultural capital as being less than their football knowledge and they do not even bother with seriously comparing each other. *Coşkun* himself is persuaded of his lack of football education as well.

5.4. Career Phases until Adulthood

The window for turning professional is rather short and players have to prove themselves in their early twenties, showing that they are the adequate candidates for turning professional. Due to this high competition with its effect of social pressure on the young player, players who are not selected for the first men's team leave their club in order to qualify somewhere else. The player moves to a team where he can be promoted, as in the case below:

```
C:[...] şimdi ben dört yıl Hertha BSC'de oynadım (.) B-Jugend'da iki sene
oynadım, C-Jugend'da iki sene oynadım (.) A-Jugend'a almadılar beni nedense
almadılar beni belki Türklüğümden mi (.) artık futbol oynayışımdan mı
artık bilmiyorum (5) işte orda mecbur kaldım geçmeye (.) sonra Tasmania'ya
geçtim. Iki sene A-Jugend'da oynadım (2) ordada kalabilirdim yani Männer (told
in German)larda top oynayabilirdim ama onlar işte beşinci ligde oynuyor (2)
ben de dördüncü ligde başlama- devam etmek istedim işte futbol oynamayı (.)
Füchse'ye geçtim (.) Füchse'den yolumuz buraya geldi (4)
```

```
C: [...] I played for Hertha BSC for four years (.) two years in the B-youth
team and two years in the C-youth team (.) they didn't select me for the A-youth
team, I don't know the reason. Perhaps because of my Turkishness, or due to my
playing performance, I don't know (5) I was obliged to move at that time (.)
then I moved to Tasmania. I played in the A-youth there (2) I could have stayed
there, I mean, I could have played football for the first men's team, but
they were playing in the fifth league. (2) I wanted to start - continue - at the
fourth league, so I moved to Füchse (.) and after Füchse I find myself here (4).
```

Cemal left his club, Hertha BSC, when he could not qualify from the youth team (B-youth team for players up to sixteen years old) to the A-youth team (for players in the age group up to eighteen). He was not sure about the reason why he was not selected. Initially, he was suspicious, not being sure whether he had been discriminated against, or whether it was due to his performance being insufficient to continue onto the first men's team. The suspicion of "being discriminated against" is not interpreted primordially and has almost no effect on the career decisions of the player of migrant origin compared to the doubt of having an *inadequate corporal capital.* These two parallel suspicions are not disregarded but are swept under the rug, into the individual's *consciousness*. It means that the latent awareness of "having a deprived social status" does not create an obstacle for the young professional player candidate. He pragmatically changed to another German club –

Tasmania and played there for the following two years. As he felt that he would not or he could not rapidly qualify to an advanced league, he once again pragmatically moved to *Reinickendorfer Füchse* in order to be promoted to an upper league there. Now, he is eighteen years old and plays for *BAK 07*.

5.4.1. Moving to Turkish Clubs in Berlin

It is not exactly clear whether there is discrimination within German clubs against players of Turkish origin. *Arif hoca,* who is a sports science and social pedagogy graduate, states in his interview that:

> A: yani kaliteli Türk futbolcuları Alman takımlarında oynuyor[.] oynasınlar Alman takımlarında oynamalarına karşı değilim ama devamı zor oluyor birinci takıma çıktıklarında Türk gençleri zor yer buluyor […] bu her zaman söylediğim gibi çift taraflıdır bizim gençlerden de kaynaklanıyordur.

> A: I mean, the best Turkish football players play in the German teams (.) I am not against them playing there, but it is rather difficult for them to continue. When the Turkish young players come to the age of playing in the first men's team, they hardly find spots there (in German teams). This can be two-sided, as I always state, this can be caused, too, by our (Turkish) young players.

Arif hoca thinks that the players of Turkish origin above eighteen mostly cannot find spot in German teams. This passage in time is highly significant in the players' football careers. It is the first phase in becoming professional. They want to be selected for the first team when they are eighteen. This orientation is based on the players' subjectively evaluated *corporal capital*. The trainer decides which player will qualify. As the empirical results prove, the players become completely frustrated if they are not selected. The experienced *Bahri hoca* explains how a disqualified player of Turkish origin feels:

> B: bizim oyuncunun A-Jugend'dan ayrıldığı zaman dünyası yıkılıyor, "Almanlar düşman" [...] "Almanlar bizimkilerin önünü kesiyorlar", önünü kesecek adam önceden keser.

> B: when our(Turkish) player leaves the A-youth team, his whole world collapses, "The Germans are enemies" [...] "The Germans block our(Turkish young players') career path", if somebody wanted to block Turks' career paths, he would have already done it earlier, I mean, before the youth reached the age to play in the A-youth team.

The player is completely demotivated about his professional career chances when he does not qualify. All his hopes collapse. All his dreams are shattered. He has no more expectations in this club. He can not stand to stay there anymore and leaves the club immediately. The frustrated footballer thinks that "Germans are enemies and they block "their" career path". He feels

discriminated against and sceptical about his future in Germany. The already-swept-under-the-rug suspiciousness of "being deprived" as in *Cemal*'s case come to his mind once again. He believes that he would not have a chance to qualify in Germany. Through this casual constellation in mind, the reason of his disqualification is explained. The frustrated player thinks that although he has the adequate *corporal capital*, he has not been selected for the first team. He strongly believes that he was discriminated against due to his ethnic origin.

The important point here is the immediate development of a substitution mechanism for the future. Keeping in mind the "life philosophy" proposed by Neckel as imposing a permanent effort to achieve success (Neckel, 2008), the player of Turkish origin seeks his future in social spaces that he recognises or where he is recognised as "a professional football player candidate". As opposed to the situation in case of the Algerian sub-proletarians in Bourdieu's field research (Bourdieu, 2000) showing a completely *hopeless outlook*[142], the players of Turkish origin recover from such an outlook immediately within the social spaces formed by fellows of their origin.

Bahri hoca does not agree with the suspicion of discrimination against Turkish players by the Germans. He interprets this orientation as "a prejudice against the German clubs". He stated further:

```
B: Ama Alman oyuncu Regionalliga'ya gidiyor, sonra tekrar dolaylı olarak girmeye
   çalışıyor profiye, ama Türk genç Türk kulüplerine gidiyor ve hayatını
   bitiriyor.

B: But the German player goes to the Regional League, then he tries once again
   to become professional, but the Turkish young player goes to the Turkish
   clubs and destroys his football life completely.
```

This excerpt illustrates that although both players are disqualified in an identical way, the rejection is perceived differently by German players compared to those of Turkish origin. German players do not seem to be so demotivated by their lack of success. They try to become professional by creating alternative paths for themselves and re-start playing in lower leagues once again. It is a kind of re-motivation, i.e. a *revitalisation mechanism*. In other words, the German player interprets the failure in football as being independent of his *corporal capital*. The failure is merely the outcome of his *corporal capital* but not the *corporal capital* itself according to the German player. This discrepancy in the perception of the German and the player of Turkish origin have reflections on the players' career decisions. The German player distances himself from his failure and he is confident of his *corporal capital*. The *confident status* of the German player as opposed to the *suspicious*

---

[142] A citation from the empirical data collected by Bourdieu in his research with the participants of Algerian Sub-Proletariat is "Ich hoffe nichts, für mich gibt es nur Schaufel und Spitzhacke." (Bourdieu, 2000: 90).

153

status of the player of Turkish origin determines which path the player chooses to follow for his prospective football life.

According to the player of Turkish origin, "being disqualified" means "being deprived". The failure is completely personalised and it is perceived as being synonymous with the player's fate. The *corporal capital* is darkened under the shadow of the *ethnic origin* drawing the young player of Turkish origin to despondency. The *embodied corporal capital* loses its relevance, i.e. the self-respect of the player of migrant origin melts under the sizzling hot effect of the *discursive discrimination* based on ethnic origin. The ethnic origin, i.e. an example for an unchangeable identity, is perceived as being superior to the relatively improvable *corporal capital.* In this constellation, even if the player embodies an advanced and a competitive *corporal capital*, he will not succeed in Germany due to his fixed identity of ethnic origin. Turkish players, in general, perceive this failure as a dramatic fall in their football career and do not try to obtain their goal in the same way as the Germans do.

In this context, the ethnic origin leads the players to have a tendency of acting more emotionally. The player of Turkish origin does not evaluate his failure like the German one, he identifies himself with his subjectively highly evaluated *corporal capital,* stemming from his "local hero" status, and feel himself deprived due to his ethnic origin. This perception initially leads the individual to generalise this belief converting it into a "prejudice". It means that this ascertainment is used as an *artefact evidence* for legitimising the individual's following reaction. The sensibility generated through "the ethnic origin" firstly de-motivates the *delikanlı* and then leads him to think and act pragmatically, prompting him to use his *social capital based on the common shared ethnic origin*.

5.4.2. Professional Football Career in Turkey

The empirical results show that the Turkish clubs in Berlin are seen by these players as organisations providing the players with professional career opportunities in Turkey. Most of the young players who are not selected for the first men's team move to the Turkish clubs in Berlin to be transferred to the professional clubs in Turkey. Ultimately, this movement will create an *alternative career path* for the *delikanlı*s not in Germany but in the "homeland". The main reason for this movement is to abruptly become professional. This is called *Blitzkarriere* in German– a lightning career.

154

Football clubs managed by members of Turkish origin have relatively close relations with some clubs in Turkey. The players expect that they have more of a chance of becoming professional if they play in a Turkish club. Additionally, the technical level of "German football" is appreciated in Turkey and the players from Berlin embody this *cultural capital*. A football player playing in the fourth league in Germany, can potentially be transferred to second or even to first league clubs in Turkey. This opportunity is overwhelmingly attractive for the *delikanlı*s.

In other words, the player becomes *frustrated* before even trying once again to integrate into the professional football system in Germany on the one hand, and *fascinated* by the professional football life in the "homeland" on the other hand. The *phenotypical characteristics* (Portes and Sensenbrenner, 1993) or cultural characteristics of the majority population generate prejudices against immigrant groups and augment the in-group solidarity based on the common ethnic identity. Some participants present the German clubs as excluding the Turkish players. Due to this reason, they move to clubs where they find individuals with their common ethnic identity.

5.4.2.1. Between Frustration and Fascination

Giving up his aspirations to succeed in Germany makes the *delikanlı* despondent. However, switching to another path generates high motivation and fascination for the player. This new start includes many affirmative expectations. Popp mentions that "[...] an individual constantly makes lasting changes to himself and his actions, according to the conditions of his social environment."[143] (Popp, 1994:18). The reason for a path change, when it is based on a stereotypical construction, e.g. "Germans block the career paths of Turks", is a kind of self-justification for the prospective decisions of the *delikanlı*.

The major spatial change in the football career from Germany to Turkey seems to provide two major benefits for the professional player candidates. One is the striking career opportunity and the other is the confidence of playing in a fellowship atmosphere with other *delikanlı*s and *ağbi*s from the "homeland". This awareness of confidence leaves no room for suspicion of being excluded due to a difference in the origin of players.

On the other hand, the manager, *Harun ağbi*, who has been a professional player both in Germany

---

[143] Author's own translation. The original citation in German is: "[...] ein Individuum entwirft sich und sein Handeln ständig und in fortwährender Modifikation unter den Gegebenheiten seiner sozialen Umwelt." (Popp, 1994:18)

and Turkey, criticises the *delikanlı*'s future plans. An excerpt from his interview is included below to reconstruct the typification of a "Turkish player".

H: [...] Burda da (Almanya'da) çok zor yani, benim dönemimden sonra baya çıkış oldu da (3) bizdeki hata, bizde sabır yok! Allaha şükür bende vardı. Ama şimdiki gençleri görüyorum. "Ağbi, hoca beni oynatmıyor, ben kulübü değiştirmek istiyorum. "Babası da oğluna destek oluyor, "tamam, bu hoca kötü hoca, bu hoca niye oynatmıyor?", böyle sorunlar oluyor, ne oluyor? Çocuk kulübü değiştiriyor, çoçuğu bir iki sene sonra en aşağılarda görüyorsun. "Ne oldu?", "İşte ağbi böyle oldu, böyle oldu", O yüzden yani aileler- ben olsam karışmam.

H: [...] I mean, it is really hard here (in Germany), after my transfer period, there have been some more transfers, but (3) our failure is that we do not have patience! I had patience, thank God. However, I see the young players today, they say "*Ağbi*, *hoca* does not allow me to play, I want to change my club." His father supports his son, "okay, this *hoca* is a bad *hoca*, why doesn't he allow my son to play?". There are conflicts such as these (2) then, what happens? That kid moves to another club, then you see him after a couple of years, playing at the bottom. (When I ask) "What happened?", "*Ağbi*, this and that happened", because of this, the families should not (2) - I would not interrupt my sons' future decisions, if I were a father.

Harun ağbi, who is a former professional player, claims above that the Turkish players do not have so much patience for their football careers. Even if they are selected and qualify to play in professional teams, they do not accept having to wait on the sidelines as a substitute player. The players complain about their *hoca*s, saying that they do not let them to play in the matches. They immediately want to change their club and move to another.

In the excerpt above, *Harun ağbi* underlines the fathers' influences on their sons' selection of a club. They mostly agree with their sons' demands without questioning the complaints of their sons about the German clubs. Popp mentions that "an individual projects and shapes his actions permanently and progressively according to the conditions of his social environment" (Popp, 1994: 19[144]). It means not only the individual, but also the opportunities in his social environment are, too, the determinant factors influencing the prospective decisions of a young player striving to become *a football star* in the near future.

Harun ağbi thinks that the families are engaged intensively in their sons' football careers. He, as an experienced professional football player, believes that *impatient players* cannot achieve sustainable success in their football careers. They get relegated to the lower leagues due to their relatively short stay in a single team.

---

[144] The original citation in German is: „[...] ein Individuum entwirft sich und sein Handeln ständig und in fortwährender Modifikation unter den Gegebenheiten seiner sozialen Umwelt." (Popp, 1994: 18).

Although the players at this group are above eighteen years old and have already become adults, their fathers influence their sons' prospective decisions. It is the same case when the players are transferred to clubs in Turkey. *Harun ağbi* states that they talk mostly to the fathers, and not to the players themselves, during the transfer period. This depends on the intrafamilial father-son relationship. The excerpt above shows that the fathers, too, demand their sons' immediate success. The fathers believe that their sons immediately achieve a *Blitzkarriere.* In this sense, the major criterion in club selection is whether a club opens up a professional football career for the *delikanlı*s or not. The time played in a team and the player's age are the main factors determining the future career of a player. That is why the player and his father cannot "waste time" in a single club. He cannot get older in that team which cannot secure him a professional future life. In this sense, both the father and the son believe that shifting to another team gives him another chance to move further upwards. The father supports his son in the highly competitive environment of football and reinforces his decision to select the club which gives him more opportunity.

The future is, in fact, uncertain and cannot exactly be presumed. Bourdieu postulates that the *future* is "*a doubled uncertain spot* both from the side of the world, *a parte obiecti*" (Bourdieu, 2001b:302), by which he refers to the social environment, "and from the side of the actor, *a parte subiecti*" (Ibid.)*,* meaning the individual himself. The father and his social environment are the major trustees for the *delikanlı*. The *consensual solidarity* (Bloss, 1997), a strong intrafamilial mutual trust relation, solves this *double uncertainty.*

Becoming a professional football player has to be interpreted in a category that is different from a typical career alternative for the young individual. In this sense, this *desired occupation* is not a planned target in life or a part of the "life span" of a football player of Turkish origin. The immediate transfers discussed above demonstrate that the players cannot exactly predict if they will become professionals one day or not. They give their best and preserve intensely their *desire*. In case the career path is "blocked" or "thought to be blocked" in Germany, they think of using their chance in Turkey. They try to apply and practice their *embodied cultural capital* constituted by the German football knowledge, in the mono-ethnic social sphere. At first, they prefer to play in Turkish clubs in Berlin where they can also be appreciated with their prominence in the local football environment. In this sense, the Turkish clubs in Berlin have a *trampoline effect* i.e. the main reason to move to a Turkish team is to be transferred to the professional leagues in Turkey, in other words, to jump into the upper leagues. The local *bonding social capital* (Putnam, 2002) bounces to

a transnational but a mono-ethnic social space.

A player states, in an interview, that "a hundred players want to become a professional football player, but only one of them can succeed". It is evident that the probability of becoming a professional player is low. However, the player's local achievements and his high admiration within the family and the core social environment encourage him to believe that the realisation of reaching the "dream profession", and therefore the "dream life", is within his grasp.

In this prospective decision phase, the *social capital*, as the generator of mutual solidarity relations, negatively influences the patience as well as the *affirmative motivation* of the *delikanlı*s. The young player undergoes some affective fluctuations between frustration and fascination. He is also aware of his possessive social capital which assures him the desired prospective life. The notion of patience is directly related to time. The player has to rapidly decide for his future in the highly competitive football world. He has only time until his twenties to have a chance to build his desired career.

In this constellation, the *patience* of the *delikanlı* represents a correlation between the variable *time* and the *self-positioning*. The individual of migrant origin has to position himself in the competitive structure of football between his *ethnic origin* and the *social mobility opportunities* carrying him to the professional leagues.

During the field study, I once observed that the father of a *Türkiyemspor* player came to the team manager and told him that he has decided to send his son to Turkey. The father's demand that his son "plays in Turkey" includes a striking career anticipation through which his son abruptly advances from the fifth league club in Germany to a second league team in the *Heimat*. The manager, *Fikret ağbi* states afterwards that "some fathers think that their sons play like Maradona"; they "over-estimate" their sons' performances (see Bourdieu, 2000: 90)[145].

The expectations for the future in the football social space include both individual and collective wills which seem to be realisable for the players and their parents. Football generates a particular success mechanism. Prediction of the bodily capacity of the player at an individual level and the overall performance of a team at a collective level is nearly incalculable in the football context. The

---

[145] See Bourdieu (2000: 90) for his explanation of the liaison between the belonging patterns of social class, social status, material existence requirements and their direct impacts on the constitution of individuals' prospective orientations and aspirations.

mutual compensation mechanism of a collective game hides the individual failures. This particularity makes the collectivity prior to the individuality, i.e. the more collective the game is, the more superior it will be evaluated as. The common social space of collectivity around football stimulates the individual anticipations for the future, and the permanent competition both in the intra- and inter-team spheres motivates the players for an optimistic future. *The horizon of the future* can be relatively defined, e.g. the *near future* is perceived as the following competition arena, i.e. the next football match, and the *further future* is composed of the accumulated performances in the experiential space of football. The significant motive here is the never-ending generation of the success mechanism in sport reproducing individual expectancies for a football career. This is the soul of sportive gatherings. Until now, this social constellation around football has served as a circle of opportunity and anticipation for the player. It is *the initial driving constituent* in sportive gatherings. The talent and performance, i.e. *corporal capital* as previously conceptualised, has a clear explicit affect on the long-term success in football.

Besides this *expectancy attitude* surrounding football, i.e. *the initial driving constituent,* the reflection of the *social capital* in a migratory context forms another component of mutual solidarity among the fellows. The initial driving constituent is formed not only within the family and the *mahalle*, the *social field* having expectations from the *local heros*, the acquaintances and friends are perceived and presented as members of an extended family who give a hand to the "Maradonas". The solidarity mechanism in the migrant football environment is described by the participants in the case of Turkish football clubs. *Erdal Hoca* underlined the significant social function of the Turkish clubs and stated that "players of Turkish origin can always find a place in the Turkish fellow club if they could not place themselves in teams in upper leagues". This belief gives the *delikanlı*s a sort of clarity in mind which has an effect that has been described as *die Wärme des Gemütes - ein Abstraktionskraft* (Simmel, 1992:68) by Simmel. This perception is shared by the prominent manager of Türkiyemspor, *Fikret ağbi*. He defines their club survival mechanism in his statement: "We pick up the players who fail to find places in the upper leagues and we offer them a space for their future career". This fellowship mechanism in the social functions of a migrant club form *the second constituent,* i.e. an institutional one, of opportunities for the *delikanlı*s in addition to the initial layer of social support generated in his *milieu*. This particularity fits, too, the previously introduced attribute of the *trampoline effect* of the Turkish football clubs in Berlin. In this case, due to the *trampoline effect*, the *delikanlıs,* who have strived to qualify for the upper league but nevertheless have failed to do it, are once again welcomed by the Turkish clubs. The *social capital*, in this sense, generates an *implicit impulse in the delikanlı's prospective decisions*.

159

Simmel explains the interrelations among social groups as they mutually produce *attraction, cohesion and repulsion* (Simmel, 1992). The *delikanlı* experiences cohesion *and an attraction* to his "homeland" in the ethnic social space of football. In this perception, his failure generates a new and better opportunity for the failed *delikanlı* in Berlin. Mannheim (1964) describes *Schicksal - destiny* with the mechanisms of promotion - *Förderung* and burdening - *Hemmung*. The *ethnic label expectancies* generates a *repulsion* in Berlin for the *delikanlı* and contrarily an *attraction* and a *cohesion* for him in the "homeland" through the bi-national networks of relations based on his social capital. The fathers, *ağbis* and *hocas* are the traditional role players building the bridge between Berlin and Turkey.

The success gained through football is the motor of the individual's re-cognition of the homeland. When the individual's success, i.e. his subjective success, is admitted objectively in the social field, the evaluation of success in *the social field* loses its significance. The "unsuccessful" *delikanlı,* i.e. he who could not qualify for the upper teams, was graded as "unsuccessful" in the *delikanlı's mahalle*. If he had qualified, he would have been honoured as the *local hero of the mahalle*. Although that was not the case, the *social space,* which can be described as embodying familial relations in the *mahalle,* support and encourage their youngster. With this psychological motivational reinforcement, a rapid solution is found in his *mahalle*. This option is to move to the "homeland". As mentioned previously, the constellation of "homeland" on the accumulated oral history is re-appealed to in the individual's *consciousness*. It means that in case of a *bottleneck, i.e. constriction* in the "host" land, the "origin" offers an alternative path.

Another constituent of social capital includes the transnational movements of players (refer to Stahl, 2010, 2013). The *social capital* and the fellowship with their impulsive social effects are carried over to ethnic-origin orientations. One of the relevant components of the social identity in a migratory context corresponds to the common ethnic origin. The "homeland" and the relations with the fellows there render a substitutive career path for "Maradonas". In any case, they are seen as the *local heroes* and they expect to have the *corresponding, i.e. celebrated, social status in the "homeland"*. This is the common anticipation pattern expressed by the players and their parents. It is their parents' "homeland" which is reproduced as an *embedded social space* for the young players. In this sense, the *social capital* is more than a *local asset* (Faist, 2000) which Faist explains as "a generalised reciprocity and a diffuse solidarity" (Faist, 2000:172).

Alongside the player's unsustainable career development, due to the movements from a club to another, a transfer to Turkey has some significant effects on the player's social life. For instance, the manager *Fikret ağbi* adds that he knows that "a player, whose father demands to transfer him to a club in Turkey, has a girlfriend in Berlin and when he goes to Turkey, he will always think of her and can not stay so long there". In another interview, a player states that he always chats on Skype with his friends, who went to Turkey the previous year. Friendship and private ties, as the empirical data shows, play a significant role in the players' social (dis-)integration phase in Turkey. Most of the football players who were transferred to Turkey were in their twenties. They were single young boys who have friends, girlfriends and families in Berlin.

The individuals who leave Berlin have anticipations of success. The aim of going to Turkey is to become a "professional football player". They expect to meet players of their own culture, where they can easily feel at home. The fathers are so certain that they send their children to their *homeland,* where their sons will feel familiar in the social environment. For the fathers, the image of the homeland has a *chronotopic structure* (Bachtin, 2008), i.e. *time* and *space* in the *homeland* are staged such as they stay constant in the fathers' imagination. This anticipation is reflected in the son and he feels himself secured under the umbrella of his *social capital*.

The "homeland" is perceived as a *chronotopie* (Ibid.) for these traditional role players, i.e. *fathers and hocas,* who migrated to Germany several decades ago. For the previous generation, the time and place in the homeland are constructed in a *chronotopic form,* i.e. are stabilised at the point of departure from the homeland. Thus the brotherly social relations among the fellows are expected to stay the same in the football environment as well.
The *chronotopic homeland perception* generates a *heterotopie* (Foucault, 2005) for the *delikanlı*. He perceives the "homeland" as a *compensation space* for his football career in this constellation of "homeland" cognition.

This way of understanding space and, respectively, the (re)constitution of ethnicity, have effects on the *delikanlıs*' career plans. The nepotism, in the sense of favouritism by the common ethnic community, generates, at first, a euphoric space for the player of migrant origin who strives to become professional. The euphoria is thrived on by those in the *mahalle*. This is an accumulated social construction and takes place in the *consciousness of a delikanlı*. The "homeland" is traced at a verbal level and it is often remembered in the everyday life of the *delikanlı* of Turkish origin. Like the connotation of the *identity*-generating word "origin", the existence of the "homeland" generates

an accurate life vision for the *delikanlı.*

This perception in the *consciousness* is based on the change of the physical space where success was achieved, i.e. located. Success is perceived here as the hybrid of *cultural capital,* i.e. privileged football knowledge, and *corporal capital,* i.e. individual performance and talent in football. The social space, in other words the *informal milieu,* i.e. *the mahalle,* suggests that the "success" in the "host" country will be carried to the "homeland". The basis of this replacement is established by ethnic networking, in this case, between the player's father and his fellows.

The analysis of the *social capital* through the player's father, in this part, includes a meso-link between the micro and macro level analyses. Faist provides an explanation of *social capital* investigation: "The various dimensions of social capital analysis indicate that it serves as both a resource to people and as one of the devices integrating groups, organisations and symbolic communities. [...] The benefits derived from social capital also function to bridge migratory spaces through flows of persons, ideas, information [...]" (Faist, 2000: 98-99).

The migration type here can be named a *reverse migration*. The third generation migrant does not return but migrates to the first generation's *homeland*. In this sense, a social adaptation phase may be presumed. The father's understanding of his son's career decision is based on a trust mechanism between the manager and the father. The father is confident that the manager of common ethnic origin will do his best for his son. The player believes that the manager acts according to the culturally determined role of the elder brother-*ağbi*. This common perception pattern and these peculiar social roles are based on "an unquestionable compliance and this is one of the preconditions of the emerging Habitus" (Bourdieu, 2001b: 297). Neither the *delikanlı* nor the father even doubt or expect any other behaviour from the manager *ağbi.* The trust is based on the mono-ethnic origin which generates the *trilateral social capital* between the player, his father and the manager-*ağbi.*

In this case, it can be concluded that the migrant background broadens a transnational space for the players of Turkish origin. The relevance of the *delikanlı'*s failure is re-evaluated and *the ethnic perception of football* renders opportunities for the young professional player candidates. *The delikanlı* sees his future clearly or at least tries to make use of his chance of becoming professional in the "homeland - Turkey" with his high motivation and desire, which induces a *pleonexie* (Simmel, 1992) effect in him. This motivation is supported in the *mahalle,* in its highest form where

a *collective effervescence* (Durkheim, 1981) level of collectivity has been reached.

The *captured cultural capital,* i.e. German football knowledge, which is presented as the "world's best football", will be carried to the "homeland". The "unsuccessful" or "discriminated against" player's cultural capital as evaluated in the "host" city is converted into a *portable cultural capital in the delikanlı's mahalle.* The unbeatable cultural capital from Germany gains an extreme significance with the condition of transferring to another place. This is true for the *delikanlı* before he immigrates to the "homeland". In this constellation, "the homeland is the dreamland" for the motivated player from Berlin whose social capital gets him to rapidly decide to continue his life in the "homeland". With this decision, he compensates for the breakdown in his career in the "host" city.

The *delikanlı* from Berlin expects a fast climb to the upper levels of professionalism in the "homeland". His individual motivation turns into a collective motivation and support in the *mahalle*. The "football hero *from Kreuzberg"* is utterly impatient to become a star in the "dreamland".

5.4.2.2. Experiences in the "Homeland" and the Comparisons with Life in Berlin

With this trustful triangle of relations between a player, his father and his fathers' fellows in Turkey, the players look forward to going to Turkey. They prepare themselves and fly to Turkey. Most of them have to stay first in hotel rooms instead of private apartments. Although it seems to be an organised transfer, their first impression in the homeland is not impeccable. The *ağbis*, i.e. the managers, were not really prepared and did not even rent an apartment for the *delikanlı* coming from Berlin. They feel themselves at first fobbed off by the fellow *ağbi*s.

163

A Retrospective Reconstruction of Relations at the Institutional Level:

"Turkish" Negotiations in Berlin

Before continuing to present the experiences of the *delikanlı*s in Turkey, a short overview of financial relations in Turkish football clubs in Berlin will be presented here. The competitive football market in Berlin forces amateur clubs to provide a kind of financial support for their players. In this sense, a professional within amateur, i.e. semi-professional, football is established in Berlin.

The players explained two different kinds of payment contracts: *formal contracts* and *informal verbal promises*. German clubs are typified as the clubs who sign contracts with their players whereas Turkish football clubs merely promise to give their players some premiums at the end of some matches or to make small amounts of irregular payments. The players told about their own experiences in German and Turkish clubs and compared them reciprocally. Firstly, the form of payment in Turkish clubs will be discussed. The citation below is useful for reconstructing the social relation between the players and the members of the executive committee:

```
C: Alman takımlarında kağıt imzalanıyor, sen buraya geldiğinde bir şey
imzaladın mı?
A: Yooo! El sıkıştık oldu bitti
C: Alman takımlarında hep öyle
```

C: A paper (the contract) is signed in German teams, did you sign something when you came here?
A: No! We shook hands then it was over
C: It is always like this (signing a contract) in German teams

This method of verbal contracts, i.e promises, is based completely on the reliance between the players, i.e. *delikanlı*s, and the managers, i.e *ağbi*s. In fact, it is a single-sided trust relation in which the player accepts the promise or the commitment of the *ağbi*s. "Handshaking between the players and the managers" is perceived as a *common ritual*. It replaces the formal contractual agreement and has a symbolic meaning for the players by which they subsequently trust the commitment of the club managers. Once hands have been shaken, the interrelation in the Turkish clubs has reached a level where the players, without the need of demanding any written documents between two parties, accept the informal and unbinding offerings of the team managers. It is interpreted as a *promise of the ağbi*s.

164

This is a subjectively established social relation pattern in the football club generating an objective expectation model particular to Turkish culture. Consequently, the *handshaking*, in this sense, eliminates any doubts on the *promise* given. It is a symbolic representation of *a non-contractual element of a contract* (Durkheim, 1984). The *moral order* rules the relations of confidence in this relationship which is explained by Portes and Sensenbrenner as the *value introjection* type of *social capital* (Portes and Sensenbrenner, 1993)[146].

Based on the previously reconstructed social relations based on age and authority relations in clubs, it can be thought that the *promise* given by the elder members of the club is accustomed to be respected. It is a normal and expected pattern of behaviour. The question now is how this peculiar social relation pattern is reflected in the everyday life praxis of players of Turkish origin. After the *handshaking ritual* (Collins, 2004)[147], the players begin to wait for the time of payment that has been promised. Two examples are cited below in order to show how this social mechanism worked in two different social environments: in Berlin and in Gaziantep/Turkey.

First of all, it should be mentioned that the participants classify the players in Turkish football teams both in Berlin and in Turkey according to their origins: the players of Turkish origin and of other origins. Although it may be expected that having common origins generates a priority for the players of Turkish origin, regarding their financial incomes, being a "foreigner" in Turkish clubs is presented as a more beneficial social status. A part of a group discussion is quoted below in order to reconstruct these kinds of relations in a Turkish football club in Berlin:

```
F: Gidiyoruz kulüp binasina para almaya, zarfı açıyorum içi boş, baktık
yeter dedim ya "enayi değilim", açıyorum zarfı içi boş "sen bizdensin"
yazıyor içinde, yok dedim artık tamam
```

F: We go to the club building to get paid, when I open the envelope, I see that it is empty, I said to myself "it is enough, I am not a fool", when I open the envelope, it is written "you are one of us" in it, I said to myself that it is enough, it is over.

---

[146] Refer to chapter 2 for the detailed definition of these terms.

[147] This common ritual can be given as an example of the *interactional ritual chain* concept developed by Randall Collins (Collins, 2004). Collins developed this theory based on Goffman's *interaction ritual* which he explains as "the theory of situations and dynamics. Second, it puts emphasis in the situation. [...] Third, ritual creates cultural symbols. [...] Interaction ritual theory provides an empirical mechanism for how and when symbols are created, as well as when they dissipate, why they are sometimes full of magnetism for the persons who invoke them, and why sometimes they fade into disrespect or indifference." (Collins, 2004: 32).

Ferit stated that he was classified in his former club as a member of the Turkish community: "*Sen bizdensin:* You are one of us". In this context, cultural relation patterns induce an expectation of tolerance from the players having common origins with the managers. Turkish players, in this sense, are the ones who can tolerate the non-payment or late-payment of their incomes. In this situation, the relation with the "foreign player" in Turkish clubs is based on a *substantive rationality* which is conceptualised by Weber as *some privileges offered to certain groups for their profit* (Weber, [1922] 1947).

On the other hand, the *ağbi*s expect tolerance from their fellow-*delikanlı*s for their *substantive rational* actions. This privileged position of the "foreign" players in Turkish football clubs means for the *delikanlı*s an *antithetical substantive rationality.* The ethnic origin, in this context, embodies the expected tolerance. The commonality of origin generates a high predictability of the "other"'s actions, i.e. the manager is sure that the fellow of common ethnic origin tolerates the income delays more than the player of "foreign" origin. How the player of "foreign" origin will react is not predictable, whereas it can somehow be figured out for the player of common origin. The "foreign" player can display *unpredictable behaviour* (Elias and Dunning, 1986) which can easily end with a probable dropping out of the group.

The way of income delivery is another aspect in this *interaction ritual*. Putting money inside envelopes and giving them to the players is a kind of veiled form of communication initiated by the institution, i.e. the football club, dealing with each player *individually*. The transparency of relations will be veiled as well through this mono-communication pattern. The envelope and its index is significant in stabilising the relations in the club. The "foreign" player does not experience that the "turkish" player does not receive a salary, just as each player does not experience the quantity that the "other players" get in this veiled form of communication which can both be attributed as inter-ethnic and inter-individual. In this way of communication, i.e. giving the message in an envelope, the football club stages itself as an assured institution to all its members leaving no room for suspicious orientations from the players towards the club.

Delivering envelopes is, in this context, can be resembled to a ritual constructed under the club roof. According to Collins, "rituals can focus attention on physical objects, which thereby become emblems of group membership, and reminders of the mood that the ritual practice had concentrated and intensified" (Collins, 2004: 317). In Collins' conceptualisation of the interaction ritual chains,

the physical objects such as the Durkheimian *sacred objects* "steer oneself toward a specific source of emotional energy" (Ibid.). The *emotional energy* and the presumptive *collective effervescence* (Durkheim, 1981) at the end of a collective orientation reach a group level. In this sense, the *ritual* sets up a model of affective togetherness. The sociological paradigm that Collins developed is based on the achievement of, in a way, *transcendental collectivity* through some symbols which assign the content of a ritual. The envelope, in our case, plays the role of a *sacred object* in the Durkheimian sense and frames the content and kind of relationship. The expected, or in other words, the traditional, way of acting from the *delikanlı*'s side is that he tolerates the *concealed antithetic substantive rational orientation* of the *ağbi*s, i.e. managers, in the club when they write in the envelope "you are one of us". The conversion effect of the symbols in Collins' *ritual analysis* is, in the case of the communication in Turkish football clubs, habituated as the legitimisation of the expected tolerance in the implicit traditional manner of the shared ethnic origin. The envelope and the message of "you are one of us" embody the shared meaning for both parties in the football club. The envelope as an object, such as the *sacred object* inducing individuals to an assembled affective orientation, and the message as the symbol of this interaction, have the function of legitimising the communication between the *delikanlı* and the *ağbi*.

However, the *delikanlı*, in the social space of football, re-acts in an *unpredictable* way resembling the Durkheim's *profane* oriented action, tearing up the *sacred* attitudes and says "I am not a fool" and leaves the club of his fellow *ağbi*s.

"German" Negotiations in Berlin:
Institutional Comparison - Professional vs. Fellowship Teams

In another interview, an experienced player who played in several German and Turkish clubs compared the differences between these clubs:

```
H: Alman takımında maaşlar gecikti, adam geldi "özür diliyorum, kağıt
yazın" dedi, "kime önce gerekliyse ona verilecek" dedi (2) adam geldi özür
diledi (2) Türk takımlarına bakıyorsun, vereceği para onun onda biri değil,
adam aylık gelir bazında yani değil de, yan gelir olarak maaş desek, [onu
bile vermiyor] biz gidip paramızı soruyorduk, Alman bize bu değeri biçiyor,
sen niye kendi insanına biçmiyorsun?
```

```
H: In German teams, when the payments are delayed, they apologise for it, the
manager says: "Write on a paper who needs money urgently" he came and apologised
for the late payments, when you think about the Turkish teams, what they give us
is less than a tenth of this amount, this is not like a salary but like a perk,
we were the ones going to the club to ask for our money, the Germans respect us
in such a way, why don't you appreciate your own people like that?
```

Halit pointed out that the players are paid regularly in German football clubs. The ethnic origin of the player and the payment he receives have no relation. Contrarily, the payments were delayed or even canceled in Turkish teams. *Halit* appreciated that the German clubs pay the players and criticised that the Turkish ones do not value their players like the German clubs do.

This case shows that the commonality or difference of ethnic origin do not play any role in financial relations in German clubs. Payments and communication are more transparent.

"Turkish" Negotiations in Turkey

Paralleling this case in Berlin, a player of Turkish origin who was transferred from Berlin to Gaziantep/Turkey told about his experiences in a Turkish football club, as presented below:

```
H: Para geldi mi birinci (ilk) yabancılara verelim,
- "Ayıp, günah, ailesini bırakmış gelmiş",
- "ya ben nerden geliyorum kardeşim, ben de gurbetten geliyorum, benim paramı da
verin ya, benim de ailem var",
- "ya işte sen dayan, sen Türksün",
- "ya kardeşim bana Türk demeyin ya, ben Avrupalıyım, bana Türk demeyin,
Avrupalı değilsem, ben Almanım kardeşim, benim Alman Pass'ım var, ben Almanım,
bana Türk demeyin ya", "Türk" diye diye bizi bu hallere getirdiniz.
- "Yok, işte yabancı", adam parasını alıyor, top da oynamıyor, adam kadroda yok
ya!
```

```
H: when the money has come, they think of giving it first to the foreign
players,
"It is a shame and a sin, not to give him money, he left his family and came
here",[148]
"where did I come from my brother? I also came from abroad, give me my money, I
also have a family",
"You can stand it, you are a Turk",
"Don't call me a "Turk" my friend, I am European, don't call me a Turk, if not
European then I am German my brother, I have a German Passport (Citizenship), I
am German, don't call me a Turk"
This is how you brought us to this (bad) state, always calling us "Turks"
"He is a foreigner bla bla", he takes his money, he does not even play ball, he
is not even in the first team.
```

This player was transferred from a semi-professional club in Berlin to a professional one in Turkey. He had the same problem of payment as the previous player *Harun*. The ones who are "foreigners" in this Turkish team had the priority in payments. It is once again expected from the Turkish players

---

[148] The participant stated the sentences within quotation marks in dialogue form.

that they tolerate that they are not paid. In this case, the player from Berlin does not accept being treated like a Turkish player and uses his German nationality as a medium of representing himself as a German citizen: "I have a German Passport (Citizenship), I am German, do not call me a Turk". This kind of relation shows that tolerance patterns are constructed on the reciprocal cultural recognition in a football team. Identical cultural origins in this respect generate a negative influence on the payments of the players.

As it was observed in the studies of Geertz and Geertz (1975) on the Balinese communities and Portes and Stepick (1993) on the Cubans in Miami, such stories illustrate the *negative impacts of social capital*. As Portes and Sensenbrenner thoroughly summarise the relations based on *social capital* and their impact as "the good things are emerging out of social embeddedness and the bad things are more commonly associated with the behaviour of homo-economicus" (Portes and Sensenbrenner, 1993: 1338). The economic reflections on the social relations, in this case, deteriorate the relations based on the social capital generated through the common ethnic origin.

5.4.2.3. Social Integration in the *Homeland*

The players talk about their experiences in Turkey[149]. Most of them complain that they could not make any friends there. They had difficulties adapting to their "*homeland teams*". The major conflict is that they are not readily accepted by the players in Turkey. During their temporary stays, the *delikanlı*s experience a *preview of social relations* in Turkey which seems to be identical or at least closer to the relations in Berlin. This is the *primary perception* of life in Turkey. The third generation knows "Turkey" from summer holidays, where they mostly visit their relatives there. Otherwise, the players have the opportunity to collect some experiences during their sport camps in Turkey, where they have the possibility to play against the teams there.

Afterwards, when the players begin to play in a team in Turkey, they experience intragroup relations more closely and live within the peculiar social relation patterns particular to a football club. The anticipated social life in the *Heimat,* based on the objectively constructed common cultural relation system, is tested during the players' stay in Turkey. In fact, the player is not suspicious that his actual experiences may differ from the expected ones. The accumulated and inherited perception of life in Turkey based on the shared cultural relation patterns generates the anticipation of certainty of

---

[149] See Nohl (2001) for a comparative case study on the Turkish youth in Turkey and the Turkish youth in Germany.

identical social behaviour patterns.

A *delikanlı* who played in Turkey for a year and then returned to Berlin describes the social relations in a team in Turkey as below:

H: *Biz rahattık Türkiye'de, Almanya'dan beş kişi vardı takımda.*

H: It was easy in Turkey for us. We had five players from Germany in our team.

This excerpt shows that the players from Germany do have social integration problems within their *Heimat* teams. The statement above illustrates that the social solidarity is initiated among the players from Germany, where they differentiate themselves from the domestic population in Turkey. Thus it is observed here that the anticipated cultural relation pattern is not identical to the one experienced in Turkey. The players from Germany begin to form groups among themselves and to distinguish themselves from the Turkish players. As mentioned in other interviews, players from Germany who are alone in a team have such fundamental problems that they doubt whether they will manage to live in Turkey. They can not form any social ties and adapt to the life there. They tend to return to Berlin.

A player mentions the challenges of life in Turkey and proposes a solution. He states that:

C: *Türklerin Almanlardan öğrenmesi lazım. Almanların Brezilyalılara yarattığı ortamı, bize de onların yaratması lazım. Almanlar bu işi çok iyi yapıyor. Türklerin de onlardan öğrenmeleri lazım.*

C: Turks should learn from Germans. They should create a social environment and some facilities particular to German-Turks who come to Turkey to play there. Germans do it really well for the Brazilian football players. Turks should do the same thing that the Germans are doing for the Brazilians.

This excerpt illustrates that the players from Germany can not identify themselves with the Turkish players in Turkey. They compare themselves with the Brazilians, foreign players, in Germany. The player implicitly means that the Turks should learn how they should treat the foreigners. The German-Turks feel like foreigners in Turkey (see Kaya, 2004, Kaya and Kentel, 2005 for a comparison). Firstly, it should be mentioned that both the Brazilian football and German football are appreciated and shown as the best football styles worldwide. The German-Turkish players present themselves as also being in this global category of prominence. Due to their *cultural capital* composed of their superior *football knowledge*, they request to have a peculiar status in Turkey.

170

From the perspective of the player, even the Germans, who play at least as well as the Brazilians, provide particular privileges for the "foreign players" so they feel themselves at home.

According to *Celal*, the Turks in Turkey have to appreciate the globally recognised German cultural capital of football and treat the German-Turks respectfully. In this sense, the players find out that they have the *German-Turkish embeddedness to the social space of German-Turks* when they experience the social life in the *Heimat*. The so-called *ambivalent identity* replaces itself with a concrete *German-Turkish identity*.

The German-Turk football players were not, in fact, *ambivalent concerning their identity*. They saw Turkey as an alternative place for a football career. The young player who was a candidate professional did not hesitate a moment to go to Turkey. He had a well-organised social capital network which enabled him to be transferred to Turkey, i.e. the "dreamland of football stars". Since, he was the *local hero* in his *mahalle,* it was expected by his *ağbi*s, *uncle*s and friends that he further build his career in the "homeland". He enthusiastically moved to Turkey with this *corroborative social environment* from his *mahalle* behind him.

There are not so many players who are transferred to Turkey each year and there are not so many who stay there and fulfill their dreams. They return to Berlin mostly after a couple of months or a football season. One of the crucial reasons for this is that they cannot adopt themselves to the teams in the "homeland". *They are totally disillusioned* when they are not welcomed as fellows from Berlin who have a common ethnic and cultural origin. They are envied by the Turkish players who envy their "world's best football knowledge". *Heros from Berlin* are not treated as local heroes in the "homeland". They miss their buddies, *ağbi*s and *amca*s in Berlin. They miss their *mahalle.* They are not accepted by the Turkish players and they can not integrate into the team there. It is easier for the ones who perchance find a teammate from Germany.

*Delikanlı*s told about their experiences after they come back to Berlin, i.e. after their stay in the "homeland". The *ethnically labelled expectancies* in the migrant context left their place to *intra-ethnic labelled expectancies* in the "homeland". The economic relations in the ethnic network founded on the shared social capital had a perverse impact on the intra-ethnic relations. For instance, the *ağbi*s, i.e. the club managers and presidents, in the homeland expected patience and tolerance from the fellow *delikanlı* for delayed income distribution.

The financial relations in the mono-ethnic social spaces are predominantly informal both in Berlin and in Turkey. The players believe entirely the promises of their *amca*s or *ağbi*s who transferred them. However, it is often the case that they do not receive their salaries on time or even do not receive any for a couple of months. *The social capital demands tolerance of late payment from fellows of common ethnicity.* This is the paradox of social capital and financial relations. This perverse peculiarity of social capital also generates a disadvantaged position for the players from Germany.

In order not to suffer from late payments these players regret "being a Turkish player" (as expressed by a player, see p. 168). *Being a "foreigner" is a privileged status in Turkish football clubs.* They are the ones who get their money on time. The players from Berlin prefer to present themselves as "foreign players" in the "homeland".

In other words, the club managers, *ağbis,* in Turkey expect *altruistic behaviour* from *delikanlı*s. It is the team players of foreign origin who will be paid first. This can be called an *ethnic altruism based on an anticipation generated by the common ethnic origin*. The meaning and the perception of ethnicity, in case of an economic transaction between *amcas, ağbis and delikanlıs*, alters the *altruistic relations* into a *utilitarian form* (refer Weber, [1934] 2006).

After this experience in the "homeland", the *delikanlı* is certain in mind about his orientation of social belonging in the society. He imagined the "homeland" as the "dreamland" and felt, in this sense, a sort of *ambivalent self-positioning* between the "host" and the "homeland of his parents". *Delikanlı* is not a *marginal man* (Park, 1928) at all after his stay in the "homeland".

The alternative path to professional life did turn out as it had been collectively presumed. The *corroborative presumption* was constructed on the notion of belonging to *common ethnicity*. In this sense, the *common ethnicity* generates a *mutual solidarity* mechanically, i.e. without thinking (consideration). In the *imagined community* (Anderson, [1983] 2006), i.e. the "homeland", the players were not recognised as they are in their *mahalle*s. They were not and could not become the *local hero*s there. Even their *cultural capital of German football knowledge* was not recognised and not appreciated. Just the opposite of what had been expected in the *mahalle*. The fellows in the "homeland" did not show the *anticipated mechanical solidarity* (Durkheim, 1961) and the *identical corroborative support* that they used to have in the *mahalle*.

This case shows that *mutual solidarity* is, in fact, developed through common experiences and the

reciprocal well-recognition of individuals in a *shared social space*. It is not inherited such as the *ethnic identity* and having common ethnicity does not satisfy *mutual solidarity*. The social space, in this case, the *mahalle,* brings on the social mechanisms of solidarity. The players from Berlin, after their experiences in the "homeland", re-oriented their *sense of belongingness* from *the common ethnicity* to *the shared social space*.

5.5. "After Football"

In the interviews, we talked about the players' future plans after they give up playing active football. They name two major professions related with football that they imagine pursuing. One is becoming a *hoca* and the other is becoming a manager. A player who was in preparation for becoming a trainer talked about his prospective aims as a *hoca*.

```
K: Ben hocalık yapmak istiyorum, lisansımı da yaptım, ve 1. 2. ligde hoca
arkadaşlarla beraber çalışmak- Hocalığım futbolculuğumdan  daha iyi olacak, ben
futbolcuların problemini anlıyorum, kendim çok hoca değiştirdiğim için, ben çok
sinirlenmem, çalışkanım, planlayıp çalışman lazım. Hoca olursan kimseyi
dinlemeyeceksin, birşey olunca çünkü hemen hocayı kovuyorlar. Hoca olarak çok
prensipli olman lazım.
```

```
K: I want to become a hoca, I have gotten my licence, I would like to work with
colleagues in the first or second leagues. My hocaship-hocalik will be better
than my playership. I changed a lot of hocas, I can understand the players'
problems. I do not get very angry, I am hard-working, I should plan and work.
When you become a hoca, you should never listen to what the others are saying.
If anything bad happens, they fire the hoca first. One should have certain
principles as a hoca.
```

This player has the peculiar attribute of being the team leader. He has played as the team captain in various clubs. He was respected and was accepted as the leader by his team friends. He was exactly an *ağbi*. Being the oldest and having an established authority in the group promoted him to becoming a team leader. This shows the social aspect of management capability in a team. It means that a player's leadership attributes, regardless of his technical capacity, can ensure that he becomes a *hoca* and, therefore continue his football life by combining his theoretical football knowledge capital with his leadership capability. This path of a prospective career, let us say in *passive* football, is constructed on the traditional role of a player. He is promoted in the *mahalle* from his *ağbi* role to the celebrated *hoca* status. It is an acquired social position in the Turkish world of football in Berlin. It is expected in the *mahalle* that the *ağbi*s become *hoca*s one day.

Another alternative career plan is directly related to the player's sociability. A player who knows

173

many people in the football environment can generate some liaisons among the football clubs. These are the players who can become football club managers. In a group discussion, the players talk about their future plans as below:

I: peki ilerde ilerdeki yıllarda, profesyonel olmak mesela, bir yaştan sonra mesela otuzbeş kırk diyelim mesela ondan sonra ne yapmayı düşünüyorsunuz meslek olarak?
A: bence, herkes bence, futbolla ilgilenebilirsek, ben şey olurdum (.) antrenör gibi birşey olurdum yardımcı ya da menejer (.) topla ilgili yani (.) mesela yani bir kaç sene sonra birinci liglerde oynadığında yani çok tanıdığım olur çok şeyim olur (.) o yönden para kazanmak isterim yani (6)
I: sen nasıl düşünüyorsun?
B: ben de aynısı ben de birkaç sene profesyonel futbol oynasam
(2) devam ederim yani bir menejer olarak
A: └ yani şimdi çünkü aaa! bak diyolar ki aaa! birinci
*   liglerde orda burda oynadı (.) bunun tanıdığı vardır bu*
*   tecrübelidir filan*
C: └ tanınmışsın yani ismini yapmışsın
A: tanınmışsın yani her yerde
C: └ her yerde rahat futbolla devam
*   edebilirsin*
A: └ her yerde şansın var yani
*   pozitif şeylerin var*

I: What would you like to do in the future, become a professional player for instance, or when you become thirty-five or forty, what would you think of doing as a profession?
A: I think, everybody, everybody- if we can continue with football, I would become a trainer, an assistant or a manager (.) I mean, these (professions) are related with football. For instance, if you play in the first leagues, you meet a lot of people, you know many people (.) I mean, I would like to earn money in this way (6)
I: What do you think?
B: me too, the same, if I, too, play football as professional (2) I mean, I would continue as a manager
A: └ I mean, it is because, the others say "Aaa! He has played in
    the first leagues and there and everywhere (.) he knows many
    people, he has experience and so on
C: └ I mean, you become a well-known person, you make a name
                for yourself
A: I mean, you are known everywhere
C: └ You can continue easily everywhere related with football
A: I mean, you have the chance everywhere, you have positive things

The players state that the experiences in professional leagues and becoming well known there generate a tremendous social environment for the individuals. Becoming a "manager" is a celebrated future alternative if the player has already been a professional player. Playing in the first league *even for a short time*, such as a couple of years long, is perceived as a sufficient period of time to become prominent. It is interpreted as an "achieved prominence" and the duration loses its significance and it is not important how long he stays a professional. It is an experience that has a life long impact and that is prestigious in the local social environment. The one who becomes

174

professional, becomes "unforgettable" as well.

A player who is transferred to the first league becomes known to the spectators and the people interested in football, but especially gains a high social prestige in his *mahalle* that he left before going to the first league. He is the one who has succeeded and realised the "dream of becoming a professional football player". His friends and acquaintances in his social environment are in wonderment of this "superior position". This is an "incredible success" that one of their friends has achieved. He is not only the *local hero*, but he tears through the borders of locality and succeeds to play for the masses. The *display* feature of football and the medial effect of being watched on televisions augment the social valuation of this over-local achievement. He was a *local hero* and now he is a candidate for becoming the *hero of all* that the friends from his *mahalle* would be proud of. The friends and the acquaintances identify themselves with the success of their *prominent friend*.

Playing as a professional player is perceived as having achieved the ultimate desire in a former local and amateur football player's life trajectory and it secures the highest status in his social environment. In the group discussion above, the players spoke in a conditional form and stated that "if I can play one or two years in the professional leagues, then ..." This imagined future perspective illustrates the player's final target. Evidently, he would try to succeed in the professional leagues, but it is not perceived as a serious ambition both by the player and by his social environment. It is a sort of "brand" that has permanent consequences that the player can benefit from and this status is utilised as an abundant capital for the player's future which is based on the player's *corporal, cultural and social capital* in combination.

If they find the opportunity to play in higher leagues, this success will generate an accomplished capital for the player that he can use in his entire football career, even after his retirement jubilee. Moving away from the "local football niche" would extend the player's social environment. Not only does he now have new social contacts, but he also gains prestige and trust with his new supplementary social capital. This new social environment gives him the possibility to use his contacts after his active football life. He can begin to work as a manager and utilise his social capital in professional leagues to transfer players from the amateur or semi-professional leagues. In other words, he can connect his *mahalle* with *a new milieu* through his capability and he has the power pull his fellows up to the upper leagues. The former acquaintances expect that he can also pull the following generations of footballers up to the professional leagues.

Additionally, the global medial presentation of professional football life expands the individual's prospective imagination of the football player. Appadurai mentions about globalisation and its social impacts on the broadening of imagination in people's minds (Appadurai, 1996). With the social impact of this medial exterior effect, the player identifies himself with his favourite team. The visual recognition of football through media tools, combined with the self-practice of football in everyday life, constitute a perfect combination. The potential and latent opportunities in football and its praxis frames and structures the complete recognition of football by the player. The identification with the favourite team brings forth the perception of *the favourite players* as role models. Additionally, the application of the watched, analysed and digested football in praxis during the match the following day and success in doing it prove that this player himself may become just like his role model. Football allows such a pattern of imagination full of potentialities. In this sense, the players are always hopeful of becoming a professional player some day.

The players are not as interested in the managerial relations in semi-professional leagues. Their goal is to deal in professional player transfers. They implicitly refer to the high monetary income opportunities in the management role in football.

The interviewees above stated two professions: Becoming a *hoca* or a manager, are the main competitive career patterns after being a professional football player. The biographies and the past experiences of the players determine, in fact, their future plans.

6. Dimensions of Social Positioning[150]

This study mainly aimed to investigate the meaning and importance of two major social constitutions, i.e. "having a migration background" and "othering" in a particular social field. The research includes a social reconstructive work. Whereas the *phenomenological approach* and *life-world analysis* are used for the interpretation of retrospective-based constitutions, i.e. "migration background", the *everyday life perception patterns* are interpreted via *Goffman's frame analysis* with the purpose of understanding the social relevance of *othering* in the social field of football in Berlin. In addition to these two levels of analysis, the prospective disposition patterns are examined as well.

The results show that there are particular competition, discipline and expectation patterns in this *social field* which are regulated based on shared *rules*. With the aim of reconstructing the fundamental motives of these shared *rules*, the main interest was to investigate how ethnicity as well as the football related social mechanisms influence the patterns of *self-perception* and the constitution of *othering*. Through this investigation, the *collective action* and *relevance patterns* were reconstructed. As a result, we are able to find out in which circumstances the notion of *ethnic belonging* causes some impacts on the everyday *perception patterns* of the role players: *delikanlıs, ağbis* and *hocas*.

Based on the empirical results and their reconstructions, seven types of *social-positioning patterns* are built and examined comparatively with each other (see pp. 180 - 196). Each type brings up certain kinds of *social integrative orientations* which are adjusted, adopted and practiced differently in each community, i.e. football club. These types lead me finally to reconstruct the overall understanding of *ethnic belonging* in this research which is studied in four different types (see pp. 197 – 199).

---

[150]
     See p. 19 for the conceptual definition of *social positioning.*

6.1. Factors of Individual Positioning: *Referential and Contextual Elements*

The results of the study show that an analysis on the patterns of *social belonging*, *social integration* and *social capital* indicates some implicit motives for a certain type of *self-positioning constitution.* This particular formation has the characteristics of a bilateral establishment. It is based on the *discursive constitutions* and *social interactive elements* of everyday life which are constituted in this social field.

The *discursive constitutions* correspond to the stereotypes and prejudices. They encapsulate both the exogenous and indigenous connotations of the social attribute "migration background" for each team. According to the results, the investigations on *narrations with retrospective references* include the elements, i.e. the vocabulary, of *ethno-knowledge*[151]. In other words, the *discursive reproduction* of the attributes of "migration background", e.g. via stereotypifications, constitutes the *referential elements of social positioning.* In this sense, the stereotypes and prejudices are interpreted within a collectively constituted social understanding pattern of *ethnicising sociality*[152] (Scherr, 1997) and regulate the perception patterns.

The *positioning patterns* which are constituted via a tendency of ignoring the stereotypes completely in the everyday life of football, or just the opposite, considering them seriously prove that the actors in this particular social field operate permanently with these discursive constitutions. They are the central elements of their *relevance pattern* (see Schutz, 1982). They play a significant role in forming the perception patterns, which then configure the participants' action patterns. Therefore the simultaneous impacts of *referential* elements of *positioning* bring forth an *essentialist understanding*.

Therefore, a peculiar type of difference is already constituted via the tendency of *authenticating* the "migrant background". This "difference" as a social construct generates implicitly the establishment of a discrepancy which is culturalised and sealed under the act of *exoticising*. These *essentialist* constitutions include some *authentic* motives of identity which are *exoticised* and finally *totalised*[153]. Even though this intention embodies a peculiar sort of sympathy and social interest in "exoticised cultures", the perception of this *cultural difference* under the lens of *totalising*

---

[151] Refer *to Ethno-wissen,* Müller and Zifonun, 2010.
[152] The original term in German is *Ethnisierung des Sozialen* which is translated by the author as the "ethnicising sociality".
[153] Refer to *The social life of things,* Appadurai, 1986.

ends up building a *social boundary*[154] between the groups of diverse origins. However, this pattern of understanding is absolutely a *naturalistic one* (see Martucelli, 2002: 364). It is accepted as it is and incorporated entirely by the participants.

This means that the *ethnic order discursively* reproduces patterns of normality which are accepted by all individuals in the social field of football in Berlin[155]. Therefore the "migrant" as a *negative classification* (Neckel/Sutterlüty, 2008) which can exactly be interpreted as a *Konsensfiktion*[156] (Hahn, 1983) is, too, accepted in the same manner by the "migrant" himself. In this particular pattern of understanding, the social meaning and social functionality of stereotypes and prejudices are transformed fundamentally. Instead of evaluating them as the reproducers of *negative classifications*, they are seen as "normal" (Scherr, 2000, Römhild, 2007) or ignored and even used contrarily as an *individual or collective resource* as well.

In parallel with the *referential elements,* the social interactive patterns and their impacts on the constitution of social positioning are interpreted under the conceptualisation of *contextual elements*. These *contextual elements* in combination with the *referential* elements constitute the different types of patterns and determine simultaneously the positioning paradigm of the groups in this social field.

---

[154] The Turkish football clubs are always open to members with diverse origins. As Simmel describes, via a metaphoric definition, in his presentation of the boundaries between groups in society, "die Beweglichkeit der Tür versinnlicht die formlose Begrenzung" (Simmel, 1957:57) – the flexibility of the door gives the meaning to the formless bordering, the door in this context. It can be stated here that the more movable the door is, the more interaction takes place between the groups and individuals under the roof of the club. This empirical study shows that two significant factors determine the flexibility of the doors ("die Beweglichkeit der Tür" in Simmel's perspective) in these functioning communities.

[155] Refer to Bukow and Heimel's postulate on this issue: "*ethnicising sociality* produces [both] normality, habitual and everyday occurrences, and respectively, vice versa, deviance, being not used to and strangeness" orig. citation in German is "die Produktion von Normalität, Gewohnheit und Alltäglichkeit bzw. vice versa die Produktion von Abweichung, Ungewohntem und Fremden" (Bukow and Heimel 2003:37)

[156] Hahn defines his concept of Konsensfiktion as a fiction or belief which organises the perceptions and experiences so that they support the further ruling performance of the social order. (Hahn, 1983).

6.2. Types of Social Positioning and the Orientations of Social Integrative Engagement

Based on the empirical results, the Turkish football clubs are classified into seven different types according to their orientations of social positioning in the social field of football in Berlin. The investigation of the indigenous social relations in clubs as well as the involvement of these clubs in social integrative work make up the fundamental elements in constructing these types. Whereas the *fraternal*, *remedial, stumbling* and *compulsory social positioning* types include the social space based impacts of *mahalles*, the *organic*, *branding* and *incorporated* types refer more to institutional kinds of initiatives.

6.2.1. Fraternal Social Positioning

The familial relations in the *mahalle* organise the *social positioning* constituted in *Hürriyet-Burgund.* The sense of collective belonging is reproduced based on a permanent vitalisation of the mechanism of mutual trust, i.e. the *threshold of security* (Bourdieu, 2000) for the *delikanlıs*. *Hürriyet-Burgund* as a *mahalle* team, generates *a space of social energy* (Simmel, 1992) as well as a kind of *emotional energy* (Collins, 2004) which praises *delikanlıs,* their performances, perceptions, actions and orientations, too. Therefore, the *mahalle* with its *local energy* (Simmel, 1992) is the source of *social power* (Collins, 2004) for the improvement of the *delikanlıs'* competitive capability. The *enforceable trust* (Portes and Sessenbrenner, 1993) produced in *Hürriyet-Burgund* generates a type of *stoical optimism* (Neckel, 2008) for the achievement of prospective goals. This motivates *delikanlıs* steadily when they think of their future career and *social positioning* in the highly competitive social field of football in Berlin. The *collective effervescence* (Durkheim, 1981) is so high in this social field that it broadens the *illusio* of "becoming a football star one day" to the level of a *predestination*[157] (Neckel, 2008: 111) especially for the celebrated successful players. This integrates the *delikanlıs* tightly in this social field.

---

[157] Original citation in German: "Schicksalglaube über sozialen Aufstieg" (Neckel, 2008: 111)

The *mahalle club Hürriyet-Burgund*, in this phase, with its intention of producing *socio-emotional integration* (Schubert, 2009: 212)[158] for the *delikanlıs* allows them to re-actualise and mold, i.e. re-form, their dispositions and their patterns of *self-positioning* which are ambivalent during this period of adjustment. It generates an alleviating effect for the players who tend to fortify their *social positioning* in the intensively challenging social field of football. With this *doxa* in mind, the players liberate themselves from the burdening impacts of the negatively-connoted discourse of "migration background" and compete further in the *naturalised social order* instead of in the *ethnic order* (Barth, 1969) of football.

The table below demonstrates how the Turkish football clubs, in the case of *Hürriyet-Burgund,* function as the mechanisms of social integration and which kinds of roles the members take in the formation of their *social positioning patterns*. On one hand the prejudices are further reproduced on a discursive level, i.e. *referential elements*, which further generate social polarisation between the players of Turkish origin and the *others*, on the other hand the Turkish football clubs with their traditional role players of *ağbis* and *hocas* tend to relieve the negative impacts of this kind of perception patterns. A paradigm of roles and tasks shared in Turkish football clubs is shown in the table below (Table 2). This social responsibility is practiced through the fatherly engagement of *hocas* and the fraternal (brotherly) involvement of *ağbis*.

TABLE 2

Role Players in the Social Field and their Functions

	Individual roles	*Mahalle and the Turkish Football clubs*
Delikanlı	- ethnic individualism (Soeffner and Zifonun, 2008) - unpredicted behaviour pattern (Elias and Dunning, 1986)	recognition of individual positioning
Ağbi	- respect-owners (high) - mediators in practice	inner-group level insertor
Hoca	- respect-owners (ultimate) - emotional adjusters (simultaneous)	agents of local integration

---

[158] Schubert (2009: 206) defines *socio-emotional integration* as "the actors are acting from the perspective of normativistic theory due to the fact that they are emotionally bounded to communities, they internalised the norms during their socialisation process so that their individual aims correspond to the general norms of the society. […] Due to this reason, the socialised individuals cannot simply choose their binding to communities or be chosen by them". The original citation in German is: "Aus der Sicht der normativistischen Theorie handeln Akteure, weil sie emotional an Gemeinschaften gebunden sind, weil sie im Sozialisationsprozess Normen verinnerlichen, so dass ihre persönlichen Ziele den generalisierten Normen der Gesellschaft entsprechen. [...] Sozialisierte Individuen können deshalb Gemeinschaftsbindungen nicht einfach wählen oder abwählen" (Schubert, 2009: 206).

According to the table above, the *delikanlıs* act under the watch of two role-players. On one hand, the *hocas* regulate the systems of social relations, on the other hand, the *ağbis* are delegated to transmit the *predicted* action patterns and the relevant perception patterns to the *delikanlıs*. The traditional types of self-presentations and perceptions between the actors incorporate more of the orientations of *insertion*.

The entire schema of social relations, i.e. respect patterns, is strictly modulated by the system of age differences which assign the *ağbis* the practice-oriented tasks of *hocas*. Through this traditionally-constituted delegation, the *ağbis* incorporate both the *individual* (as football player) and *institutional* (as mediator) responsibilities of *integration* and *insertion*.

On the other hand, the *insertion* of the *delikanlı*, according to the results of the study, incorporates an oscillating pattern of adjustment between the *affective perception* of *inclusion and exclusion* in this *social field*. Due to this ambivalent standpoint, the incorporation of the *keying* (Goffman, 1974) which organises the participants' action patterns, in the case of *delikanlıs*, is at a processing stage. In this process of improvement, for instance, the major conflict, in form of aggression during the competition, between the *delikanlıs* and the players typified as "other", is adjusted through the intensive and long-standing involvement of *ağbis* and *hocas*. The ultimate aim is to manage the *delikanlıs' insertion* in this *social field* by assisting and driving them to act and react according to the *illusio* of this particular social field.

This *doxa* condenses, too, the significance of ethnic, i.e. cultural, bonding to the *mahalle.* In this sense, the *mahalle* with its peculiar functioning mechanism induces a sheltered social space, i.e. *Wärme des Gemütes* (Simmel, 1992), for the *delikanlı*. Therefore, the *mahalle club* functions as the mechanism of *social positioning* for the *delikanlıs* in its particular *fraternal social space,* not only during the phase of upward qualification, but also when they are disqualified and go down to the lower leagues. This is not the case when they play and get disqualified in German clubs according to the empirical results.

Even though *Hürriyet-Burgund* generates the pattern of *social emotional integration* (Schubert, 2009) as well as socialisation-based normative orientation for the *delikanlıs*, this does not mean, however, that they form closed, i.e. *parallel communities* for the youth of Turkish origin. The social

field of football in Berlin provides various opportunities for the *delikanlıs* and the *mahalle club* generates in this context a flexible type of ethnic, i.e. social, belonging pattern.

As an obvious consequence, the *mahalle team* also functions as the mechanism of *individual strategic integration*[159] through which the *delikanlıs* can leave their *mahalle team* without any restriction. This is seen as the central *illusio* in this social field. Changing to German clubs from the Turkish ones is even appreciated more due to the fact that the German football knowledge is valued as a celebrated *cultural capital* augmenting the appraisal of football players.

6.2.2. Remedial Social Positioning

Ağrıspor is the case example to demonstrate the type of *remedial social positioning*. The club is situated in *Gülizar Park* i.e. Görlitzer Park, which is the meeting point for youths who are known as social deviants, i.e. drug traffickers and addicts. The players are not so much engaged in this group but there is the risk of potential disintegration, i.e. deviance tendency, in this district. The club, in this sense, is seen by the *hoca* as a mechanism of social rehabilitation in a focal-point district.

Nihat hoca's ultimate aim in *Ağrıspor* is the vivid imagination of collective togetherness in the team. The relevance of football performance comes next. *Ağrıspor* is performing football for remedial purposes. The *hoca* tries to establish routines and rituals in the club through which he aims to hold the players tightly together. These *invented traditions* are initiated by the *hoca* for the continuation of togetherness and a stable collective togetherness is attempted to be established in the team for the implementation a *remedial social positioning pattern* for the *delikanlıs* of this club (see Chapter 3).

Nevertheless, the empirical results show that merely this remedial engagement of the *hoca* is insufficient to achieve a prompt social integrative performance. The highly celebrated relevance of commercial football seem to be more attractive for the *delikanlıs*. The *hoca* tends to implement a

---

[159] Original Citation for the definition of *individual strategic integration*: "The type of individual strategical integration assumes that the actors go with the social relations i.e. chose the mediums in order to achieve their goals. The ethnic community benefits are built on the resources (social capital) i.e. the individual maximization of profit" (Nauck and Kohlmann, 1998, in Schubert, 2009: 203). . The original citation in German is: "Der Typus individuell strategische Integration geht von der einfachen Annahme aus, dass Akteure soziale Beziehungen eingehen bzw. Mittel wählen, um individuelle Ziele effizient zu erreichen. Ethnische Gemeinschaftsbezüge bilden danach Ressourcen (soziales Kapital) individueller Nutzenmaximierung (Nauck and Kohlmann, 1998)" (in: Schubert, 2009: 203).

constitutive football community and aims to practice progressive football. However, the amateur soul of football with voluntarism is not perceived, unfortunately, as the major element of creating a functional and long-standing community under the roof of *Ağrıspor.* Despite *Nihat hoca's* intentions, even the fundamental factor of social bonding in a migration context, namely the *common city of birth,* i.e. *Ağrı*[160,] is insufficient to hold the group of *delikanlıs* together under the roof of *Ağrıspor.*

Even though the *hoca* is willing primarily to implement the pattern of *social emotional integration* (Schubert, 2009) and promote a group-solidarity-based amateur understanding of social belonging in *Ağrıspor*, the *individual strategic integration* based orientations are highly preferred and practiced by the *delikanlıs.* The players tend to leave the club when they receive any payment from other teams in semi-professional leagues. *Ağrıspor* has difficulties with producing even a remedial type of social integration in this social situation.

This club attempted to perform as a mechanism of social integration for remedial purposes. Even though the club found itself in lower semi-professional leagues, they were obliged to compete against commercial football. The *hoca* intended to recruit and hold players of diverse origins. Nevertheless, the absence of an established *mahalle culture* with its social functionality as well as the lack of *ağbis* and their exemplary engagement in integrating the *delikanlıs* in this social field unfortunately hindered *Nihat hoca's* intentions.

Under these conditions, the club could not survive further and had to be closed down. Next to the deficiency in the existence of disciplined and long-termed players, who can bring some success to the team, the inadequate financial resources as well as the missing voluntarily involvement brought forth the end of the club. They could not achieve the social peculiarities of a *mahalle club* such as is the case for *Hürriyet-Burgund.*

6.2.3. Compulsory Social Positioning

Anadolu-Umutspor, situated not so far away from *Ağrıspor,* is the second club which has to integrate the "deviant youth" in a focal-city district, as *Ağrıspor* had set out to do. According to the

---

[160] *Ağrıspor* was initially founded as a part of a townsmen club.

hocas' and *ağbis'* descriptions in *Anadolu-Umutspor,* the deviant young players are the "unemployed ones". The act of social integration is seen in this club as a compulsory duty that they have to involve themselves in. According to the expectancy pattern generated in this social field, which is attached as a "responsibility" to the clubs founded by the "migrants", this group of players has to be rehabilitated through the disciplined social pattern of football.

In this context, *Ramazan Hoca* presents *Anadolu-Umutspor* as having an attached social mission of performing intensive social integration work. The integration-based social work has turned out to be an obligatory and additional duty for *Anadolu-Umutspor* with the social reproduction of this discourse shaping the tasks of football clubs founded by migrants in city-districts with social problems.

In this respect, the empirical results show that the debates on social integration have enormous impacts on the reproduction of ethnic based stereotypes in the social field of football. Although the discussions on social integration have already turned out to be *anachronistic* (see Schnapper, 2007), the question of social integration still strikes everyday life relations intensively. Even though social integration is a process to which both sides, i.e. German and migrant groups, are obliged to contribute, the further discursive reproduction of the stereotype "migrant" enforces *referential elements* in social positioning pattern identity constitution, demanding excessive engagement from the side of the "Turkish clubs".

In this context, "integration in football" as an accurate discussion topic has an irritating meaning for *Ramazan hoca*. The *hoca* with his integrating role finds himself under the immense pressure of this discourse of social expectancy. This expectancy is broadened not only in the social field of football in Berlin but also in the whole society. Even though it is an honorable duty intervening in social integration of the "deviant youth", this kind of social work hinders the team's practice in performing progressive football due to the fact that they have to organise extra time and personnel for this social integration work.

The club, in this sense, has the function of integrating the unemployed youth into the everyday life there. But the rapid flow of competition in football and the need and will for performing progressive football on the one side, and this social obligation of producing integrative work on the other side, makes *Ramazan hoca* and the team players unsure about their own prospective performance. Being in the same team with these "deviant players" who do not play according to the expected *keying*

pattern and rather act in an undisciplined way hinders the team's collective success.

In this sense, this kind of social integration work generates a social paradox. The club finds itself between the action patterns of competitive football and of producing social work for the locality. They have an oscillating self-positioning between the social integrative responsibilities and the ambition of generating prospective professionalism for the players. In this context, their integrative-based engagement is classified within a *compulsory social positioning* type. This type of social positioning, in this sense, tends to impose *individual strategic integration* rather than *socio-emotional integration.*

6.2.4. Stumbling Social Positioning

FC Phönix 56 - Ayyıldız is another club which has not had very much success in football. This is a problem and seen as a permanent hindrance for the performance of progressive football. This group fits the exact description of *negatively classified delikanlıs* with their *unpredictable behaviors* (Elias and Dunning, 1986).

Ziya hoca's descriptions include the motives of self-ethnicised judgments as well. In other words, the negatively classified "migrants" as stereotypes and prejudices are highly accepted, embodied and presented as the team's collective self-description. Contrarily, the overall *positively classified stereotype,* "the Germans", i.e. "the German football players", are seen as role models.

The difference between the "German" and "Turkish" players lies in their perception of competition and the overvalued interpretation of a victory won by these *delikanlıs.* That is to say, the euphoria of a victory, according to *Ziya hoca's* determination, shadows the disciplined preparation, i.e. training and playing for the following competition. Due to the immoderate *stoical optimism* (Neckel, 2008) stemming from the precedent victory, the prospective perception of self-performance during the competition loses its importance. This depreciation obstructs the greed and passion for the prospective competition course.

On the other hand, the already existing *ethnic knowledge*-based perceptions and presentations, i.e. *referential element,s* i.e. in form of stereotypes and prejudices under the social impacts of *ethnic order,* systematises the reciprocal patterns of presentations and perceptions. In parallel, the

systematic social communication[161], through which the *cultural difference* between the "migrant" and the so called "domestic" is highlighted, reproduces permanently the negatively classified discursive constitutions for the "migrant youth".

This intention in public discourse vulgarizes a *scandalised presentation of delikanlıs* (see the related chapter). This *culturalistic tendency* brings forth the exoticisation and generalization, i.e. defamation of the presentation and perception of the player type *delikanlı*. Consequently, the action pattern of the *scandalised type* is interpreted as an *ethnic individualistic*[162] orientation both by the "*others*" and by the *delikanlı* themselves. In this way, the *ethnic order* brings forth the reproduction of prejudices and stereotypes on a discursive level intensifying the relevance of the *delikanlıs*' *referential positioning*.

In this pattern of perception, the *contextual elements* of social positioning have less significance. It means that the *referential elements* are perceived prior to the reflexive self-perceptions based on the social interactions in everyday life i.e. the contextual elements which may potentially ameliorate the negatively constructed identity constitution of *delikanlıs*.

Even though *Ziya hoca*, with his institutional-based *integrator* role (see Table 2 above), strives towards implementing a coherent pattern of self-perception which is followed by a pattern of an adequate self-positioning, due to the lack of the secondary fraternal role players, the *ağbis* in the team, the *delikanlıs* in *FC Phönix 56-Ayyıldız* act and behave expansively which finally hinders the functionality of social integration performed in this club. The lack of the mediating role between the *hocas* and *delikanlıs* generates the central obstacle, keeping this football community within its core membership profile. This does not allow the transfer of players of diverse origins and hinders multiculturalisation of the team.

This indigenous conflict obstructs the progressive success of the team, which diminishes its attractiveness. Due to this reason, *FC Phönix 56 - Ayyıldız* loses its pulling effect on players of diverse origins. Additionally, the *mahalle* characteristics in this city-district, *Charlottenburg,* unfortunately do not reproduce sufficient *local energy,* e.g. the lack of ağbis in the team and/or the insufficient social supportive contribution by the spectators, for the actors in this group such as was

---

[161] Eriksen uses this term for the definition of ethnicity in which he postulates that the systematic communication of cultural difference defines the ethnicity (Eriksen, 1993).

[162] Soeffner and Zifonun conceptualise this term as *ethnisierter Individualismus* which is translated by the author with the term *ethnic individualism* (Soeffner and Zifonun, 2008)

the case for the clubs representing the types of *fraternal* and *compulsory social positioning*. The empirical results show that the players of diverse origins and Germans can only be recruited via well-performed football.

In this sense, *success in football* generates a pulling effect and promotes social integration. Unless they produce success, integration is practiced in a *stumbling manner*. As a result, the patterns of self-presentation, self-perception as well as the perception of the "other" in this type of a football club are static constitutions and reproduce further antagonistic constellations.

6.2.5. Organic Social Positioning

The club taken as the case study for the representation the type *organic integration,* is part of an already existing established community. This is the townsmen club of migrants who immigrated to Berlin from Trabzon. The football club with the same name is used in this case as the self-presentation of this community in the popular competitive environment of football. This is an explicit remark showing their loyalty, i.e. social bonding, to the *regional identity* in the homeland. In this sense, clubs of this type, such as *Iğdırspor, Ağrıspor* or *Malatyaspor* next to *Trabzonspor* are all mechanisms of social reproduction, each of them inducing a distinctive kind of locality. These townsmen organizations and the practice of traditional, cultural and symbolic belonging to the city of birth in the *homeland* have merely a subsidiary meaning in football context.

This explicit symbolization of *regional identity* produces a collective self-presentation in the social context of integration as well. It generates a sort of *distinctive locality* and a peculiar pattern of social belonging to the *homeland.* In this vein, fusion with a German club and getting a German-Turkish club name, *Cimbria Trabzonspor,* was the initial attempt to create a self-presentation of a bi-cultural, i.e. multicultural, football club founded by *Trabzoner.* After a while, the name of the new club, *NSSC Cimbria 1900,* was changed again, to *NSSC Trabzonspor 1900,* and finally to *Cimbria Trabzonspor.*

Next to this symbolic collective presentation, the aim of achieving success influences directly the importance of ethnic belonging in this football club. In this team, monoculturalism in group building is constituted firstly on the common local identity – *being Trabzoner.* Nevertheless this monocultural profile in the team is seen afterwards as the initial cause of the indigenous conflict in

the group that hinders the cumulative success of the team. Then this organic solidarity based orientation, which builds up the peculiar type of *organic social positioning,* is transformed into a form of *diversity-sensitive orientation* with the aim of forming *"a colorful team"* (see Chapter 3.3.2.2.). Diversity brings in this case an absolute functionality and progression for the team social performance. Finally, the rooted conflicts and prejudices against the "other" are eliminated after this re-institutionalisation period through which the patterns of *individual strategic integration* present the fundamental type of collective orientation in this case.

Even though it seems that a certain traditional sense of community is established in *mahalles*, the empirical results show that the *ethnic club* in this constellation is seen by the participants as a *tentative group formation.* In other words, the *socio-emotional integration pattern* supports the *individual strategic integration* based orientations as well. This is constituted under football and the *symbiotic intercommunication* (Knutsson, [1969] 1998) in this multicultural social space allows for the exchange of several different *cultural traits* (Eidheim, [1969] 1998) through which the major determinant of social order is reconstructed as the functionality[163] in football rather than the ethnic order.

6.2.6. Branding Social Positioning

Türkiyemspor is situated in *Kottbusser Tor,* the so called *Kotti,* i.e. *küçük Istanbul* (see Chapter 1). *Kotti* is a particular part of the city-district *Kreuzberg* and has more multicultural characteristics than a typical Turkish *mahalle.*

Türkiyemspor is the first famous and widely known club founded by migrants of Turkish origin. From the beginning of its history, players with diverse origins have always played in *Türkiyemspor.* The club has become the icon of multiculturalism with its engagement in social integration work. This team showed a true success from the 1990s until the early 2000s. Unfortunately they then experienced a recession period and diverse inner conflicts in management, and financial deficits bankrupted the club. For a couple of years, they could not recover their debts and started a donation campaign in Berlin. Finally, thanks to the well-networked social capital relations in the social field of football in Berlin, they got the opportunity to establish the club once again.

---

[163] As Bielefeld underlines "functioning community is the primary duty in football" (Bielefeld, 2008) (original citation: "funktionierende Gemeinschaft ist die Aufgabe [im Fußball]") i.e. *functional collective playing and working principle in football* is the major determinant of social order arranging the group formations and adjusting the collective orientations in the social field of football in Berlin.

Türkiyemspor has always been the symbol of interwoven cultures: of *Kiez* and *mahalle* cultures. They call themselves *Kreuzberger* and have the flag of Berlin and Turkey on their club logo. The name *Türkiyemspor,* meaning "My Turkey", already includes feelings of home-sickness for the country of origin. As compared to the above-presented townsmen clubs, *Türkiyemspor* does not tend to represent themselves distinctively when we consider the ethnic origins of the club members. The collective self-presentation is constituted on a city-district scale in Berlin and the feeling of social belonging to the homeland is not city-based, such as in townsmen clubs, it is an over-regional self-presentation.

The accumulated success in football and the engagement in social integrative work prepares a celebrated heritage for the further generations of players performing in *Türkiyemspor.* In parallel, this symbolic capital generates high self-esteem and pride for the *delikanlıs.* Even though the club went through a period of recession, the successful history of *Türkiyemspor* guarantees an honorable status in the social field of football in Berlin.

Türkiyemspor, from its foundation till today, creates a *third space* (Bhabha, 1994) for the players where the negative social impacts of stereotypes and prejudices may be diminished. The *third space* is the space of interaction within the club, among the members, and outside the club, with the "others" which generate the collective "we" identity. The *territorial stigmatization* (Wacquant, 2004) with the "others" is worked out mutually on the field as well as in the club house among the members with different *cultural traits*.

In this sense, even though the *segment differentiation*[164] (Giesen, 1991) (see Chapter 3) under different ethnically-connoted club names seems to enforce *symbol multiplication* (Schiffauer, 1993), i.e. eventual polarisation, it has merely the social meaning of *symbolic ethnicisation* (Gans, 1999) in this social field. The title of the community, i.e. the collective self-presentation, stays the same and preserves merely a symbolic meaning for the social belonging generated in these clubs.

In this sense, football with its popularity and the communal promotion of social integration provides

---

[164] Original conceptualisation in German is „*segmentäre Differenzierung"* (Giesen, 1991).

the football clubs the opportunity to display their performance in this social field. *Türkiyemspor* takes, in this social context, the role of broadening the understanding of social integration as a social issue and civic engagement project for the football clubs. This club is branding the responsibility of integration work for Berlin football. *Türkiyemspor* is the *brand of integration* not only in Berlin but also even in Germany.

Besides, players who are playing in a multicultural team and experiencing the motives of *cultural-authentic integration* (Schubert, 2009)[165] are capable of developing a *comparison vocabulary (Vergleichsvokabular)*. This indicates the improvement of relativism (widened perspective) in their self-presentations and the perception of the "other". Through this change, the *norm-based perceptions* are replaced with the *ethnicised,* i.e. *culturalised,* modes of understanding. This normative perception pattern does not only bring forth the recognition of the "other" cultures, but also the presence of the "other" cultures as a resource for the fulfillment of one's own "traditionally characterized deficits". This takes place in a form of self-critiques. The perception of the "other" as a completing (additive) effect, through which the "players of other origins" may fill the gaps in a team constellation, de-ethnicises the *ethnic order* in football. Through this pattern of perception, "the [established] horizons [in perception patterns] are melted down and the cultural difference is recognised" (Schubert, 2009: 212).

Similarly, the *cultural difference*, according to the participants, reproduces sportive success and covers their own burdening parts of the typical, i.e. stereotypised, characteristics of their self-perception, too. Rather than producing some implicit social boundaries, *cultural difference* is seen as a generator of functionality in the team. The empirical results prove that the players in *Türkiyemspor* interpret multicultural football as a social resource. The players of each culture with their typical characteristics can share the work performance in a football team. (See Chapter 5).

---

[165] Original citation for the definition of *kulturell-authentische Integration*: "The cultural integration means that the people with different cultural backgrounds are interwoven in cultural dialogues hence they can develop a *vocabulary of comparison* which satisfies the recognition of differences and the consolidation of horizons". (Schubert, 2009: 212). The original citation in German is: "Kulturelle Integration bedeutet, dass Menschen unterschiedlicher kultureller Herkunft, in kulturelle Dialog verstrickt werden und deshalb ein „Vergleichsvokabular" entwickeln können, das die Anerkennung von Differenzen und die Verschmelzung von Horizonten ermöglicht" (Schubert, 2009: 212).

6.2.7. Incorporated Social Positioning

BAK 07 is the football club taken here as the example for introducing the type of *incorporated social positioning*. The club has the ambition of improving itself on the way to professional football. It has adequate resources to compete in semi-professional leagues and long term plans of achieving more success in football. Via *bonding social capital* (Putnam, 2002), the club forms organic solidarity-based connections with a professional club from Ankara - *Ankaraspor*. After this merging, the club is re-named as *Berlin Ankaraspor Kulübü 07*. This was the initiation of transnational player mobility by generating an optional social space for transnationality. The club in this sense generates a peculiar social space for the *delikanlıs,* who find themselves ambivalent between the patterns of inclusion and exclusion. In parallel with this, the accumulation of *negative classifications,* e.g. being perceived as "underprivileged" and/or "discriminated against", generates a social coherence. This disadvantageous peculiarity in the self-positioning increases the value of the *delikanlıs' corporal* and *cultural capital*.

In this circle of causal reasoning based on the patterns of *othering* and self-perception, an alternative social space has become imaginable for *delikanlıs.* The "homeland" is perceived, in this context, as the *place of compensation,* i.e. *heterotopie* (Foucault, 2005), for the *delikanlı* who could not qualify for the upper leagues. In this case, the ambivalent self-positioning after a disqualification in the "immigrant country" turns out to be perceived as a tendency of *repulsion* (Simmel, 1992: 688) from the *social field* of Berlin. For this group of *delikanlıs,* the alternative mono-ethnic social environment functions as an *attraction mechanism* which is assumed to reproduce the social cohesion satisfying a *natural alliance* (*natürliche Gemeinheit*) (Ibid.) and it is seen as a prospective disposition.

Based on this chain of perceptions, *the delikanlı* leaves his *mahalle* with his incorporated *local energy* (Simmel, 1992). The *delikanlı, ağbis* and *hoca*s in the *mahalle* are fastened together through this socially constituted disposition. This *local energy* generates not only *emotional energy* (Collins, 2004) but also ensures the *bonding social capital* (Putnam, 2002) form of relations. In the social space of *mahalle*, both of the forms of identity construction, *impulsive* ("I") and *reflexive* ("me") (Mead, 1934), are reproduced, honoring *delikanlıs* with the social positioning of a *local hero*. Through this social constitution, the *mahalle* raises the expectations on the social and bodily performance of *delikanlı* and enforces his *practical belief* (Bourdieu, 1990) and conceives of the

delikanlı qualifying for the higher leagues. The networking functionality of the *bonding social capital* constituted in the *mahalle* is evidently used as the medium to carry *delikanlı* to these notable, i.e. celebrated, social spaces.

However, the empirical results show, based on the self-experiences, that this "compensation space" (Foucault, 2005), meaning the *homeland*, is more of an "illusion space" (Ibid.) for the *delikanlıs*. This unanticipated situation mainly demands an *altruistic action pattern,* in the form of accepting to be paid only after the "foreign", i.e. non-Turkish, players have been paid. This turns out to be a typical expectation for the *delikanlı* "Turkish" professional player candidates. This tendency, i.e. *ethnic altruism,* is perceived in a *substantive rationality* form which turns out to become *antithetical rationality* for the *delikanlı*s.

Subsequently, most of the *delikanlıs* return to their *mahalles* after a certain time of *experiencing* the "homeland". The *mahalle* clubs function after this stage as the sheltered homes for the *delikanlıs,* generating *Wärme des Gemütes* (Simmel, 1992) for them. Through these passages in the formation of a social belonging notion by the *delikanlıs*, a peculiar type of self-perception, i.e. "a synchronous constancy of reconstruction and reinvention of the subject" (Bhabha, 1994: 240), takes place.

The social integration conceptualisation in Berlin football, in this case, corresponds to the *projektive integration* (Schubert, 2009)[166] taking on a peculiar meaning through which a type of flexibility in the self-conception of *collective belonging* is initiated. Following this, the meaning of "the active trust as the bounding element of social order" (Ibid.) in the social field of Berlin is restrained in the stage of prospective self-positioning.

In this period of *incorporated social positioning*, almost all of the *delikanlıs* and *ağbis* were transferred to *Ankaraspor.* The club in Berlin lost their best players. These challenging seasons with inadequate resources to compete in Berlin ended in 2011 and the club returned to its roots once again (www.bak07.de). The club is performing now under the name of *Berliner Athletik Klub 07* at the highest league among the teams of the Turkish football clubs of today.

---

[166] Schubert constitutes the type *projektive Integration* based on the the broken gap between the milieu of origin and aspirations in an educational context. This paradigm is taken as the fundamental model in this study to explain the prospective aspirations of the football players in the case where they have problems of continuing their football career in Germany. Schubert uses the phenomenon of „*aktives Vertrauen als Bindungselement*" as the major determinant of projektive Integration. In my study, this pattern of social integration is used as a mechanism for adjusting the individual and institutional positioning of the players and clubs.

On the other hand, *BAK 07,* in comparison to the other clubs, has more financial and voluntary resources for the organisation and smooth functioning of social integrative work. The priority is to compete in (semi-)professional leagues. Social integration has a collateral relevance for the club. This work bears on the facilities which are provided for the club members to integrate in. The player recruitment process takes place mostly on a more broadened, i.e. over-regional, scale. It includes fewer characteristics of a focused local type of a social integration task e.g. on a *mahalle* level, than as observed in the other types of Turkish football clubs.

TABLE 3
Patterns of Self-Positioning based on Discursive Constitutions

	Self-Perception	**Othering**
Delikanlı in West Berlin	*Gastarbeiter* (impulsive/reflexive)	figurative inhabitant (latent)
Delikanlı in United Berlin	inhabitant (impulsive)	East-Berliners (fixity)
Delikanlı in Post-Transnational Berlin	inhabitant (impulsive/reflexive)	East-Berliners (contextual)

After his return, the *delikanlı* refreshes his positioning as well as his self-perception in the social field of football in Berlin. The ambivalence and insecure positioning replace itself with a tightly established pattern of self-perception. Not only the *impulsive* but also the *reflexive identity* from their perspective are synchronized.

Nevertheless, the so called "East Berliner" are in the category of the "other" and the *context of social interaction* determines the social distance and alienation between the *delikanlıs* and the *East Berliner.* The "East Berliner" builds up the absolute opposite horizon (Gegenhorizont) not only for the young players of Turkish origin in *BAK 07* but also for the other *delikanlıs*, *ağbis* and *hocas*. Through the discursive reproduction of this polarisation, i.e. the *referential elements* of social positioning, the "generalised other" is subdivided in this context. The peculiar socio-historical background of the city of Berlin organises, in this sense, the social positioning of *delikanlıs*, *ağbis* and *hocas* in a particular way.

The constitution of the "other" is based on this *boundary making process* (Bielefeld, 1998). It is found out in this study that each Turkish football club at the institutional level, and the players moving among various teams at the individual level, diminish the relevance of the stereotypical

discourse which is initially conceptualised as a "fixed type" (Bhabha, 1994). Thus via *cultural-authentic integration,* the overall perception of the "other" as an *anonymous instance - Anonyme Instanz* (Waldenfels, 1998: 78) is no more perceived as *anonymous,* but turns out to be singularised. This means that the phenomenon of "strangeness", i.e. the "otherness", is not a constant[167] constitution in the Turkish football social field in Berlin, but that the paradigm of a *culture of difference* (Zwengel, 2010) governs the patterns of collective perceptions. Therefore not the generalised, i.e. stereotyped, perception of the "other", but the *contextual elements,* i.e. the *situational perceptions and the corresponding positioning* in everyday life interactions, constitute the "othering". Based on this constitution, the self itself, i.e. the actors, position themselves in this social field.

The results of the study show that the *underprivileged status*, in this context, is used in the social space of *mahalle* as a medium, instead of a defamation, especially just for the *delikanlıs'* self-esteem. Following this, a particular social comparative mechanism is constituted through which the *delikanlıs* represent themselves as more privileged than the "East Berliner".

This mechanism of *stumbling social positioning* is founded on two fundamentals: *die Erfolgstüchtigkeit* (Neckel 2008: 95) and *material rationality* (Weber, 2006: 112). Through these two parallel reasoning mechanisms, they legitimate and tolerate consequently the everyday life racist disputes of "the East Germans". Based on a collective reasoning mechanism, the actors in this study tolerate and/or ignore the East German's racist orientations and advance their self-esteem via their relatively higher *success capability (Erfolgstüchtigkeit)* in football and the *material abundance* of their sportive equipment in comparison to the "other".

The major fundamentals of this polarisation, through which the strict lines of a *culture of difference* are contoured, are actually grounded on the motives of *spatial belonging,* i.e. social belonging, to the city of Berlin. In the migration context, this historical peculiarity (see Stölting, 2000)[168] has sociological outcomes through which the perception and the presentation of the "established" and the "newcomer" groups are constituted, this time, according to the patterns of *local social belonging* instead of the *ethnic, i.e. national, origin.*

---

[167] Radtke defines the perception of strangeness in a multicultural context as a constant social constitution. (Radtke, 1991: 91).

[168] Stölting states that "[...] although the state borders may be artificially drawn, they become socio-historical phenomena of their own. If they are abolished, as they sometimes are, they leave traces which hardly ever disappear" (Stölting, 2000).

TABLE 4

Patterns of Self-Perceptions and Othering

	Self-Perception	**Othering**
Pre-Unification	Gastarbeiter (impulsive/reflexive)	figurative inhabitant (latent)
Post-Unification	Inhabitant (impulsive)	Only East-berliners (singularised fixity)

As previously interpreted, the identity formation of the players of Turkish origin is based on the binary constitution of *referential identity* and the *context* of social interaction. Whereas the *referential part* refers to the discursively established presentations, mostly in the form of stereotypes, with the *contextual part*, the situational positioning of the players are meant. Parallel to this established pattern of identity constitution, the empirical results show that the classical understanding of the antagonistic presentation and perception of *domestic* and *newcomer* populations even today preserves its social meaning and significance.

According to the diagram above, the patterns of self-perception and *othering* are defined with two parallel artefacts: *impulsive* and *reflexive* parts (see Mead, 1934). The classical controversy on "I", i.e. *impulsive identity,* and "me" as the *reflexive identity* is applied here for the reconstruction of the "migrant identity" in a football context. Prior to the unification of Berlin, the titling of *Gastarbeiter* preserved its relevance both for the own presentation of the migrants of Turkish origin and their perception in west-Berlin. In this sense, the "othering" is constructed on a latent understanding of the figuratively represented inhabitant. On the other hand, in the post-unification era, the players of Turkish origin represent themselves as inhabitants but they are still perceived this time as "migrants" and no more as "Gastarbeiter". In parallel, the "othering" is limited merely to the "East Berliner".

BAK 07 offers a *incorporated social positioning* type through which, rather than the origin, the prospective orientations define the players' social positioning. The *referential elements* have already lost their social relevance and merely the *contextual elements* of social positioning determine the players' dispositions.

This changing process gives meaning to the notion of *ethnic belonging* and its functionality. In other words, the antagonistic figuration of minority and majority is a habituated constellation, however, the significance of this antagonism in everyday life is diminished in Turkish football clubs in which

196

the *relevance pattern* in this social field is adjusted.

Additionally, the social meaning of "othering" is connoted affirmatively through which the "other" even collaborates sufficiently in a social context. It involves a smooth recognition of the difference, i.e. a type of *culture of difference* (Zwengel, 2010), which brings forth the collective progress in a team game *(as in the cases of Türkiyemspor and BAK07)*.

6.3. Types of Ethnic Belonging

When we think of the investigation in this study from this approach and enhance it with empirical results, we can constitute four different types of *ethnic belonging* (see Table 7.3.). As discussed before, the theoretical design in the research is composed of three main approaches of *contextual, referential, practical belief.* In this triangle of analysis, the meaning of ethnicity is described with its functions as *localised (folkloric), multicultural, affiliative and instrumental ethnicity* (see the Table below).

TABLE 5
Sociological Genesis of Ethnic Belonging

Types of Ethnic Belonging	*Ethnic Belonging as Social Inheritance*	*Social Interactions in Everyday Life*	*Discursive Social Reproduction*
folkloric ethnic belonging	in mahalles	impulsive ("I") mono-cultural	*ethnicising sociality* (Scherr)
multicultural ethnic belonging	in football clubs	reflexive ("me") inter-cultural	*ethno-knowledge* (Müller/Zifonun)
affiliative ethnic belonging	in social world	inserting positioning	narrative identity (Martucelli)
instrumental ethnic belonging	in football biography	trans-ethnic	between local and transnational

The significance of ethnicity and its role in tightening of social ties in *mahalles* are treated as a type of *localised folkloric ethnicity.* In this type, not the ethnicity but the locality frames the social borders of the community building (*Vergemeinschaftung*). Thus the ethnicity represents purely the social embeddedness merely to folklore which is reproduced in *mahalles* without attempting to render ethnic antagonism (case *Hürriyet-Burgund* and *Anadolu-Umutspor*).

Next to these mono-ethnic group formations through which the *folkloric ethnicity* organises the collective perceptions, with the type of *multicultural ethnicity* more of a social interactive pattern of grouping is referred to. The ethnicity is furnished entirely with symbolism. In this type of ethnicity,

197

not the ethnicity itself but the cultural difference is celebrated and utilised as a medium of self-distinction. This time, the social borders are framed with the ethnic particularities of groups, nevertheless the symbolism incorporated in the understanding of ethnicity descends the functionality of ethnicity as a mechanism of homogeneous group formation (case *Cimbria Trabzonspor*, *Türkiyemspor*, *BAK07*).

The third type of ethnicity is constituted under the already conceptualised type *affiliative ethnicity* (Jimenez, 2010). As Jimenez describes, this peculiar sort of ethnicity is treated as a part of individual identity which merges merely loose ties to one's own ethnic origin. Even the belonging patterns of ethnicity are temporary and spontaneous without any continuous and well-established associations to ethnic origin (as in the cases of *Ağrıspor* and *Phönix-Ayyıldız*). This means that the meaning and understanding of ethnic belonging has less importance. The participants believe that they have common ethnic identity but it is not a medium for the generation of collective identity. The essentialism in ethnic belonging loses its importance and meaning for this case. For instance, when it is compared with the type of multicultural ethnicity each individual uses their ethnic identity in a form of symbolism and tends to reproduce this symbolism in self-presentation with some rituals, etc. However, the affiliative type of ethnicity refers to the fact that there is no need and orientation which feeds the essentialism in ethnic belonging.

On the other hand, the *instrumental ethnicity* can be treated within the schema of opportunism. This opportunism is analysed under the alignments based on social capital relations, i.e. highly bounded with the individual social positioning. Especially the discussions on the expansive venture of identity constitution explicate the instrumental functions of ethnicity during the transnational movements of the players to the *homeland.* This orientation of instrumentalisation is not the central outcome for this study, but the ultimate function and outcome of this instrumentalisation is crucial for the results of the study, because this transnational mobility and the self-experiences in the heteropically constituted chronotopos homeland finally make the polythetical synthesis of sedimented experiences, including the past experiences as a "migrant" in Berlin, into a monothetical self-perception pattern. This monothetic constitution is the turning point in the self-perception, i.e. identity constitution, of the "migrant". The ambivalence which is built on aggregate(multiple) incorporation of the *referential* and *contextual elements* as well as the *pragmatic faith* and *practical belief* disappears and the subject with the attached title of "migrant" grasp his own identity based on this synthesis.

7. Conclusion

At the end of this study, I can say that I feel as though I have become a part of this lively social world of football in Berlin. I know much more about all the actors, the social system in *mahalles* and learned about the *illusio* and *doxa* which regulate the different patterns of *social positioning* and the meaning of *ethnic belonging* in this *social field.* The networks of gatherings are clear in my mind and I know about the different social mechanisms embodied in each Turkish football club in Berlin.

In this field research, I aimed also to reconstruct and illustrate what kind of a relevance, significance and meaning the term "social integration" has for the actors. The empirical results show that "social integration", or better said, "politics of integration", is understood by the participants in my study as a one-sided discourse functioning to *primordialise the difference.* According to the results, this primordialisation includes an implicit connotation of an artificially constructed social deficit which is perceived as stemming from the side of "migrants".

When I think of integration and football once again at the end of this research, I remember the statement of *Erdal Hoca* as he laughed and said `"We eat Bratwurst and drive German autos, what more can we do for integration?"`. In my opinion, he articulated his thoughts on integration in the best way. It is clear what "integration" means but the permanent reproduction of the discourse and debates on it, even for the intercultural social context of football, makes absolutely no sense for the participants, as it is observed in the rest of the group discussions and narrative interviews too. I can say at the end of this study that the "social integration" in a football context is a *normative orientation* rather than a target-based action pattern. Based on the reconstructions, it can also be concluded that the "politics of integration" incorporates an irrational disposition (see Stölting, 2009, Schnapper, 2007, Bausinger, 2009) of an artificial constitution of a *unique culture* to whom the "migrants" are expected to – i.e. they have to - orient themselves.

It is true that we cannot avoid the reproduction of stereotypes and prejudices, feeding the further reproduction of the debates on "social integration". They are there. They will be there. In parallel, there is the huge market, from politics to media, which produces and reproduces "the difference" between the Germans, Europeans and the religious connoted togetherness on one side, and the "migrants" on the other side, at the opposite horizon of their possessive self-perception (refer

Bhabha, 1994, Bielefeld, 1998, Said, 1993). This social arena of discourse reproduction has significant consequences on the regulation of social interaction patterns and the mutually constituted perception and presentation patterns in a migration and football context in Berlin.

Keeping these conceptualisations and interpretations in mind, this study proves that a *singularity* under the attribution of "migration background" can not be defined in this social field, due to the highly diverse and saturated cultural landscape of social gathering under football. The investigation of social relations in the peculiar social space of *mahalles* (see Chapter 3) proves that the Turkish football clubs function to generate *hybridising social spaces* (Bhabha, 1994) rather than producing antagonistic structures. The results of the study prove that the actors are playing with different *symbol multiplications* (Schiffauer, 1993) which reinforce the feeling of each particular pattern of *conjunctive social belonging*. It is explicitly clear that all the participant groups in this study are not aiming to form a single football club, e.g. under the name of "Turkish football", such as may be supposed when we think of the genesis of *othering* and the artificial constitution of difference for the social field of football in Berlin.

Consequently, the major intention in this study was to reconstruct the social function of an *interwoven structure of commonality in ethnicity* and *the distinction of each collective self-presentation generated in Turkish clubs*. Respectively, the investigation of this social field generates seven different types of social positioning and four types of understanding ethnic belonging (see Chapter 6). These types, which are constituted based on the collected empirical data, organise and arrange the perception and presentation patterns in Turkish football clubs. Each group has its own motive for gathering rather than merely the motive of common ethnic origin. And the variety and difference is constituted on top of this commonality.

On the other hand, the positioning patterns studied in this study are still under the influence of ethnic categorisations, i.e. *ethnic order* (Barth, 1969), which are established on the articulated formation of the "other", i.e. *othering*.

In this sense, this study tried to also discover the obstacles making the actors feel themselves "restricted" due to their "origin" and discover the kind of strategy, perhaps a virtuosity, that the actors perform in *playing with this social construct* in this social field.

First of all it should be mentioned that the *appreciation mechanism* developed in *mahalles* has a

peculiar meaning for the youth with migration backgrounds who suffer from being perceived as restrained, i.e. oppressed. An important dimension of this social support mechanism is the *social prestige* generated in these particular social spaces. This is the primary collectively-constituted resource when the players of Turkish origin are *playing, i.e. operating with the social construct of othering,* in the competitive social field of football in Berlin. The spectators, i.e. the buddies and fellows in *mahalles,* who celebrate and appreciate the patterns of self-displaying, fortify especially the *delikanlıs'* self-esteem. In this sense, *social prestige* can be interpreted as one of the major cogs of the wheel turning the social mechanisms in football. This feeds the permanent (re-)production of *collective effervescence* (Durkheim, 1981). Ultimately this peculiar *social reinforcement mechanism* generates an ascertainable self-displaying opportunity. It constitutes an individual capacity in mind through which the sedimented constitution of *othering* begins to lose its sharpening effect on the antagonistic positioning between "we" and "they".

Turkish football clubs in this sense generate paradigms of coping with *othering*. One of these paradigms is the prioritisation of the *corporal capital* in constituting the social positioning in this social field. The *accentuating effect* (Tajfel, 1982) which permanently emphasises the *difference* constituted based on the "migration background" on a discursive level, is observed as it is confronted with the power of the *somatic action pattern* used in this social field. This is seen as one of the major resources in the construction of each social positioning. The *somatic action pattern* is understood in this social context as individual and collective sportive performance. With this *corporal capital* at hand next to the collective *appreciation mechanism* constituted in *mahalles*, the *doxa* in the social field brings forth new perception patterns and re-orients the actors to constitute more prospective self-positioning types than retrospective and negatively-connoted "migration background" based constitutions. It means that the *logic of difference* (Neckel and Sutterlüty, 2010)[169] which poses disjuncture among groups with different cultural origins turns out to produce *negotiations* rather than *negations* (refer Bhabha, 1994).

From a broader perspective, this *corporal capital* is interpreted in this social context as *practical belief*, as a "state of body" (Bourdieu, 1990: 68) and it is involved more importantly and seriously than the "state of mind" i.e. *pragmatic faith* (Ibid.). This prioritisation of *practical belief* in mind is a re-perception process for most of the *delikanlıs*. It is a striking effect against the perception of the deteriorating impacts of the continuously reproduced *referential element* in the social positioning patterns which tend to pose negations between "we" and "they" (see chapter 5).

---

[169] Refer to p.13 for a detailed definition of the term *logic of difference.*

The results prove that the established social construct of the "other" and/or "migration background" and their exclusion, exoticism, culturalisation based connotations are still a part of the *doxa* in this social field. However, thanks to the social engagement of Turkish football clubs, their social impacts are seen merely just as a *botheration* and kept in form of *knowledge reserve – Wissensvorrat* - (Schütz and Luckmann, 1979) in the actors' minds.

According to the results, two crucial dimensions of *othering* make up this *botheration.* One is a *specified* type of *othering.* The reconstruction of this *specified othering* shows that it has the social function of sharpening the picture of the "other" for the players of Turkish origin. This is the type of "the East Berliner" (refer Chapter 5). In this constellation, at least "the migrant of Turkish origin" constructs a stereotype for his polar opposite, based on the political-regional belonging of another group, people whose place of origin is *former East Berlin* (refer Stölting, 2000). Instead of *ethnicisation,* regional identity is taken as the criteria in building antagonistic constellations. Based on the pattern of social belonging to the city of Berlin, the participants present themselves as "established" inhabitants in comparison to the *East Berliners* who are perceived as "newcomers" after the unification of Berlin, i.e. Germany (refer Elias and Scotson, 1994). This pattern of self-perception and the *othering* has less to do with the difference constituted based on ethnic origins. This path of perception has a constructive consequence on the constitution of social positioning in Turkish football clubs and it brings forth a more stable self-perception pattern in the migratory football context and tightens the social belonging to the city of Berlin.

Parallel to this stabilization in the "migrant"'s self-perception pattern, another pattern of *othering* is observed in the transnational social space. This is true for some exclusive players who prefer to move to the "homeland" in order to become a "football star" with the aim of playing in higher professional leagues. The *delikanlı* with his high *social prestige* constituted in *mahalles* leaves Berlin and moves to the *homeland* which is reconstructed as a *chronotopic* (Bachtin, 2008) *constitution* (refer Chapter 5). In this perception pattern, time and social space in the *homeland* is seen rigid such as on a theater stage and it generates affective belonging patterns to the *homeland.* The *homeland* is perceived as the social space ruled by the common ethnic social order. However the reconstructions based on the individual experiences point out that the chronotopically constructed *illusio* and *doxa* demand a particular *keying* (Goffman, 1974). Rather than the fellowship ties based on *the bonding social capital* (Putnam, 2002) of common ethnicity, the *delikanlıs* in the *homeland* are faced with an *antithetical action pattern* (see Chapter 5). In this case,

the narrative interviews prove that the players are faced with the negative impacts of the orientations of self-ethnicisation in the "homeland". This self-experience in the social space of *chronotopos* (Bachtin, 2008), which had to and/or is presumed to position the *delikanlı* in a well-situated status of *heterotopie* (Foucault, 2005), turns out to be a *distopie* (Ibid.) for the young candidates of professional football.

Even though these two experience patterns seem to generate antagonistic self-positioning types, the *delikanlı* stabilises the ambivalence (see Table 3) in his self-perception in a migration context after these experiences. This stabilisation combined with the determination of the borders of *othering* merely with the group of "East Germans" and as well as the distancing from the Turkish actors in the *homeland* assist the *delikanlı* to perceive himself consciously and eliminate the irritating impacts of ambivalence in his self-perception pattern.

These two dimensions, i.e. both the patterns of *exogenous* as well as the *indigenous othering* finally bring forth a trusted path of self-perception and a corresponding self-positioning for the players of Turkish origin. On one side, the *exogenous othering* which is specified merely with the *East-Berliner* in this social context is limited to generate merely a kind of *life-world strangeness* (Münkler and Ladwig, 1997)[170]. On the other side, there are no hints provided by the collective data that the intentions of *social* and/or *cultural strangeness* (Ibid.) are reproduced which generate reciprocal perception and presentation patterns between the "Turkish players" and the "German players". For the case of *indigenous othering*, instead of these above mentioned three types of strangeness, a kind of *cognitive distance* (Ibid.) is observed between "we" and "they - in the *homeland*". In this case, the sedimentation of unexpected negative self-experiences in the transnational social space and transposition in this sedimentation process is explicitly observed. This is especially true for the process of *sedimentation* (Schutz, 1975) in the constitution of self-perception and collective presentation patterns. The "heard experiences" and the "own experiences" (Ibid.) for the typification of "homeland" are proved in the minds of the actors and this finally tightens the social positioning patterns in this social field.

Based on these reconstructions of *othering*, it can be concluded that the fundamental contribution of Turkish football clubs is their engagement in the *re-constitution of the self-perception patterns.* This contributes to the further generation of multicultural understanding and it counts as the most crucial change of *keying* in this social field. The learning of this *keying* (Goffman, 1974) is the major item

---

[170] See Chapter 2 for the definition of the terms.

in the constitution of social integration through football.

This *keying* is organised by the fraternal role players: *ağbis* and *hocas* as well as the fellows and buddies, i.e. the other actors from the *mahalles*. They are the *locus of adjustment* in the (re-)constitution of perception patterns (see the type *fraternal social positioning*). *Civic virtues* are produced in these social spaces where the patterns of *reciprocity, trust and recognition* (Warren, 2001) are well-constituted for the actors. Such as it is presented in the typology of social positioning, the lack of these fraternal actors cause some negative consequences (see the types of *stumbling social positioning* and *remedial social positioning*). The other types of social positioning patterns demonstrate that they are constituted based on the understanding of social integration as a pattern of process in which "these worlds are constantly reproduced and changed by processes of legitimation, segmentation and intersection" (Soeffner and Zifonun, 2008: 4). The empirical results show that the social positioning as well as the meaning of ethnic belonging change from group to group. The orientations of *segmentation* as well as *intersection* include different elements of belonging in each social world which the individuals brings with himself to the Turkish football clubs.

In two of the empirical cases, the process of this *institutionalisation* is explicitly observed. The first one is the case of *compulsory social positioning* and the second one is the *organic social positioning*. For the first case, the crossing patterns of social integrative engagement and the patterns of establishment of a semi-professional group end up with *paradoxical consequences* for the group. Through the involvement of fraternally perceived actors, particular social mechanisms are initiated in the sense of adaption-oriented *subsystems* (refer to Parsons, 1970). In these subsystems, the youth population, presented as the "deviant" and/or "outsider" in the social problem zones i.e. city-districts, is integrated in the Turkish football clubs. This type of social positioning generates alternatively the patterns of *symbiotic opposition* (Wacquant, 2004) to the dis-integrative social order and system produced in these spaces of social problem.

In the second case, the *organic social positioning* demonstrates to us explicitly the process of *institutionalisation* of social integration in a group. The reconstructions point out that the *homo-social spaces* with fellows and buddies may bring forth some negative impacts. The tensions of organic solidarity formation collide in this case with the professional aims of the group. The uncontrollable impacts stemming from the mono-cultural group formation deteriorate the expected *keying* in practicing progressive football. As the empirical results show, the group is re-organised with the aim of forming a multicultural team. Via this intention, a certain pattern of cohesion is

reproduced in the team.

The last two types of social positioning constituted based on the empirical results represent examples of the well-established social positioning types. The *branding social positioning* produces patterns of social integration and multicultural group formations. The group is engaged itself with public issues in diverse social spaces. This type of group has the *Ruhmerfolg* both with its initiatives of social integration and as well as with its success in football on the performative level. For the last case, the *incorporated social positioning*, the social integration is a substitute activity for the group and the major aim is to produce progressive football in Berlin.

The patterns of positioning produced especially in both these groups are solid and consolidated rather than fragile and ambivalent. This is a fundamental mile-stone in the revision, i.e. altering the anachronistic patterns constituted on the customary formation of *othering*[171], too.

As a *delikanlı* in one of the group discussions points out, the backstage of constitution and adjustment of social positioning in Turkish football clubs is, in fact, a central aspect. He states that *"it is not so challenging to learn football, you can go to the field and learn football there, but there is the changing room as well where you learn how to act, react and behave"*. This description underlines once again the importance of the engagement of actors in this social field. They have the most significant function in this progressive change. Through the fraternal engagement as well as the social support and prestige mechanisms constituted in *mahalles* by fellows and buddies, i.e. spectators, the players acquire the talent of arranging their actual positioning and prospective aspirations in the migration context of football.

Another significant result which underlines the peculiarity in the social function of Turkish football clubs is the meaning of the particular social space they have for the youth with Turkish origin fighting i.e. playing with their resources in this competitive social field. This social space is constituted as an in-between space where players position themselves between the patterns of *segmented* and *functional bonding* (Elias and Dunning, 1986). The *doxa,* i.e. the belief constituted in the peculiar constellation of local football and migration context, in this respect, is structured according to the belief of *naturelle Gemeinheit* (Simmel, 1992) and the *funktionelle Ausdehnung* (Ibid.).

---

[171] Refer to Chapter 1 for the conceptual definition.

This in-between space working as creating an effect for the easing of (or reduction in) tension for the players who find themselves in the interwoven reproduction structure of *referential* and *contextual elements of individual positioning* (see chapter 6.1.) in this social field. The players who could not find a place in German teams, and/or upper leagues in the highly competitive social field of football can position themselves in Turkish football clubs. The Turkish football clubs in this sense satisfy more or less the individual feeling of belonging based on the cordial comfort of *Wärme des Gemütes* (Simmel, 1992). The perception of *othering* is, then revised based on the *endemic relation patterns.* The *seelische contents* (Ibid.) of their togetherness bring forth a peculiar change in the constitution and perception of *othering.* This opportunity of revision diminishes the intensiveness in the perception of negative impacts of the "migration background" and refreshes the social positioning patterns with relativism.

In this respect, the Turkish football clubs take the social function of *re-allocation* of the youth who has an ambivalent self-perception in the social field of football in Berlin. In this constellation, especially the *delikanlıs* who suffer under the marking impacts of *othering* finds a place of easiness. In this social space, the *delikanlıs* under the direction of *ağbis* and *hocas,* pass through a social process in which they learn to improve their self-autonomy. This phase has the social effect of transition in the re-constitution of the patterns of perception and presentation for the *delikanlıs.* The *role-distancing* (Goffman, 1972) of *delikanlı* which stems from the social impacts of *othering* is eliminated and the diffusion is re-constituted as an *contextual element* in social positioning rather than a *referential* one. This reduces explicitly the negative impacts of stereotyping, prejudices and basically of *othering* (see Chapter 4). This learning phase is based on a *re-subjectivation process* in which the *illusio* and *doxa* are re-generated in this social field once again in the peculiar social spaces of Turkish football clubs.

In these particular social spaces, the meanings of ethnicity and ethnic belonging change from group to group. Accordingly, four types of understanding ethnic belonging are built based on the reconstructions (see Chapter 6). Whereas the *folkloric ethnicity* refers to the symbolic, ritual and routine-based understanding of ethnic belonging generated mostly in *fraternal social positioning* type of clubs, the *multicultural understanding of ethnic belonging* is embodied mostly in the clubs who are at the phase of establishing (refer *compulsory* and *organic types*) or who already have well-established (refer *branding* and *incorporated* types) forms of social positioning. For the social positioning types of *remedial* and *stumbling*, more of an *affiliative understanding of ethnic belonging* comes into existence where the ethnic belonging in group formations as the motive of

gathering loses some part of its meaning, relevance and sense. As the fourth type of ethnic belonging pattern, the *instrumental understanding of ethnicity* is observed as it is limited only to the case of transnational mobility of *delikanlıs* to the *homeland*.

As a result, this study tends to demonstrate that the composition of the patterns of self-positioning at the individual level and the integrative types at the institutional scale determine the sociological meaning and the functions of the patterns of self-presentations and *othering.* Based on the seven different types of social positioning, the overall schemata of the phenomenon of social integration and the Turkish football clubs are illustrated. Four types of ethnic belonging broaden the results of the reconstruction work done in this study. These outcomes will hopefully serve further sociological discussions on migration in football context and contribute to the studies on identity constitution in this social field with interwoven dimensions. The study proves that the Turkish football clubs in Berlin function as the mechanisms of social integration and the final typologies show that the collective meaning of social integration work and effort changes among the clubs.

Finally, it can be concluded that the Turkish football clubs play a significant role in the social field of football in Berlin. They generate patterns of social positioning locating the player of "migrant" origin in this competitive social space and organise their self-perception and the perception of the "other". The meaning of ethnic belonging and the functions of ethnicity in this social field show the changing meaning and significance of the *belief* on common origin (refer Weber, 2006).

In this respect, the ethnicity in football context is an important factor with which the individuals are playing. The Turkish football clubs generate the social spaces in which the patterns of perception and self-presentation patterns as well as *othering* are re-arranged under the intensive engagement of the different actors in this particular social field.

Bibliography

Abadan-Unat, N. (2006), *Bitmeyen Göç – Konuk Işçilikten Ulus-Ötesi Yurttaşlığa,* Istanbul Bilgi Üniversitesi Yayinlari, Istanbul.

Aktan, O. (2010), "The Role of Hocas in the Social Integration of Football Players of Turkish origin in Berlin", in: Cynarski, W., Obodynski, K., Porro, N., (ed.), *Sports, Bodies, Identities and Organizations*, University of Rzeszow Press, Rzeszow.

Aktan, O. (2011), "Amateuerfußballspieler türkischer Herkunft – Rekonstruktion ihrer Selbst- und Fremddarstellung", in: Soeffner, H.G., *Transnationale Vergesellschaftungen,* VS Verlag, Wiesbaden.

Allport, G.W. (1954), *The nature of Prejudice*, Addison Wesley, Cambridge.

Allridge, A. (1998), "Habitus and Cultural Capital in the Field of Personal Finance", in: *Sociological Revue,* Jg. 46, H. 1, S. 1–23.

Anderson, B. [1983] (2006), *Imagined Communities*, Verso, London.

Appadurai, A. (1996), *Modernity at Large: Cultural Dimensions of Globalization,* University of Minnesota, Minneapolis.

Armstrong, G., Giulianotti, R. (ed.) (1997), *Entering the Field: New Perspectives on World Football*, Berg, Oxford.

Armstrong, G., Giulianotti, R. (ed.) (1999), *Football Cultures and Identities*, Macmillan Press, London.

Bachtin, M. [1975] (2008), *Chronotopos*, Suhrkamp, Frankfurt a.M..

Bade, K., Oltmer, J. (2004), *Normalfall Migration*, Bundeszentrale für politische Bildung, Bonn.

Bade, K. (2006), "Integration und Politik - aus der Geschichte lernen?", in: *Aus Politik und Zeitgeschichte*, Vol. 40/41, Bundeszentrale für politische Bildung, Bonn, pp. 3-6.

Balcioglu, I. (2003), *Sporun Sosyolojisi ve Psikolojisi,* Bilge Yayincilik, Istanbul.

Barth, F. [1969] (1998), *Ethnic Groups and Boundaries*, Waveland Press, Illinois.

Bateson, G. (1955), "The message 'This Is Play'", in: Schaffner, B., (ed.), *Group Processes*, Josiah Macy, Jr., Foundation Proceedings, New York, pp. 145-242.

Bausinger, H. (ed.), (1986), *Ausländer-Inländer Arbeitsmigration und kulturelle Identität*, TübingerVereinigung für Volkskunde e.V., Tübingen.

Bausinger, H. (2009), *Typisch Deutsch. Wie deutsch sind die Deutschen?*, Verlag C.H. Beck, München.

Berger, P., Luckmann, T. (1969), *Die Gesellschaftliche Konstruktion der Wirklichkeit*, Fischer, Frankfurt am Main.

Besikci, I. (1991), *Kürtlerin Mecburi Iskani*, Yurt Kitap, Ankara.

Bette, K. H. (1995), "Beobachtungs- und Reflexionsdefizite im Sportsystem", in: Winkler, J., Weiss, K., *Soziologie des Sports*, Westdeutscher Verlag, Opladen, pp. 75-91.

Barthes, R. (2005), *Was ist Sport? Der Sport und die Männer*, Brinkmann und Bose, Berlin.

Bhabha, H. (1994), *The location of culture*, Routledge, London.

Bielefeld, U. (1998), *Das Eigene und das Fremde,* Hamburger Edition, Hamburg, pp. 9-23, 97-129.

Bielefeld, U. (2008), "Die Gemeinschaft auf dem Platz und die Gemeinschaften", in: Klein, G., Meuser, M. (ed.), (2008), *Ernste Spiele*, Transcript, Bielefeld, pp. 17-31.

Biondi, F., Jusuf N., Rafik S. & Suleman T. (ed.), (1981), *Zwischen Fabrik und Bahnhof*, Südwind Con, Bremen.

Bloss, T. (1997), *Les liens de famille, sociologie des rapports entre générations*, Presses Universitaires de France, Paris.

Bogdal, K. M. (1978), *Schaurige Bilder*, Syndikat, Frankfurt am Main.

Bohnsack, R. (2003), *Rekonstruktive Sozialforschung - Einführung in Methodologie und Praxis qualitativer Forschung,* Leske und Budrich, Opladen.

Bohnsack, R. (2004), "Gruppendiskussion", in: Flick, U., Kardoff, E., Steinke, I. (ed.), *Qualitative Forschung,* Rowolhts, Hamburg, pp. 369-384.

Bora, T. (2004), *Takimdan Ayri Düz Kosu*, Iletisim Yayinlari, Istanbul.

Bora, T. (2006), *Karhanede Romantizm-Futbol Yazilari*, Iletisim Yayinlari, Istanbul.

Bromberger, C. (1995), *Le Match de Football – Ethnologie d'une passion partisane,* Éditions de la Maison des sciences de l'homme, Paris, S. 59-77, 86-93, 165-173, 193-207, 379-391.

Bröskamp, B., Alkemeyer, T. (1996), *Fremdheit und Rassismus im Sport*, Academia Verlag, Sankt Augustin.

Bourdieu, P., Passeron, J.C. (1971), *Die Illusion der Chancengleichheit. Untersuchungen zur Soziologie des Bildungswesens am Beispiel Frankreichs,* Klett, Stuttgart.

Bourdieu, P. (1983), "Ökonomisches Kapital, kulturelles Kapital, soziales Kapital", in: Kreckel, R. (ed.), *Soziale Ungleichheiten - Sonderband*, in: *Soziale Welt - Sonderband 2*, Göttingen, pp.183-198.

Bourdieu, P. (1984), *Distinction : A Social Critique of the Judgement of Taste*, Harvard University Press, Cambridge, Massachusetts.

Bourdieu, P. (1990), *The Logic of Practice*, Stanford University Press, Stanford, California. pp. 1-29, 63-79.

Bourdieu, P. (1994), *Sociology in Question*, Sage Publications, London.

Bourdieu, P. (2000), *Die zwei Gesichter der Arbeit,* UVK, Konstanz.

Bourdieu, P. (2001a), *Soziologische Fragen*, Suhrkamp, Frankfurt am Main.

Bourdieu, P. (2001b), *Meditationen – Zur Kritik der scholastischen Vernunft,* Suhrkamp, Frankfurt am Main, pp. 265-315.

Bourdieu, P., Wacquant, L. (2006), *Reflexive Anthropologie*, Suhrkamp, Frankfurt am Main.

Braun, S., Nobis, T. (ed.) (2011), *Migration, Integration und Sport,* VS Verlag, Wiesbaden.

Bukow, W.D., Nikodem, C., Schulze, E. & Yildiz, E. (2007), *Was heißt hier Parallelgesellschaft?,* VS Verlag, Wiesbaden.

Burrmann, U., Mutz, M. & Zender, U. (2015), *Jugend, Migration und Sport,* Springer Verlag, Wiesbaden.

Burrmann, U., Brandmann, K., Mutz, M. & Zender, U. (2017), "Ethnic Identities, Sense of Belonging and the Significance of Sport: Stories from Immigrant Youths in Germany". *European Journal for Sport and Society.* Vol. 14, Issue 3, pp. 186-204.

Caglar, A. (1996), "Beyond Culturalism", in: Bröskamp, B., Alkemeyer, T. (1996), *Fremdheit und Rassismus im Sport*, Academia Verlag, Sankt Augustin, pp. 53-65.

Caglar, A. (1997), "Hyphenated Identities and the Limits of 'Culture'", in: Modood, T., Werbner, P. (ed.), *The Politics of Multiculturalism in the New Europe*, Zed Books Ltd., London.

Certeau, M. (1997), *Culture in the Plural*, University of Minnesota, Mineapolis.

Ceylan, R. (2006), *Ethnische Kolonien: Entstehung, Funktion und Wandel am Beispiel türkischer Moscheen und Cafés*, VS Verlag für Sozialwissenschaften, Wiesbaden.

Cohen, A. (1955), *Delinquent Boys*: *The Culture of the Gang*, Free Press, Glencoe, IL.

Collins, R. (2004), *Interaction Ritual Chains*, Princeton University Press, Princeton, NJ.

Collins, R. (2008), "Sports Violence", in: Collins, R., *Violence*, Princeton University Press, New Jersey, pp. 282-334.

Crul, M., Vermeulen, H. (2003), "The second generation in Europe", *International Migration Review, Special issue,* 37, 4, pp. 965-986.

Dilthey, W. (1999), "Der Aufbau der geschichtlichen Welt in den Geistes-wissenschaften", in: Lessing, H.U. (ed.), *Philosophische Hermeneutik*, Freiburg, pp.49-75.

Douglas, M. (1975), *Implicit Meanings*, Routledge & Kegan Paul, London.

Dunning, E., Sheard, K. (2005), *Barbarians, Gentlemen and Players, Second Edition - A Sociological Study of the Development of Rugby Football*, Routledge, London.

Durkheim, E. (1964), *The Division of Labor in Society*, Free Press, New York.

Durkheim, E. (1981), *Die elementaren Formen des religiösen Lebens,* Suhrkamp, Frankfurt am Main.

Dünne, J., Günzel, S. (2006), *Raumtheorie. Grundlagentexte aus Philosophie und Kulturwissenschaften*, Suhrkamp, Frankfurt a.M., pp. 304-330, 354-371.

Eberle, T. (2000), *Lebensweltanalyse und Handlungstheorie*, UVK, Konstanz.

Eichberg, H. (2001), "Sport, Nation und Identität", in: Heinemann, K., Schubert, M. (ed.), *Sport und Gesellschaft*, Hoffmann, Schorndorf, pp. 37-63.

Eidheim, H. ([1969] (1998), "When ethnic identity is a social paradigm", in: Barth, F. [1969] (1998), *Ethnic Groups and Boundaries*, Waveland Press, Illinois.

Elias, N. (1988), *Über die Zeit*, Suhrkamp, Frankfurt am Main.

Elias, N. [1970] (2009), *Was ist Soziologie?*, Juventa, Weinheim.

Elias, N., Dunning, E. (1986), *Quest for Excitement - Sport and Leisure in the Civilizing Process*, Basil Blackwell, Oxford.

Elias, N., Scotson, J. L. [1965] (1994), *The established and the outsiders: a sociological inquiry into community problems,* Sage Publications, London.

Eriksen, T. H. (1993), *Ethnicity and Nationalism,* Pluto Press, London.

Esser, H. (2001), *Integration und ethnische Schichtung,* Arbeitspapiere - Mannheimer Zentrum für Europäische Sozialforschung Nr. 40, Mannheim.

Evers, R., (2008), "Spieler oder Pilger? Spiel und ritualtheoretische Einwürfe zum Thema Fußball-Fans", in: Brandes, H., Christa, H. & Evers, R., *Hauptsache Fußball – Sozialwissenschaftliche Einwürfe*, Psychosozial-Verlag, Gießen, pp. 95-117.

Faist, T. (2000), *The Volume and Dynamics of International Migration and Transnational Social Spaces*, Oxford University Press, Oxford.

Flick, U., Kardoff, E. & Steinke, I. (ed.) (2004), *Qualitative Forschung,* Rowolhts, Hamburg.

Foucault, M. (2005), *Heterotopien – Der utopischer Körper,* Suhrkamp, Frankfurt am Main.

Gadamer, H.G. (1999), "Wahrheit und Methode. Grundzüge einer philosophischen Hermeneutik", in: Lessing, H.U. (ed.), *Philosophische Hermeneutik*, Freiburg, pp. 175-224.

Gans, H. J. (1982), *The urban villagers: Group and Class in the Life of Italian-Americans*, Free Press, New York.

Gans, H. J. (1999), *Making Sense of America*, Rowman Littlefeld Publications, Maryland.

Garfinkel, H. (1967), *Studies in Ethnomethodology. Englewood Cliffs*, Prentice Hall, New Jersey.

Garfinkel, H. (1973), "Das Alltagswissen über soziale und innerhalb sozialer Strukturen", Arbeitsgruppe Bielefelder Soziologen (ed.) (1973)*, Alltagswissen, Interaktion und gesellschaftliche Wirklichkeit*, Rowohlt, Reinbek bei Hamburg, pp. 189-260.

Garfinkel, H., Sacks, H. (1976), "Über formale Strukturen praktischer Handlungen", in: Weingarten, E., Sack, F. & Schenkein, J. (ed.), *Ethnomethodologie,* Suhrkamp, Frankfurt am Main, pp. 130-176.

Geer, B. (1964), "First Days in the field. A Chronicle of Research in Progress", in: Hammond, P. E. (ed.), *Sociologists at Work - Essays on the Craft of Social Research*, Basic Books, New York, pp. 322-344.

Geipel, R. (1982), "Kognitives kartieren als Bindeglied zwischen Psychologie und Geographie", in: Downs, R. and Stea, D., *Kognitive Karten: Die Welt in unseren Köpfen*. Harper&Row, UTB, Tübingen.

Giesen, B. (1991), *Die Entdinglichung des Sozialen*, Suhrkamp, Frankfurt am Main, pp. 21-82.

Glaser, B., Strauss, A. (2007), *The Discovery of Grounded Theory: Strategies for qualitative research*, Aldine de Gruyter, New Brunswick.

Goffman, E. (1972), *The presentation of Self in Everyday Life,* Penguin Press, London.

Goffman, E. (1974), *Frame Analysis*, Harper Colophon Books, New York.

Gordon, M. M. (1964), Assimilation in American Life, Oxford University Press, Oxford.

Göle, N. (2008), *Melez Desenler – Islam ve Modernlik Üzerine*, Metis Yayinlari, Istanbul.

Göle, N. (2012), *Seküler ve Dinsel: Asinan Sinirlar*, Metis Yayinlari, Istanbul.

Göle, N. (2015), *Islam and Secularity*, Duke University Press, Durham and London.

Guilianotti, R. (2005), *Sport - A Critical Sociology*, Polity Press, Cambridge.

Hahn, A. (1983), "Konsensfiktionen in Kleingruppen. Dargestellt am Beispiel von Jungen Ehen", in: Neidhardt, F., (ed.), *Zeitschrift für Soziologie und Sozialpsychologie,* Sonderheft 25. Gruppensoziologie, pp. 210-232.

Halm, D., Sauer, M. (2006), "Parallelgesellschaft und ethnische Schichtung - Zur empirischen Bedeutung unterschiedlicher Konzepte des Zusammenlebens von Deutschen und Türken", in: *Aus Politik und Zeitgeschichte*, 1/2006, Bundeszentrale für politische Bildung, Bonn.

Haug, S. (2000), *Soziales Kapital und Kettenmigration. Italienische Migranten in Deutschland*, Leske und Budrich, Wiesbaden.

Häußermann, H., Kapphan, A. (2000), *Berlin. Von der geteilten zur gespaltenen Stadt? Sozialräumlicher Wandel seit 1990*, VS Verlag, Wiesbaden.

Heckmann, F. (1997a), "Nation und Integration von Migranten in Deutschland", in: *Europäisches Forum für Migrantenstudien-efms*, efms paper Nr.13, Bamberg.

Heckmann, F. (1997b), "Patterns of Immigrant Integration in Germany", *Comparative Immigration and Integration Programme Fall Workshop - Oct. 10-11, 1997*, University of California, Davis.

Heckmann, F. (1998), "Ethnische Kolonie: Schonraum für Integration oder verstärker der Ausgrenzung", in: Friedrich-Ebert Stiftung, (ed.), *Ghettos oder ethnische Kolonien? Entwicklungschancen vom Stadtteilen mit hohem Zuwandereranteil,* pp. 29-41.

Heitmeyer, W. (1996), "Für türkische Jugendliche in Deutschland spielt der Islam eine wichtige Rolle. Erste empirische Studie: 27 Prozent befürworten Gewalt zur Durchsetzung religiöser Ziele", in: *Die Zeit*, 23.08.1996.

Heitmeyer, W., Anhut, R. (ed.) (2000), *Bedrohte Stadtgesellschaften. Soziale Desintegrationsprozesse und ethnisch-kulturelle Konfliktkonstellationen,* Juventa, Weinheim.

Heitmeyer, W., Imbusch, P. (2005), *Integrations-potenziale einer modernen Gesellschaft*, VS Verlag, Wiesbaden.

Herbert, U. (2003), *Geschichte der Ausländerpolitik in Deutschland*, Bundeszentrale für politische Bildung, Verlag C.H. Beck, München.

Hillebrandt, F. (1999), *Die Habitus-Feld-Theorie als Beitrag zur Mikro-MakroProblematik in der Soziologie - aus der Sicht des Feldbegriffs,* Technische Universität Hamburg-Harburg, Hamburg.

Hobsbawn, E., Ranger, T. (1992), *The Invention of Tradition*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge.

Honer, A. (1995a), "Bodybuilding als Sinnprovinz der Lebenswelt", in: Winkler, J., Weis, K. (ed.), *Soziologie des Sports.* Opladen (Westdeutscher), pp. 181-186.

Honer, A. (1995b), "Lebensweltliche Ethnographie und das Phänomen Sport", in: Winkler, J., Weis, K. (ed.), *Soziologie des Sports*. Opladen (Westdeutscher), pp. 45-57.

Hopf, W. (1998), *Fußball: Soziologie und Sozialgeschichte einer populären Sportart*, Lit Verlag, Münster.

Horak, R., Reiter, W. & Bora, T. (1993), *Futbol ve Kültürü*, Iletisim Yayinlari, Istanbul.

Hitzler, R. (1995), "Ist Sport Kultur?", in: Winkler, J., Weis, Kurt (ed.): *Soziologie des Sports,* Opladen (Westdeutscher) 1995, pp. 153-163.

Hutchinson, J., Smith, A.D. (ed.) (1996), *Ethnicity*, Oxford University Press, Oxford.

Jimenez, T. R. (2010), "Affiliative ethnic identity: A more elastic link between ethnic ancestry and culture", in: *Ethnic and Racial Studies,* Vol 33, No. 10, November 2010, pp. 1756-1775.

Kaleli, L. (2000), *Alevi Kimligi ve Alevi Örgütlenmeleri*, Can Yayinlari, Istanbul.

Kasinitz, P., Mollenkopf, J. & Waters, M. (2004), "Becoming New Yorkers: Ethnographies of the New Second Generation", Russell Sage Foundation, New York.

Kasinitz, P., Mollenkopf, J. H., Waters. M. C. & Holdaway, J. (2008), *Inheriting the City*, Harvard University Press, Cambridge.

Kaya, A. (2000), *Berlin'deki Kücük Istanbul*, Büke Yayinlari, Istanbul.

Kaya, A. (2004), "European Union, Europeanness and Euro-Turks: Hyphenated and Multiple Identities - Avrupa Birligi, Avrupalilik ve Avrupa-Türkleri: Tireli ve Cogul Kimlikler", in: *Cogito - Avrupa'yi Düsünmek Özel Sayisi, 39*, pp. 324-332.

Kaya, A., Kentel, F. (2005), *Euro-Türkler Türkiye ile Avrupa Birligi Arasinda Köprü mü, Engel mi?*, Istanbul Bilgi Üniversitesi Publications, Istanbul.

Kirisci, K., Winrow, G. M. (1997), *The Kurdish Question and Turkey, An Example of a Trans-State Conflict*, Frank Cass and Co., London.

Klein, G., Meuser, M. (ed.) (2008), *Ernste Spiele*, Transcript, Bielefeld.

Knutsson, K.E. [1969] (1998), "Dichotomization and Integration", in: Barth, F., *Ethnic Groups and Boundaries*, Waveland Press, Illinois.

Kozanoglu, C. (2002), *Türkiye'de Futbol-Bu Maci Alicaz!*, Iletisim Yayinlari, Istanbul.

Krais, B. (2005), "Die moderne Gesellschaft und ihre Klassen - Bourdieus Konstrukt des sozialen Raums", in: Colliot-Thélène, C., Bourdieu, P. (ed.), *Pierre Bourdieu deutsch-französische Perspektiven.* 1. Aufl. Suhrkamp, Frankfurt am Main, pp. 79–105.

Kuper, S. (2003), *Futbol asla sadece futbol degildir,* Ithaki Yayinlari, Istanbul.

Kvale, S. (1996), *Interviews. An Introduction to Qualitative Research Interviewing*, Sage Publications, London.

Lanfranchi, P. (2002), "Football, cosmopolitisme et nationalisme", in: *Revue Pouvoirs* Vol. 101, Editions de Seuil, Paris, pp. 15-27.

Lenk, H. (2010), *Sport von Kopf bis (Fuß)ball,* Lit Verlag, Berlin.

Lin, N. (1999), "Building a Network Theory of Social Capital", in: *Connections* 22(1):28-51, INSNA.

Lindner, R. (1983), *Der Satz "Der Ball ist rund" hat eine gewisse philosophische Tiefe*, Transit Buchverlag, Berlin.

Lippmann, W. [1922] (1980), *Public Opinion*, Transaction, New Brunswick.

Lockwood, D. (1964), "Social Integration and System Integration", in: George K., Hirsch, Z. W. (ed.), *Explorations in Social Change,* London, p. 244-257.

Löw, M. (2001), *Raum-soziologie*, Suhrkamp, Frankfurt am Main, pp. 152-231.

Mangold, W. (1960), *Gegenstand und Methode des Gruppendiskussionsverfahrens*, Europäische Verlagsanstalt, Frankfurt am Main.

Mannheim, K. (1964), "Das Problem der Generationen", in: Mannheim, K., *Wissenssoziologie*, Luchterhand, Neuwied, pp. 509-565.

Maraldo, J. C. (1984), *Der hermeneutische Zirkel*, Alber, Freiburg.

Martinez, M. (2002), *Warum Fußball?: Kulturwissenschaftliche Beschreibungen eines Sports*, Aisthesis Verlag, Bielefeld.

Martucelli, D. (2002), *Grammaires de l'individu*, Èditions Gallimard, Paris, pp. 345-427.

McGill, C. (2006), *Futbolun Karhanesi*, Ithaki Yayinlari, Istanbul.

Mead, H. (1934), *Mind, Self and Society*, University of Chicago Press, Chicago.

Meinefeld, W. (2004), "Hypothesen und Vorwissen in der qualitativen Sozialforschung", in: Flick, U., Kardoff, E., Steinke, I. (ed.), *Qualitative Forschung,* Rowolhts, Hamburg, pp. 265-276.

Merkel, U., (1999), "Football Identity and Youth in Germany", in: Guilianotti, R., Armstrong, G., (1999), *Football cultures and identities*, Mac Millan Press, Hampshire.

Merton, R. K. (1968), *Social Theory and Social Structure*, Free Press, New York.

Meuser, M. (2008), "It's a Men's World. Ernste Spiele männlicher Vergemeinschaftung", in: Klein, G., Meuser, M., *Ernste Spiele. Zur politische Soziologie des Fußballs*, Transcript Verlag, Bielefeld.

Mignon, P. (2000), "Sport, Insertion, Intégration", in: *Au Miroir du Sport,* No: 1226, pp.15-26.

Muchow, M., Muchow, H. H. [1935] (1998), *Der Lebensraum des Großstadtkindes*, Juventa, Weinheim.

Mutz, M. (2012), *Sport als Sprungbrett in die Gesellschaft?*, Beltz Juventa Verlag, Weinheim.

Müller, H. P. (1992), "Die sozialkulturelle Ungleicheitstheorie", in: Müller, H. P., (ed.), *Sozialstruktur und Lebensstile - Der neuere theoretische Diskurs über soziale Ungleichheit,* Suhrkamp, Frankfurt am Main, pp. 238- 351.

Müller, M., Zifonun, D. (2010), *Ethnowissen. Soziologische Beiträge zu ethnischer Differenzierung und Migration,* VS Verlag, Wiesbaden.

Münkler, H., Ladwig, B. (1997), *Furcht und Faszination – Facetten der Fremdheit*, Akademie Verlag, Berlin, pp. 7-45.

Nauck, B., Kohlmann, A. (1998), "Verwandtschaft als soziales Kapital Netzwerkbeziehungen in türkischen Migrantenfamilien, in: Wagner, M., Schütze, Y. (ed.), *Verwandschaft: Sozialwissenschaftliche Beiträge zu einem vernachlässigten Thema,* Enke, Stuttgart, pp. 203-235.

Neckel, S., Soeffner, H.G. (2008), *Mittendrin im Abseits. Ethnische Gruppenbeziehungen im lokalen Kontext,* VS Verlag für Sozialwissenschaften, Wiesbaden.

Neckel, S. (2008), *Flucht nach Vorn*, Campus Verlag, Frankfurt am Main.

Neckel, S., Sutterlüty, F. (2008), "Negative Klassifikationen und die symbolische Ordnung sozialer Ungleichheit", in: Neckel, S., Soeffner, H.G., *Mittendrin im Abseits. Ethnische Gruppenbeziehungen im lokalen Kontext,* VS Verlag, Wiesbaden, pp. 15-27.

Neckel, S., Sutterlüty, F. (2010), "Negative Klassifikationen und ethnische Ungleichheit", in: Müller, M., Zifonun, D., *Ethnowissen. Soziologische Beiträge zu ethnischer Differenzierung und Migration,* VS Verlag, Wiesbaden, pp. 217-235.

Nedelmann, B. (2006), "Georg Simmel", in: Kaesler, D. (Hrsg.), *Klassiker der Soziologie - Band 1*, Verlag C. H. Beck, München, pp. 128-151.

Nobis, T. (2007), "Einstellungen jugendlicher Sportvereinsmitglieder zur ausländischen Bevölkerung", in: Nobis, T., Baur, J., *Soziale Integration vereinsorganisierter Jugendlicher,* Sportverlag Strauß, Bonn.

Nobis, T., Braun, S. (2011), *Migration, Integration und Sport*, VS Verlag, Wiesbaden.

Nohl, A.M. (2001), *Migration und Differenzerfahrung*, Leske+Budrich, Opladen.

Nowak, J. (2006), *Leitkultur und Parallelgesellschaft. Argumente wider einen deutschen Mythos.* Brandes & Apsel Press, Frankfurt am Main.

Parsons, T. (1970), *The social system*, Routledge and Kegan Paul, London.

Park, R.E. (1928), "Human migration and the marginal man", in: *American Journal of Sociology,* Vol. 33, No.6, pp. 881-893.

Payoshni, M. (2009), "Challenging Stereotypes: The Case of Muslim Female Boxers in Bengal", in: *The International Journal of the History of Sport,* Vol. 26, No. 12, September 2009, pp. 1840-1851.

Peters, B. (1997), " 'Multikulturalismus' und 'Differenz' - Zu einigen Kategorien der Zeitdiagnose", in: Münkler, H., Ladwig., B., *Furcht und Faszination – Facetten der Fremdheit*, Akademie Verlag, Berlin, pp. 223-255.

Popp, U. (1994), *Geteilte Zukunft*, Leske+Budrich, Opladen, pp. 13-22.

Porro, N. (2001), "Die Sportorganisationen als politische Arena – Das Bespiel des Sportsystems in Italien", in: Heinemann, K., Schubert, M., (2001), *Sport und Gesellschaft*, Karl Hofmann Verlag, Schorndorf, pp. 111-133.

Portes, A., Stepick, A. (1993), *City on the Edge: Transformation of Miami,* University of California Press, Berkeley.

Portes, A. (1996) (ed.), *The New Second Generation*, Sage Publications, New York.

Portes, A., (1998), "Social capital: Its origins and applications in modern sociology", in: *Annual Review of Sociology*, 1998, Vol. 24, pp. 1-24.

Portes, A., Rumbaut, R. G. (2001), *Legacies: The Story of the Immigrant Second Generation*. University of California Press, Berkeley, CA.

Portes, A., Sensenbrenner, J. (1993), "Embeddedness and Immigration: Notes on the social determinants of economic action", in: *American Sociological Review* (98/6), pp. 1320-1350.

Portes A., Zhou, M. (1993), "The New Second Generation: Segmented Assimilation and its Variants", in: *Annals of American Academy, AAPSS,* 530, New York.

Putnam, R. D. (2002) (ed.), *Democracies in Flux - The Evolution of Social Capital in Contemporary Society*, Oxford University Press, Oxford.

Radtke, F. O. (1991), "Lob der Gleich-Gültigkeit. Probleme der Konstruktion des Fremden im Diskurs des Multikulturalismus", in: Bielefeld, U. (ed.): *Das Eigene und das Fremde. Neuer Rassismus in der Alten Welt?*, Hamburg, pp. 79-96.

Rittner, V., Breuer, C. (2004), *Gemeinwohlorientierung und soziale Bedeutung des Sports*, Sport und Buch Strauß, Köln.

Römhild, R. E. (2007), "Fremdezuschreibungen - Selbstpositionierungen. Die Praxis der Ethnisierung im Alltag der Einwanderungsgesellschaft", in: Schmidt-Lauber, B. (2007), *Etnizität und Migration,* Reimer, Berlin, pp. 157-179.

Rost, D., Stölting, E., Zarycki, T., Pasi, P., Pedrazzini, I. & Tucholska, A. (2007), *New Regional Identities and Strategical Essentialism: Case Studies from Poland, Italy and Germany,* LIT Verlag Münster, Berlin.

Sauer, M., Halm, D. (2009), *Erfolge und Defizite der Integartion türkeistämmiger Einwanderer*, VS Verlag, Wiesbaden.

Said, E. (1993), *Culture and Imperialism*, Knopf, New York.

Schächter, T. (2008), *Süperlig: Die Unerzählte Geschichte des türkischen Fußballs*, Verlag Kiepenheuer and Witsch, Köln.

Scherr, A. (1997), "Individuen, Ethnien und die Sehnsucht nach solidarischer Gemeinschaft", in: Müller, S., Reinl, H. (ed.), *Soziale Arbeit in der Konkurrenzgesellschaft*, Luchterhand, Neuwied, pp. 281-288.

Scherr, A. (2000), "Ethnisierung als Ressource und Praxis", *Prokla - Zeitschrift für kritische Sozialwissenschaft,* 120/2000, pp. 399-414.

Scheler, M. (1926), *Die Wissensformen und die Gesellschaft. Probleme einer Soziologie des Wissens. Erkenntnis und Arbeit. Eine Studie über Wert und Grenzen des pragmatischen Prinzips in der Erkenntnis der Welt.* Universität und Volkshochschule, Leipzig.

Schleiermacher, F. (1977), "Hermeneutik und Kritik", in: Frank, M., (ed.) (1977), *Das individuelle Allgemeine. Textstrukturierung und -interpretation nach Schleiemacher* , Suhrkamp, Frankfurt a.M.

Schiffauer, W. (ed.) (1993), *Familie und Alltagskultur. Facetten urbaner Leben in der Türkei*, Institut für Kulturanthropologie und Europäische Ethnologie, Frankfurt a. Main.

Schnapper, D. (2007), *Qu'est-ce que l'Integration,* Folio Actuel - Èditions Gallimard, Paris.

Schubert, H. J. (2009), "Gesellschaftliche Integration, Migration, und Bildung" in: Dirim, I., Mecheril, P., *Migration und Bildung,* Waxmann, Münster, pp. 201-229.

Schüler, H. (2002), *Particilik, Hemsehrilik, Alevilik,* Iletisim Yayinlari, Istanbul.

Schümer, D. (1998), *Gott ist Rund : Die Kultur des Fußballs*, Suhrkamp, Frankfurt am Main.

Schütz, A. (1974), *Der Sinnhafte Aufbau der sozialen Welt*, Suhrkamp, Frankfurt am Main.

Schutz, A. (1975), *On Phenomenology and Social Relations*, The University of Chicago Press, Chicago.

Schütz, A., Luckmann, T. (1979), *Strukturen der Lebenswelt I*, Suhrkamp, Frankfurt am Main.

Schütz, A. (1982), *Das Problem der Relevanz*, Suhrkamp, Frankfurt am Main.

Schütz, A., Luckmann, T. (1990), *Strukturen der Lebenswelt II*, Suhrkamp, Frankfurt am Main.

Seippel, O. (2006), "Sport and Social Capital", *Acta Sociologica*, June 2006, Vol 49(2), Sage Publications, London, pp. 169–183.

Simmel, G. (1957), *Brücke und Tür*, Koehler Verlag, Stuttgart.

Simmel, G. (1992), *Soziologie. Untersuchung über die Formen der Vergesellschaftung,* Suhrkamp, Frankfurt am Main. pp. 687-790.

Simmel, G. (2003), *Modern Kültürde Catisma - Der Konflikt der Kultur*, Iletisim Publications, Istanbul.

Soeffner, H. G. (1992), *Die Ordnung der Rituale*, Suhrkamp, Frankfurt am Main.

Soeffner, H. G. (2000), *Auslegung des Alltags - Der Alltag der Auslegung*, Suhrkamp, Frankfurt am Main.

Soeffner, H. G. (2004), "Sozialwissenschaftliche Hermeneutik", in: Flick, U., Kardoff, E., Steinke, I. (ed.), *Qualitative Forschung,* Rowolhts, Hamburg, pp. 164-175.

Soeffner, H. G., Zifonun, D. (2005), "Integration - eine wissensoziologische Skizze", in: Heitmeyer, W., Imbusch, P., *Integrations-potenziale einer modernen Gesellschaft*, VS Verlag, Wiesbaden.

Soeffner, H. G., Zifonun, D. (2006), "Die soziale Welt des FC Hochstätt Türksport", in: *Sociologia Internationalis*, Dunkcer and Humblot, Berlin.

Soeffner, H. G., Zifonun, D. (2008), "Integration – An Outline from the Perspective of the Sociology of Knowledge", *Qualitative Sociology Review,* Vol. 4, Issue 2, pp. 2-23.

Soeffner, H. G., Zifonun, D. (2008), "Integration und soziale Welten", in: Neckel, S., Soeffner, H.G. *Mittendrin im Abseits – Ethnische Gruppenbeziehungen im lokalen Kontext,* VS Verlag, Wiesbaden, pp. 115-133.

Soeffner, H. G., Boldt, T. D. (2014), *Fragiler Pluralismus*, Springer VS, Wiesbaden.

Soysal, L. (2004), "Rap, Hiphop, Kreuzberg:Scripts of/for Migrant Youth Culture in the WorldCity Berlin", in: *Multicultural Germany: Arts, Media, and Performance*, Special Issue, edited by Barbara Wolbert and Deniz Göktürk, *New German Critique* 92, (Spring-Summer 2004), pp. 62-81.

Stahl, S. (2009), *Selbstorganisation von Migranten im deutschen Vereinssport*, Sportverlag Strauß, Köln.

Stahl, S. (2010), "Ethnische Sportvereine zwischen Diaspora-Nationalismus und Transnationalität", in: Pries, L., Sezgin, Z. (ed.), *Jenseits von 'Identität oder Integration'*, Springer Verlag, Wiesbaden, pp. 87-114.

Stahl, S. (2011), *Selbstorganisation von Migrantenvereinen im deutschen Vereinssport – Eine soziologische Annäherung*, Universitätsverlag Potsdam, Potsdam.

Stahl, S. (2013), "Türkische Fußballvereine in Deutschland als Kristallisationspunkte transnationaler Netzwerke und Identitäten", in: Pusch, B., *Transnationale Migration am Beispiel Deutschland und Türkei,* VS Springer, Wiesbaden, pp. 215-233.

Stepick, A. (1998), *Pride Against Prejudice: Haitians in the United States,* Allyn & Bacon, Boston.

Stepick, A., Dutton-Stepick, C. (2003), "Becoming American: Immigration, Identity, Intergenerational Relations, and Academic Orientation", in: Foner, N. (ed.), *American Arrivals: Anthropology Engages the New Immigration,* School of American Research Press, Santa Fe, NM, pp. 129-162.

Stölting, E. (1992), "Der Mechanismus des ethnischen Vorurteils", in: Götze-Pommerin, G., (ed.), *Es geht auch anders!: Leben und Lernen in der multikulturellen Gesellschaft*, Dagyeli, Frankfurt am Main.

Stölting, E. (2000), "The Social Meaning of Borders", in: Brednikova, O., Voronkov, V. (ed.), *Nomadic Borders*, Centre for Independent Social Research, St. Petersburg, pp. 87-90.

Stölting, E. (2009), "Kultur und Integration- Unterwerfung, Hybridisierung oder Durcheinander von Subkulturen?", in: Jasper, W. (ed.), *Wieviel Transnationalismus verträgt die Kultur?*, Verlag Dr. Köster, Berlin.

Strauss, A. (1994), *Grundlagen qualitativer Sozialforschung: Datenanalyse und Theoribildung in der empirischen und soziologichen Forschung,* Fink, München.

Strohmeier, M., Heckmann, L. Y. (2000), *Die Kurden: Geschichte, Politik, Kultur*, C.H. Beck, München.

Tajfel, H. (1982), *Gruppenkonflikt und Vorurteil – Entstehung und Funktion sozialer Stereotypen,* Verlag Hans Huber Bern, Stuttgart, pp. 39-61, 101-117.

Tibi, B. (1998), *Europa ohne Identität, Die Krise der multikulturellen Gesellschaft*, Bertelsmann Publications, München.

Turner, V. (1969), *Ritual Process: Structure and Antistructure,* Paj Publications, New York.

Ülker, B. (2016), *Enterprising Migrants in Berlin,* Transcript, Bielefeld.

Wacquant, L. (2004)*, Body and Soul*, Oxford University Press, Oxford.

Warren, M. (2001), *Democracy and Association,* Princeton University Press, Princeton, New Jersey.

Waters, M. C. (1990), *Ethnic Options: Choosing Identities in America,* University of California Press, Berkeley.

Waters, M. C. (2002), "The Social Construction of Race and Ethnicity – Some Examples from Demography", in: Tonay, S., Nancy, D., *American Diversity – A Demographic Challange for the Twenty-First Century*, Suny Press, Albany, pp. 25-50.

Weber, M. [1922] (1947), *The Theory of Social and Economic Organisations*, Free Press, New York.

Weber, M. [1934] (2006), *Die protestantische Ethik und der Geist des Kapitalismus,* Beck, München.

Whyte, W. F. (1955), *Street Corner Society*, The University of Chicago Press, Chicago.

Yasar, A. (2005), "Osmanli Sehir Mekanlari: Kahvehane Literatürü", Türkiye Arastirmalari Literatür Dergisi, Vol.3/6, Istanbul, pp. 237-256.

Zifonun, D., Cindirak, I. (2004), "Segregation oder Integration? Die soziale Welt eines "türkischen" Fußballvereins in Mannheim", in: *Deutsche Sprache*, 32. Jg., S. 270-298, Eric Schmidt Verlag, Berlin.

Zifonun, D. (2007), "Zur Kulturbedeutung von Hooligansdiskurs und Alltagsrassismus im Fußballsport", in: *ZQF- Zeitschrift für Qualitative Forschung*, 8. Jg., S. 97-117, Barbara Budrich Verlag, Opladen.

Zifonun, D. (2016), *Versionen – Soziologie sozialer Welten*, Beltz Juventa, Weinheim.

Zirh, B. C. (2008), "Euro-Alevis: From *Gastarbeiter* to Transnational Community", in: Anghel, R. G., Gerharz, E., Rescher, G. & Salzbrunn, M., (ed.), *The Making of World Society*, Transcript, Bielefeld.

Zwengel, A. (2010), "Von kulturellen Differenzen zur Kultur der Differenz. Überlegungen zu einem Paradigmenwechsel", in: Müller, M., Zifonun, D., *Ethnowissen. Soziologische Beiträge zu ethnischer Differenzierung und Migration,* VS Verlag, Wiesbaden, pp. 451-463.