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UNDERSTANDING OF THE RELATION BETWEEN FOOTBALL AND IDENTITY: IMMIGRANT FOOTBALL CLUBS

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Understanding Of The Relation Between Football and Identity: Immigrant Football Clubs

Futbol ve Kimlik İlişkisini Anlamak: Göçmen Futbol Kulüpleri

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TABLE OF CONTENT

ABSTRACT **8**
ÖZET **9**
INTRODUCTION **1**
1. FOOTBALL AND IDENTITY **4**
2. METHODOLOGY **16**
3. CASES **22**
3.1. AEK CASE **22**
3.1.1. Historical Background **22**
3.1.2. Refugee Identity **25**
3.1.3. AEK (Athletic Union of Constantinople) **29**
3.1.4. The Original 21 ..... **34**
3.2. TURKIYEMSPOR CASE **39**
3.2.1. Historical Background **39**
3.2.2. Refugee Identity **40**
3.2.3. Turkiyemspor **45**
3.3. THE ASSYRISKA FF **50**
3.3.1. Historical Background **50**
3.3.2. Refugee Identity **52**
3.3.4. Assyriska FF **55**
3.4. THE ADELAIDE RAIDERS **60**
3.4.1. Immigration History **60**
3.4.2. Refugee Identity **62**
3.4.3. Australia's Integration Policy **64**
3.4.4. The Adelaide Raiders Football Club **65**
3.5. THE SYRIAN CASE **71**
3.5.1. History of Syrian Immigration **71**
3.5.2. Conditions of the Syrian Refugees in Turkey **73**

3.5.3. Conditions of the Syrian Refugee Children 75
3.5.4. Interviews with Syrian Children 78
CONCLUSION 85
BIBLIOGRAPHY 89

LIST OF ABREVIATIONS

AEK - Athlitikí Énosis Konstantinoupóleos

PAOK - Panthessaloníkeios Athlitikós Ómilos Konstantinoupolitón

TRT - Turkish Radio and Television Corporation

TOFA - Terrorist Organisation of AEK Supporters

LGBT - Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual, Transgender

ESU – European Syriac Union

JUST - Jugoslav United Soccer Team

UNHCR - United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees

AFAD - Turkish Disaster and Emergency Management

ILO - International Labour Organization

GEM - Temporary Education Centers

MEB - Turkish Ministry of Education

UNICEF - The United Nations Children's Fund

ABSTRACT

Immigrant groups are using variety of things for showing their identities, where they came from and who they are to wide society. Sometimes these items can be visible as clothes, flags of the country of origin, but sometimes they put their identities on the institutions that they created. Such institutions can be a foundation, ethnic school or sport clubs. In this dissertation, football clubs that created by immigrant groups investigated as a part of their identities of particular immigrant groups. For better understanding their relation between their football clubs Salman Akhtar's definition of identity construction used. Even there can be found a lot of example all over the globe, in this dissertation four football clubs selected as cases.

ÖZET

Göçmen grupları, göç ettikleri ülkelerde kimliklerini, kim olduklarını ve nereden geldiklerini göstermek için çeşitli yollara başvurmaktadır. Kimi zaman giydikleri kıyafetlerle ya da evlerinin camlarına astıkları bayraklarla kim olduklarını daha görünür kılarlar. Kimi zamansa bunu inşa ettikleri kurumlar üzerinden yaparlar, bu bir etnik okul da olabilir, bir spor kulübü de. Bu tezde, göçmen grupları tarafından kurulmuş futbol kulüpleri incelenmektedir. Kulüp-göçmen grubu ilişkisi, kimlikliğin yeniden inşası ve bu süreçte futbolun ve kulübün kimliğin bir parçası olma durumu üzerinden incelenmiştir. Durumu daha iyi anlayabilmek adına, Salman Akhtar'ın kimlik inşası kuramı tezin temelini oluşturmakta ve Akhtar'ın kuramının göçmenlerle futbol arasındaki ilişkide nasıl görünür bir hale geldiği örneklenmiştir.

INTRODUCTION

In the 21st century, all the developed countries in the world became destinations for emigration. International migration tripled between 1965-2005. 232 million people, almost 4% of the world's population, is living in a country other than the one in which they were born (Gezici Yalcin 2017, p.17). Migration studies have focused on different dimensions of the process, including those related to economic and work force-related variables, as well as cultural ones. At the beginning, scholars in the field of migration studies mostly focused on the economic sides of migration. Social science has studied different aspects of the phenomenon. Social scientists have basically said that all types of migration are affected by the social environment in a particular country (Gezici Yalcin 2017, p. 21). They have focused on the reasons for migration. For instance, Cohen argued that people base their decision to immigrate on the realities of the world in which they live; they do not just go to a random place to find, for instance, a job (Cohen, 1987).

A recent survey conducted in the UK showed that people's choice of destination country is related to how they perceive they will feel in that country (Gezici Yalcin 2017, p. 21). This is, of course, valid for immigrants who have had to unwillingly leave their countries. These immigrant groups demonstrate different patterns in their new lands according to their immigration histories and traumas. Collective identity also plays a pivotal role in the immigrant group's destinations, but in cases of forced migration, this collective identity faces struggles (Gezici Yalcin 2017, p. 24). Especially in culture, immigrant groups can be confronted with serious problems when they go to a country that has completely different culture. The integration process becomes more important in these cases, but for integration, the host nation's perspectives of immigrant are crucial.

The aim in this dissertation is to examine the relationship between football and identity through football clubs established by immigrant groups. There are a number of variables making up the identity of a particular group; these include food, music, clothing, religion and language. However, as Thomas Mann said "everything is politics" (1924). Football clubs can also be a component of identity for some groups. This is obvious in two specific groups: immigrants and minorities. The concepts of immigration and identity will be based on Salman Akhtar's definitions[1]. Akhtar's explanations regarding identity and the process involved in creating it are helpful in understanding the relationship between football and identity in immigrant groups. His four tracks of producing and reproducing identity, in particular, provide the opportunity to follow how identity develops in immigrants. Football is also included in Akhtar's identity tracks. These four tracks (from love or hate to ambivalence, from yesterday or tomorrow to today, from yours or mine to ours and from near or far to optimal distance) (Akhtar 1999:77) make it easier to understand how identity is produced in immigrants and how they affect the lives of immigrants in new lands. Football clubs are also a good example of these tracks. Clubs are microcosms of the relationship between immigrants and their host countries.

Other studies have already investigated football's impacts on people(Giulianotti,2001). They have mostly focused on the rivalry between minority football clubs and majority football clubs in different parts of the world, e.g., Barcelona-Real Madrid or Glasgow Rangers-Celtic. However, there have been only limited studies of football clubs that have been created and supported by immigrant groups even though there are numerous examples nearly everywhere in the world. Football helps immigrant groups to show themselves to host nations and football

[1] Dissertation topic is also highly related with the nationalism literature, especially nationalism and football angle. There is wide literature on nationalism and football, Richard Giulianotti(1999,2001), Adam Brown(1998), Ben-Porat(2003), Vic Duke and Liz Crolley(1996) are the most important authors who focused on the relation between football and nationalism. However, none of them are provide a frame that help to understand the club establishing reflexes of immigrant groups as Akhtar do. Due to the fact that, this dissertation is based on Salman Akhtar's definitions and frames.

grounds can turn into battle fields for immigrants. Many aspects of immigrants' lives in society are beyond their control.

They include discriminatory practices that leave them at a disadvantage. Football clubs are ways through which they react to such conditions (Coelho 1998, p. 159). My research covers four football clubs: AEK from Greece, Turkiyemspor from Germany, Assyriska FF from Sweden and Adelaide Raiders SC from Australia. It looks at the colors, names and fan groups of these clubs to better understand how they are related to identity. The analysis of these four cases is based on Salman Akhtar's four tracks of identity.

There is an extra case in the final part of the dissertation. This one focuses on the Syrian refugee children who play football in Turkey. It will be a little different from the others since Syrian immigration is still new. However, the relationship between their identity and football is more visible, thus providing an opportunity the other cases do not provide to closely examine the initial reasons why an immigrant group chooses football as a means of expressing themselves. Syrian refugee children are living examples of Akhtar's four track approach. They are also illustrative of what other studies of football and identity have found. Their responses are indicative of how they feel while they play football and most importantly, how they use football to produce new identities and use it as a tool to protect their identity. There are no official Syrian clubs in Turkey yet, but that does not mean that there is no interest in forming any. There are also similarities between the Syrian case and the other cases studied in the dissertation in the responses they give.

It is not uncommon for immigrant groups to establish a football club. In fact, there are many such teams all over the world. For instance, in addition to the one studied here, there are three other clubs in Greece that were established by the same immigrant group. One of them is PAOK, which is as large as AEK. In Australia, for instance, every immigrant group, e.g., Greek, Serbian, and Croatian, has its own

football clubs in every category of the Australian football leagues. Identity differences can also be seen in football clubs even within the same immigrant groups. An example of this is one of the clubs included in this study – the Sweden-based Assyriska FF, whose longstanding rival is another Assyrian club in Sweden, Syrianska FC. Their rivalry originates in their homeland, where there is great national and religious conflict. Similar examples can be seen in immigrant football clubs in Australia, especially between Serbian and Croatian clubs, as I explain in the Adelaide Raiders SC case. Immigration carries historical rivalry to new lands, where football clubs become a part of this struggle in the new countries.

The significance of football in forming immigrant identity and the role it can play in current identity and immigration studies becomes clear through the cases examined in this dissertation.

FIRST CHAPTER

1. FOOTBALL AND IDENTITY

Identities are the most important factors directly affecting the lives of individuals, in particular, and the routines of communities, and the ways in which they perceive life, in general. Individuals and communities come together within a geographical location, country, and urban setting, for example, all of which are instrumental in creating identities. Other, more specific concepts, such as food, music, and clothing may also be included in the concept of identity, just as broader concepts such as language, religion, and race contribute to its formation. However, even at this point, it should be emphasized that these specific concepts have more restrictive meanings for various communities than the more inclusive ones like language or religion. In other words, it makes more sense to separate them from the

concepts they more commonly share (e.g., food and music) and make use of more customizable distinctions.

In today's world, it is possible to say that the identification of identities and the social conflicts connected to it leads to decisive outcomes in many fields. Knowing the identity and the factors creating it makes it easier to understand many social problems in our globalized world. Identity studies have emphasized the effects inclusive concepts such as language and religion play in identity formation in both individuals and communities. It has also included, to a lesser extent, such factors as food and music, which, while contributing to a lesser extent to social segregation, still have a role. Nevertheless, football has not been included among the many phenomena that contribute to identity construction.

There are a number of studies that explain the importance of sport, both in general, and how meaningful football clubs are for the various groups, in particular(Coelho,1998). However, this dissertation argues that because football and some football clubs become part of identities, especially in the case of minorities and immigrants, they need to be considered as well. As will be discussed later in the thesis, the use of football clubs in the construction and reconstruction of the identities of the groups mentioned is extremely common. Since the emergence of football, both minority groups and immigrant groups have established football clubs in almost every era and in many different parts of the world, associating them with their identities and supporting them for generations. That is an important fact that helps us understand the importance of the subject.

However, first of all, the processes of building and rebuilding identity must be understood. Initially, the thesis focuses mainly on the association of soccer clubs with immigrant and minority identities and on the identity descriptions of Salman Akhtar. Akhtar, as a psychoanalyst, prepares the ground for establishing a healthy

connection between football and immigrant and minority identities, through his definitions of identity construction, reconstruction, and preservation.

Freud is the first to have discussed the concept of identity and its shaping. Akhtar notes that Freud and Erikson's concept of identity is still valid. The basic idea is that identity is constructed in two stages. The first stage is the formation of attributes the person attributes to himself. The second stage is the reflex, which makes the person part of a group; the similarities and differences between the attributes of that person and other people. On the other hand, it is worth pointing out that the identity is not a static concept. According to Akhtar, identity is a concept that changes with generations. Identity construction can be said to continue throughout life. It evolves over time. It is rebuilt and shaped by the knowledge of past knowledge and the goals for the future. In the light of these basic definitions, the construction of identity may try to start with the same reflexion path for the group considered in the thesis: self-recognition, naming, and finding similarities and opposites.

Before establishing this link, a closer look needs to be taken at how Akhtar views the ways in which identity is formed. This perspective will help us understand that the process of identity formation is essentially the same for both immigrants and minorities.

Akhtar states that the process of identity formation can be reached before the birth of a baby. The features that are genetically transferred to the baby and the meaning and expectations that the family uploads to the coming child are included in this process. Family myths, perceptions of life and the implications attributed to the new generation result in the child, who is still in its mother's womb, to come into a direct identity-oriented world. This situation has a wide range of influences, ranging from the child's expectation in the future to the place where the child will position herself/himself in life. Moreover, Akhtar says that immigrant parents have a

particularly great influence on the identity of the child through the traumatic events they have experienced before the child comes to the world. Akhtar emphasizes that the processes of “grieving” before, during and after migration have an impact on the identity of the child who is still in the womb. Included in this can be the historical traumas of minorities, or the individual traumas of persons who will be parents in the future.

When the child comes into the world, the process of identification begins to become more concrete. The factors listed above already explain what kind of environment the child will come into and how the child's identity will be shaped through this environment. After birth, though the mother-infant relationship is not the origin of identity construction, the process is beginning to shape the route of the procession and the theme. Based on more than one study and researcher, Akhtar elaborates on how identity is shaped in relation to the relationship between the child and the mother during this period. However, the most crucial period 18-24 months. Akhtar stresses that, during this period, the child gains some characteristic features that will be reflected in the child's adulthood. Considering that the previous period is built on the relations established with the mother, it is possible to say that the effect on the child’s identity of the traumas parents experienced before the birth of the child will begin to appear then. It is at this time that the child begins to acquire individual awareness; the relationship established with the mother, in particular, leads to the child acquiring such characteristics as aggression, happiness, and playfulness.

At this stage, as the child becomes aware of gender differences and enters a period that Akhtar calls “late childhood.” From the moment the child begins to make a distinction between “girl” and “boy,” he has added a new concept to her/his identity. This new concept emerges with its own acquisitions. The child positions herself/himself based on the condition of being “a girl” or “a boy.” At this point, without regard to the immigrant or minority difference, identity formation is shaped by the definitions of “man” and “woman,” the historical teachings, and the culture of

the community in which the child is born. On the other hand, Akhtar states that during this period, the child begins to realize the distinction between “us” and “them.” This distinction helps forge the child’s sense of belonging to a group. This distancing from others and becoming more intimately bound to a particular group is intensified by, for example, familial sense of ethnic identity.

By puberty, gender identity, in particular, is completed. With the completion of this identity, boys begin to turn to their father and girls to their mother. Girls put up a barrier between them and their fathers while boys put up one between them and their mother. According to Akhtar, the father figure plays an important role in identity thereafter. Akhtar states that the father-child relationship may lead to some characteristic traits that the child will bear till the end of his life. There is also the concept of “masculinity,” which the father shares with his boys, who have the “protective” mission for boys and girls. Considered in the broader context, the factors that shape this concept are the social, political, and economic environments in which one’s father is already involved. Thus, the factors that shape this concept are the social, political, and economic environments in which the father is already involved.

When a person reaches adulthood, he begins to build his own identity upon various existing foundations and to invest in it. On the other hand, one's individual preferences and orientations influence a wide range of areas, from favorite music to food choices. Moreover, these preferences combine with the person’s habits, manner of dressing and language to make that individual a part of a group. According to Akhtar, the person has relationships with similar people and with the groups one has created with those people, based on the attributes an individual has attributed to himself.

The ethic group to which one belongs also contributes to the formation of an individual’s identity and, later, to group preference. The most basic reason for this is that ethnic background encompasses values, perception of history, and self-

expression. Perhaps the most important one among these is language; in particularly, the language spoken in the family affects individuals, especially immigrants and some minority groups. It has a role in how they position themselves in social space in the future. Language, one of the most important factors of being the other, is one of the most important parts of the identities of individuals. Ethnic affiliation is the most salient concept individuals use when they define "us" and "them." Akhtar explains this situation simply by saying "We do not do these things while they are doing it." Akhtar cites Vamık Volkan and indicates that language, nationality and religion are the most important concepts used when creating the "us" and "other" identities.

So far, a brief summary and analysis of Salman Akhtar's approach to the process of identity construction. Clearly, the process of building an identity cannot differ from the process of building group identity when that identity is thought to be essential. The fact that the paths the construction process take in the two instances are the same does not mean that the outputs should be the same. Nonetheless, the process of identity formation provides a good foundation for the subject to be covered in this thesis.

Before establishing a relationship between football and identity, Akhtar's definition of immigration, and, in the light of this definition, the role football has in the lives of immigrants, in particular, should be understood.

When the definition of migrant/immigration was introduced by Hartman in 1959, it had a much narrower scope than it does today. For Hartman, migration is simply going from one country to another. Hartman put all of the differences (e.g., food, language, religion, and culture) in this new destination into the definition of an immigrant. Akhtar, however, emphasizes that the scope of this definition should be expanded and broken down into categories. He further states that people who are displaced within a country may also face differences due to displacement (Akhtar, Salman 1999, p.5).

Akhtar also argues, however, that no immigrant is the same as another and, therefore, will not have the same responses to the differences each faces even in the same country. Akhtar stresses that the ways in which two people migrate and the reasons for their migration, even when the countries they migrate from and to are the same, shape the "mourning" processes in the countries. "Mourning" is the most important process upon which Akhtar bases his definition of immigration. Akhtar includes a bureaucrat who goes to work for a certain period of time into the definition of immigrants and says that immigrant groups can be better understood by grading the reasons and conditions of migration. Those who have the opportunity to prepare for leaving their country may be less vulnerable to the difficulties encountered in their new country than people who are forced to leave their country without having such an immigration plan. At the same time, even an idea of being able to return to the country at any time is an influence that puts immigrants at ease and ensures that their bonds with their roots do not break. Furthermore, the presence of a country that can be visited when it is desired plays an important role in the "identity building" processes of immigrant family children. If there is no country to which one can return, there may be significant changes in the process of rebuilding identity.

Akhtar underscores the importance of the difference between immigrants and exiles. People who do not think of leaving the country under normal circumstances, but who must for various reasons (e.g., economic, war or political), experience a much harder and longer mourning process in the country to which they have immigrated. In addition, these people are angrier at the group into which they migrate than people who migrate in the normal way (Akhtar, Salman 1999, p.7).

Whatever the form of migration, every migrant feels guilty. While a more prosperous life brings relief, which is the main impulse for immigration, guilt over those left behind is emerges. However, this situation is much more severe in cases of "exile" and it makes exiles the most difficult group to integrate.

It is important to emphasize the significance of commonalities between the immigrant group and the community in the country to which migration occurs. This is what Akhtar calls the “magnitude of cultural differences,” the influence of immigrant groups on the integration process of the surplus of common points with the host society. It is possible to include in those communalities wider concepts such as religion, language and more narrowly defined concepts such as food, music, and clothing. While these partnerships directly affect the moaning and the integration process for immigrants, it also influences the host community’s process of accepting newcomers (Akhtar, Salman 1999).

However, according to Akhtar, even though the host society and the immigrant group have much in common, the immigrants go through a mourning process, which may not be easily overcome. Akhtar defines these groups as “invisible immigrants” (Akhtar, Salman: 1999). The Anatolian Greeks that went to Greece as the result of the population exchange between Turkey and Greece, which will be examined in the thesis, also fits very well with this definition. On the other hand, football teams set up by this group, a topic that is directly related to the thesis, and the meanings they have uploaded to those football teams, can also be compared to Akhtar's reflexes that match the definition of the mourning process.

Another factor that directly affects the integration of migrant groups is the distance of their relationship with the community in which they live. Akhtar discusses three kinds of distance: very close, best distance and farthest. He says that that societies that are “too close” to the society in which they live may become fully assimilated within a few generations. In the case of “best distance,” immigrants are able to proportionately blend the characteristics of the society and those of their own identities without being assimilated and at the same time without being excluded from the same society. In this process, the immigrant group creates a new identity by blending the new conditions and new region with the identity they bring with them their past. The migrants furthest from the optimal distance, mainly fear being

assimilated. At this stage, they behave in a completely self-contained way. They just speak their own language and do not learn the new language. They just talk to their own people and do not leave their neighborhoods (e.g., Little Italy, China Towns). This reactionary stance is seen more in exiles (Akhtar, Salman 1999).

This thesis treats immigrant teams as a product of Akhtar's process called mourning. At the same time, all of the immigrant teams sampled in the thesis have been established and are owned by exiles.

The “collective self” of communities comes together through the combination of the items they use when defining themselves. In another word, collective selves are the ways of living of these groups or the values upon which they build their lives. Since this concept also identifies features that are do not belong to themselves, “collective selves” have also created their own “collective other” as a result of the same process. When a community acquires the identity of a group, the group of which it is not a part or to which it is contrary is also revealed. Accordingly, communities develop the idea that the identity of this group should be defended. While the values to be defended may differ from community to community, it is possible to say that almost all have a “regional” defense reflex (Bainer, Alan and Shirlow, Peter 1999, p.153). More descriptively, the collective self can be said to be built on direct “us” and “them” definitions. The concept of “us” established through separating concepts such as “our land,” “our nationality,” which also gives birth to the “other” from within. As Billing argues, this appears to be an accepted rule everywhere in the modern world (Billig 1995, p. 4). In addition, having a “national identity” also brings physical, legal, social, and even emotional characteristics to the person (Billing 1995, p.7). Relevant to what will be addressed later in this thesis is the fact that modern football, nationalism and nation-state building processes are children of the same century, and that football is an important instrument used in the formation of national identities (Coelho 1998, p.160). By extension, it would not be wrong to say that the relation of football to identities is indeed indivisible. On the

other hand, identities are built on particular historical and cultural ties of societies (Hall and Du Gay 1996, p. 4). However, it is also useful to include Anderson in describing the methods used by nation-states in their identity-building reflexes. The use of common values for the national identity of nation states and the placing of the concept of "freedom" in all of them ignores the social inequalities, and gender or race divisions they have in society (Anderson 1983). This means that both groups, which are to be considered in the thesis, largely ignored.

Thus, football plays an crucial role in this collective identity creation process and what follows. Sports, in general, and football, in particular, are important ways that individuals and communities separate themselves from others (McClancy 1996, p. 2). Given its clubs and all the features that are attributed to them, football plays a crucial role in this separation and identification process. While they cannot defeat the collective other in many areas of life, they are able to defeat it in their own "houses," i.e., stadiums, through football. It is possible to consider football as a field of celebration and sublimation in teams where every fan group feels a sense of devotion; these identities may be local, religious, or ethnic (Coelho 1998, p.159). Fan clubs supporting soccer clubs attributes to them all the features they attribute to their collective selves. Football, especially in immigrant and minority groups, enables the disadvantaged groups to feel strong, sometimes invincible, and creates a cohesive feeling of solidarity. Through football, they have the chance to react to a lot of things that develop beyond their own control in social life and that put them at a disadvantage or result in their discrimination (Coelho 1998, p.159). This is not unlike the way Cristian Bromberger likens soccer to a drama game that embraces the fundamental problems of the modern world. Football contains the balance between individuality and team play, success and failure, struggle and destiny within itself. Again, according to Bromberger symbolically, football is a drama representing the lack of luck for some and the happiness for some others at the same time (Bromberger 1993). Similarly, football gives these communities concrete areas to

defend. Stadiums are at the top of defensive values. The name of a team's stadium, called “home” in almost every language, is a good example of this. Home team supporters see football game as more than simply a game to be watched; they consider the place where it is played as sacred. Moreover, they feel that their team should not be defeated by “competitors” in their own home. For fans, stadiums are in the position of castles to be defended.

In the case of migrants or minority communities, stadiums are becoming more meaningful. Identifying stadiums as the heart of their neighborhood, region or city, they may have a much more emotional relationship with football. As will be examined in detail in the examples provided in later sections of the thesis, stadiums can express many different meanings for minority or immigrant groups in various parts of the world. For example; the fact that the only place for the Catalan people, who were oppressed during the Franco era, to come together, to speak their own language, and rebel against Franco is Barcelona's stadium, Nou Camp, has played a major role in the growth of the meaning they have come to attribute to their football clubs.

However, stadiums are not unique places or symbols symbolized in the collective self-building process for immigrant and minority groups. It is possible to say that these groups leave a number of symbols that emphasize their identities in almost every corner of the football clubs they create. For this reason, there are various examples of the different symbols and identity representations of these symbols. While Nou Camp expresses many things in the Barcelona example, in the case of the Greeks who were relocated through a population exchange, the two clubs they established in Athens and Thessalonica highlight the names of the lands of their origins. They reflected their identities on their clubs, for example, with the motto of Istanbul in the names of the clubs they founded in Athens AEK (Athletic Union of Constantinople), and in Thessaloniki PAOK (Pan-Thessaloniki Athletic Club of Constantinopolitans). Many different icons, such as name selection, club marches,

logo preferences, and color preferences are also the ways that these groups have chosen to emphasize their identities.

The process of building ethnic identity has been discussed in detail above. Another important issue to be added is the expression of ethnic identity. Some of the factors that are the keystone of identity are already active in this expression; language is perhaps the most decisive. However, in the context of the thesis, what needs to be examined is the symbolization of attributes attributed to ethnic identity and how these symbols are used and embraced in a group. Individuals can directly adapt this to their lives by choosing clothes. In particular, clothes, logos and their products are strongly linked to the "collective self" described above symbolically (Edensor and Augustin, 2001, p. 92). For example, in many ways, such as wearing a soccer team's fittings, hats, using its keychain, or coffee cups, individuals use these symbols in their daily lives and show their identities to society. An example of this is the desire of young people to play on soccer teams that emphasize their ethnic identity, and the fact that these teams, for a long time, do not include people who are not from the same ethnic origins (Edensor and Augustin 2001, p. 93). There are multiple historical examples of this: the Protestant Rangers did not include Catholic players on their teams for a long time, and the Catholic Celtics did not include Protestant players on their teams. Although it seems impossible to maintain such a stiff attitude in today's globalized football market, it cannot be said that it does not continue. Still today, the fact that the Atletic Bilbao team does not include non-Basques is surprising. However, it is perhaps one of the best examples of the identity-football relationship described above.

Based on the idea that football is a game about social differences (Armstrong and Young 1999, p. 179), it is not surprising that immigrant and minority groups are intimately involved with football by adding an identity difference to these social differences. In addition, there are many soccer clubs where only class conflicts emerge. Thus, the relationship between immigrants and minority groups and football

and football clubs deepen when religious, linguistic and ethnic differences are introduced as side effects that intensify class conflicts, thereby subjecting them to discrimination.

SECOND CHAPTER

2. METHODOLOGY

This section discusses the methodology used for selecting the cases studied in the dissertation. Akhtar's definitions are the basis for this selection. The aim is to determine what football clubs and Akhtar's concepts have in common. According to Akhtar, even when migrants come from different countries or regions within the same country, migration has common impacts on them. In Akhtar's theory, this leads to the reproduction and transformation of the identity for the immigrants. Akhtar explains this in terms of four stages, or, as he calls them, "four tracks" (Akhtar 1999, p. 77). These tracks are: 1) from love or hate to ambivalence, 2) from yesterday or tomorrow to today, 3) from yours or mine to ours and 4) from near or far to optimal distance. These four concepts constitute a major part of the methodology used.

Akhtar's "mourning process" forms the basis for all the concepts. He argues that all immigrants, regardless of their immigration background, suffer from mourning. Mourning levels or outcomes can depend on the immigration background. For instance, a group of immigrants who left their country against their will tend to experience deeper mourning and culture shock (Akhtar 1999, p. 78).

Akhtar's first concept is "from love or hate to ambivalence." Akhtar explains how people idealize good and bad object images. Changing external environment has significant effects on people's lives. The capacity of people to adapt varies and has a direct impact on the mourning process in migrants. For instance, male immigrants from countries like Saudi Arabia or Iraq may find casual friendships with women to

be problematic. Similarly, a western immigrant can face problems in a country like Japan, which prizes group affiliation over individuation (Akhtar 1999, p. 79). These kinds of problems depend on the person's views of the country he has left behind and the one to which he must adapt. That leads to immigrants assuming defensive attitudes. In general, the country of origin is idealized and the new land is devalued. The nationality of the country of origin (e.g., German, English, Iraqi, Afghan) becomes a source of pride and the new representation, such as American, seems shameful (Akhtar 1999, p. 81). In some cases, this can lead to aggression not only towards the country adopted, but also towards the country of origin as well. Behind this aggression there is an unconscious guilt (Akhtar 1999). In the immigrant case, there are various types of guilt; separation and survivor's guilt are the most important ones in those cases. Those guilty feelings tend to be seen in the immigrants from politically unstable countries. Football give people an environment in which they can show their anger in a controlled manner. Especially in the cases studied here, migrant groups use football as a way of fighting with majority group. The names of their clubs and stadiums, and the chants they use all refer to their honorable past.. Alan Bainer and Peter Shirlow's article (Guilianotti 1999, p. 153) on territoriality in Northern Ireland provides a good example of the relations between migrant groups and the new territories. In their article, they address the young Irish's attitudes towards their territory and their support of specific football clubs as a means of defending their new lands. This aggression leads to a strong defensive feeling that leads immigrants to defend their new territory and football stadiums, which are in the middle of their living spaces. Football clubs also represent specific group identities, as well as their opposites. This anger is also related to the current situations in the new land. Through football, immigrant groups demonstrate their reactions to inequality. Maclancy suggests that sports are "vehicles of identity, providing people with a sense of difference and way of classifying themselves and others, whether latitudinally or hierarchically" (MacClancy 1996, p. 2).

Akhar's second concept is " from near or far to optimal distance." Here, Akhtar gives distance two different meanings. The first meaning of "distance" for the immigrants being far from their homelands also means being far away from their climate and landscape. According to Akhtar, this also leads to a decrease in migrants' self-confidence. Being far from their social environment is also another problem since immigrants tend to seek people who share the same ethnic background with them. Immigrants also have a fantasy of returning to the home country. This fantasy, while assuming different forms, is always with the immigrants. Some save money for returning someday to their homelands, while others intend to earn a diploma (Akhtar 1999). It is not a coincidence that most immigrants want to bury their homelands or visit them homelands frequently. There are other examples of behavior that assist in getting far to near. They include listening to music in native languages and eating traditional foods. In addition, Groenenberg argues that there are other actions that can build a bridge between "reality" and "ideal or fantasy." Celebrating Remembrance Day of their homelands is a good example for this. Through this celebration, immigrants share their anger with others and show solidarity with each other (Groenenberg 1999). However, there is a problematic situation in here; living in a fantasy puts up a barrier between the new comers and their adopted country. Akhtar points out the two outcomes of the identity formed: ethnocentricity and counterphobic assimilation (Akhtar 1999). In the ethnocentric outcome, migrants live only in their community, eat their foods, listen to their music and associate only with their homoethnic groups. Counterphobic assimilation is the opposite of the ethnocentric outcome. Here, Akhtar says that migrant groups renounce their original culture and this, not surprisingly, leads to a full assimilation for the immigrant group. In the immigrant football context, it can be said that those who established their own football clubs and support it are not near to their host nations. They live living in their past through their football clubs, which represent their homeland, in some cases, through their colors, logos, and stadium names. In such cases, football is more than a game that is played by 22 men in a pitch; every

match of their teams becomes a remembrance day for the supporters. It blesses their identity and their past. Other examples include playing traditional instruments on match days, performing traditional dances or eating foods from their homelands in the stadiums.

Third, what Aktar means by the concept “from yesterday or tomorrow to today” is that especially - migrants who come from politically unstable countries tend to live in their past. Exiles who leave their countries against their will continue to live in their idealized home country fantasy. Their mourning lasts much longer than any other immigrant group, perhaps even continuing a life time. In this migrant group, “survivor guilt” is easily seen. Because of the impossibility of returning, these people idealize their past and resist their current lives, a situation Akhtar calls “poisoning of nostalgia” (Akhtar 1999). These kinds of immigrants ruin today through their yesterday. Most importantly, they lose the belief that they can go back to their homelands someday, thus feeling “nationless” and “landless.” Billing’s definition of national identity definition is useful in this instance. It embraces a complex set of themes about “us,” “our homeland” “nations” (“ours” and “theirs”), the “world,” as well as the morality of national duty and honor. Moreover, these themes are widely diffused as common sense. It is not the common sense of a particular nation, but rather is international, i.e., to be found in the nations of the so-called world order (Billig 1995, p. 4). “Having a national identity involves being situated physically, legally, socially, as well as emotionally” (Billig 1995, p. 7). Immigrant groups keep their idealized past alive and reproduce their new identity through football. Football helps them to keep alive their emotional bridges with their past and their mourning process. Clubs themselves become symbols of the nostalgia and stadiums become arenas of resistance.

Akhtar’s final concept is “from yours or mine to ours.” This the case where immigrants are involved in a process of creating “me” and “we.” A while after immigrating to a new land, immigrants start to become aware of the similarity

between the other immigrants who have the same background. Those customs begin with language, which is the most crucial for creating "we" for the immigrants (Akhtar 1999). Foods, games and moral values follow language in this process of the transformation from "mine" to "ours." Clubs as institutions are a part of the immigrants' reproduced identities. Immigrant groups transfer parts of their identity to their clubs legends, anthems, and chants. The moral values of their community also become part of the identities of clubs. As Joao Nuno Coelho points out, "Football, as we all know, is a powerful catalyst for social identities. Football teams and matches are usually a primary motivating factor and place for assertion and celebration of various identities whether they be local, religious, ethnic, professional, or whatever. It is fascinating, even though sometimes frightening, how a football team performance gains vast and complex social signification and symbolism which overtake the simple outcome of a sporting competition" (Brown 1998, p.159).

In the light of Akhtar's definitions, in the selected cases included in the thesis, all four concepts will be investigated. The focus is on the migration history of all the cases in order to achieve greater appreciation of whether the group in question consists of ordinary immigrants or "exiles." The histories of all the cases include their mourning capacity and level, as well as the differences between them and the host nations (i.e., from love or hate to ambivalence and the from near or far to optimal distance concepts). All the cases cover the history of the selected football clubs. This will make it easier to recognize what the main motives of the establishing a football clubs are for all the selected migrant groups. Moreover, it will reveal how they see their clubs (from yours or mine to ours concept). Also to be investigated are logos, anthems and chants, colors, the names of stadiums and clubs of all of the five cases (to clarify the concepts of "from yesterday or tomorrow to today" and "from yours or mine to ours)."

Five football clubs established by immigrant groups are studied. First, AEK from Greece, established by Rums from Istanbul after the population exchange

between Turkey and Greece. Second, Turkiyemspor, founded by Turkish guest workers in Berlin/Germany. Third, Adelaide Riders, which established by Croatian immigrants in Australia. Fourth, Assyriska, established by Assyrian immigrants in Sweden. The final case is different than other ones, the number of Syrian refugees in Turkey is increasing, huge part of them are children. I conduct in-depth interviews with Syrian children who play football in Istanbul, Bayrampasa for understanding their relation with football, they don't have a football club in Turkey yet, however, their patterns are shows us they have similar motives as other cases in the dissertation, their motives and thoughts are also understandable through Salman Akhtar's definitions. Syrian case of the dissertation, is not same as other cases, but it is taken as living example of the first steps of other cases.

There are plenty of football clubs that established by immigrants in the world. All the cases of the dissertation taken according to two main concepts. First, every club is still living, all of them are still a part of an active in different levels of national football leagues. Second, all of the clubs is the most popular football club in their diasporas. This is the reason why, these clubs selected as cases while there are other football clubs in same countries. In addition to that, these groups can be also consider as a minorities, all of the groups are located in their new lands since at least three generations. However, all of the football clubs were established by the first generations, while they are still a new comers, that made them a immigrant football clubs.

THIRD CHAPTER

3. CASES

3.1. AEK CASE

AEK is a club established by Rums that came to Athens from Istanbul. AEK encompasses all of the items of Rum identity within its history - the names of the club and its stadium, colors and logo. The club history is also a short version of the history of Asia Minor refugees. It also demonstrates the difference within the Greek refugees coming from Asia Minor and from Istanbul. AEK, in its entirely, says a lot about how the creators of the club feel their real belonging to Istanbul. Before providing the clubs, history the historical background of the Greece-Turkey relations and the population exchange will be discussed.

3.1.1. Historical Background

To get a firmer sense of the sensitive relationship between the Turks and the Greeks, the final decade of the Ottoman Empire needs to be examined. At this time, the empire was faced with many uprisings within the different minority groups. All of those movements triggered the Balkan War; in 1912 Montenegro declared war on the Ottoman Empire and, in the following two weeks, Serbia, Bulgaria and Greece followed. The Empire decided to immediately fight back, but Ottoman forces collapsed in the first couple of weeks, and big part of the western territories of the empire was lost. However, wars did not end with the Ottoman defeat; Serbia and Greece attacked Bulgaria. The Balkan wars also led to huge movements in the Balkan zone, with 800,000 people leaving their lands (Zürcher 2003, p. 1). New

borders created an ironic situation whereby most of the Muslims stayed within the new territory of Greece and the majority of the Greek population on the Ottoman side of the border. Given these circumstances, the first population exchange attempt was attempted between the Ottoman Empire and Bulgaria, with a mixed commission to be formed. Nonetheless, this agreement failed to work out because of beginning of World War I. This agreement did, however, serve as a model for the later population exchange (Zürcher 2003, p. 1).

In 1917, when Greece decided to be a part of the war, Greeks followed their historic agenda, the Megali Idea, the Great Idea, which covers the Hellenization of Anatolia and Constantinople (Istanbul), the city with the wealthiest Greeks. The Ottoman Empire's Turkifying ideas and the Greeks Megali Idea process served each other in one sense and that led to the creation of an agreement on the population exchange. Even though the Megali Idea includes Istanbul, it mainly covers the idea of the unifying the Greeks under a single country (James 2001, p. 3). At the beginning, the Greek army conquered Izmir with the support of the western countries and they marched into Anatolian territory. However, conflicts between the western countries affected the Greeks and rising nationalist movements in the Turkey changed the situation for Greeks (Hirschon 2003, p. 5). When the Turkish army conquered Izmir in 1922, it also sought revenge. Henry Morgenthau, chairman of the League of Nations Greek Refugee Settlement Commission, estimated that 750,000 refugees escaped from Smyrna. The huge size of the exodus had important humanitarian problems too, since most the people left Izmir with almost nothing. They arrived to the Greek islands first, after which a great part of them went to Athens. Morgenthau witnessed their conditions in Athens and had this to say:

> The condition of these people upon their arrival in Greece was pitiable beyond description. They had been herded upon every kind of craft that could float, crowded so densely on board that in many cases they had only room to stand on deck. They were exposed alternately to the blistering sun and cold rain of

> variable September and October. In one case, which I myself beheld, seven thousand people were packed into a vessel that would have been crowded with a load of two thousand. In this and many other cases there was neither food to eat nor water to drink, and in numerous instances the ships were buffeted about for several days at sea before their wretched human cargo could be brought to land. Typhoid and smallpox swept through the ships. Lice infested everyone. Babes were born on board. Men and women went insane. Some leaped overboard to end their miseries in the sea. Those who survived were landed without shelter upon the open beach, loaded with filth, racked by fever, without blankets or even warm clothing, without food and without money. Besides these horrors the refugees endured every form of sorrow—the loss of husbands by wives, loss of wives by husbands, loss of children by death or straying, all manners of illnesses (Morgenthau 1921, pp. 48-49).

Under these circumstances, international concern soared and in 1922, the League of Nations, represented by Fridtjof Nansen, initiated peace talks in Lausanne. The series of negotiations on 30 January 1923 culminated in the agreement entitled "Concerning the Exchange of Greek and Turkish Populations" (Appendix I) (Hirschon 2001, p. 6). After this agreement, a mixed commission was set up to supervise the emigration. The agreement mainly focused on the "Turkish nationals of the Greek Orthodox religion established in Turkish territory" and 'Greek nationals of the Moslem religion established in Greek territory…" and stated that "These persons shall not return to live in Turkey or Greece without the authorisation of the Turkish Government or of the Greek Government respectively" (Article 1, see Appendix).

As a result of the agreement, 1.5 million people were relocated. The population of Greece at that time was over 5 million, so 1.2 million refugees were hard to absorb. Most of the Anatolian refugees were women, children and old men,

men between the ages of 18-45 had been forced into labor inside Anatolia to rebuild the villages damaged by the war. Refugees mainly settled first in camps; then they moved to towns and cities, particularly Athens and Salonica. The population of these two cities had been around 200,000, but after the arrival of the refugees, it doubled (Zürcher 2003, p. 5).

3.1.2. Refugee Identity

After the population exchange, refugees were faced with discrimination in their new lands. The greatest reason for this was that, at the time, the population in Greece was less than 5 million, to which 1.2 million refugees were added. No one was prepared for this. Politicians wanted to use this new phenomenon for their own benefit. Their support was important for politicians like Venizelos. Refugees did not any strong positions concerning the historical rhetoric about Great Greece; they were more realistic when they decided on providing their political support (Koliopoulos and Veremis 2003).

There were other important motivations behind this support. Settlement policies also played a key role in refugees' political actions. Land distribution was a powerful way to settle refugees. The first land distribution was conducted in 1911 under the Liberal government, but it was unable to go very far because most of the landowners in Macedonia were Muslims and they were protected by the Ottoman Empire. On the other hand, the population exchange gave a great opportunity to Venizelos' government to re-construct lands through newcomers. Changing the political balance in favor of Republicans gave great power to Venizelos. After the land distribution, almost 46 percent of the refugees were settled in rural areas.

However, after the solving refugees' basic needs, such as those for shelter, more important problems emerged. The living conditions in the urban areas in

particular were not good for refugees. In 1930, there were more than 30,000 refugee families who had not been settled in proper houses (Mavrogordatos 1983, p. 188). On the one hand, newcomers were faced with the deterioration in their social status compared to what it was in the Ottoman Empire. Some of these refugees built their homes in the same urban centers, but most of them were not as lucky as others. The majority of these people worked as small shop owners, artisans or peddlers. The following examples will be helpful to get a better understanding of the situation.

> The language the immigrants used was usually a special Greek dialect or Turkish, their surnames had specific suffixes and their cultural practices were different than the majority of the Greeks. These traits made them easily identifiable by the natives and caused them to feel alienated. Since the refugees competed with the natives for jobs and the latter had to pay the price of settlement, the immigrants were verbally, culturally and physically attacked by the indigenous population. Exposure to derogatory expressions, such as "Turkish seeds," "baptized in yogurt" or "Orientals," was one of the discriminatory acts from which the refugees suffered. Additionally, in some rural areas, severe conflicts took place between the immigrants and previous residents over land (Gursoy 2008).

While refugees in urban areas confronted these problems, there were other difficulties for refugees living in rural areas. Most of the refugees in rural areas worked in the tobacco business; they even had a couple of big companies at the beginning of the 1920s. However, the Great Depression had significant effects on these groups. Most of these refugees settled in Kavalla, Serres and Xanthe and were dependent upon foreign demand for tobacco. However, in 1929, this demand declined due to the depression. But the hardest blow came from Germany to tobacco producers who had settled in northern Greece. Germany had been the tobacco producers' main customer, making up 40% of all of their sales.

Most of the refugees still had bad memories of their leaving Anatolia, and still considered themselves to be Anatolian. For the first generation, being a survivor of the Great Tragedy was another strong component of their identity; they were reproducing their identities through the new and horrible history. Their wealthy pasts in Anatolia was also an important part of their identities and that Anatolian history kept their pasts alive. In addition, Anatolian Greeks stressed their differences from their host nations, Greeks in Greece in this case. They claimed that what distinguished them from the host nation was their being kinder, gentler and more cultured (James 2001, p. 5).

In the Ottoman Empire, most Greeks were wealthy, but there is another important factor which made Anatolian Greeks feel different from others. Anatolian Greeks considered themselves to be an historical part of Byzantium. When they arrived in Greece and saw the lack of sophistication in the country, they saw themselves as being more cultured. Religion was also important for Anatolian Greeks; they bound up their religion with their belongings. For instance, there was a church dedicated to Agio Charalambo in the town of Chezme on the Asia Minor coast, just opposite Chios. Refugees collected money out of their earnings to build a new church for Agio Charalambo in a refugee quarter in Chios (James 2001, p. 7). Churches are crucial for refugees for keeping their identities alive and reproducing it. However, there are other organizations or items that have the same purpose: community centers, museums and even music. In the Anatolian Greek case, rembeteika, the music that grew out of the experiences of the refugees, is a great example of this. Refugees named their new lands to emphasize where they came from, e.g., “New Smyrna” (Zürcher 2003, p. 5).

The social and cultural traditions of Greeks immigrants varied in many ways depending on their origins. For instance, they not only differed from the Greeks who came from the Greece, but also each other. Pontic Greeks, Greeks from Thrace or Greeks from Central Anatolian and Constantinople also had their differences. In the

AEK case, the focus in this study is on the Greeks from the Constantinople. This is because they are also see themselves as more cultured, kinder and gentler than other Greek refugee groups. An illustration given by Ilay Romain Ors makes this clearer.

The encounter takes place on the main street of Paleo Faliro in Athens. Two men standing at the side of the street are talking loudly in Turkish. A woman passes by and, overhearing their conversation, smiles to herself. Seeing that, one of the two men turns to the woman and addresses her in Greek: 'What are you laughing at?' She answers, to the men's surprise, in Turkish: 'Sorry, I've just heard what you said before . . .' She now has all their attention and curiosity. 'I just came from Istanbul this morning, and when I heard that Turkish was spoken . . .', she starts explaining, but is interrupted by the men: 'Oooh, so you came from Istanbul today? Why didn't you say so? Welcome, welcome!' One of them asks her, just to make sure, 'So you are not one of those Anatolians, right? You are from Istanbul, right? Where exactly?'(Ors 2006, p. 79)

In this anecdote, it is easy to understand the importance of the Istanbul for the refugee group who came from there. It is not just about the city itself, it is also about the historic relation between the city and the community. For understanding the importance of Istanbul, more needs to be known about the city. Istanbul is not just an ordinary city for the Greeks. Constantinople is the only city that preserves the title of being "the City" (poli). Moreover, being Constantinopolitan is related to being cosmopolitan, more civilized and cultured. Istanbul was the first and still the only Ecumenical center (Ors 2006, pp. 87-89). Coming from Istanbul, even if the person is a non-rum, he might be considered as an insider. In that instance, the men's question insisting on finding out where the traveler comes from exactly refers that in one sense. It is also about the language, speaking non-accented Turkish means "having" an Istanbul culture and that make a person different from Anatolian people. Being a part of westernization or being symbols of modernization for Rum polites started in the Ottoman Empire, after 1453, when the Ottomans conquered the city. Even after

the conquest, Rum polites continued to be the biggest minority in the empire. When the winds of change forced the Empire to undertake modernization, Istanbulite Rum acted as agents of the Europeanization process (Ors 2002). Istanbul represented the cosmopolitan character of Istanbulite Rum; their cosmopolitan identity is produced through the urban culture and that culture makes them different from other Greeks, in short, from people who came from villages. The following two examples can be beneficial for understanding the city identity for the Rums.

3.1.3. AEK (Athletic Union of Constantinople)

Understanding the significance of Istanbul for the Rum polites will shed light on the history of the AEK football club. The club represents the Constantinople and the Rum identity with everything it has. Before looking at the symbols of the club, a

brief club history will be provided by using the words used on the official website of the club.

> A huge club, a great idea. A symbol of memory, of long-established presence in sports both in Greece and abroad. Everything started back in 1924. Two years after the destruction of Smyrna, a group of Athenians originating from Constantinople decided to establish an association that would stand as a reminder of lost homelands and a culture of thousands of years that was burnt to ashes. On April 13 1924, in the sports store of Konstantinos Dimopoulos and brothers Aimilios and Menelaos Iona at 24 Veranzerou Street, those athletes from "Poli" (Constantinople) took a historic decision and a great association was born. Its articles of association were signed by more than forty members from the community of Athenians originating from Constantinople[2]

The club has always been special for the refugees from Istanbul. However, real stories can make everything clear for everyone; the history of the AEK's first training ground is such a great example for understanding this. The club shares this story on their official website.

> …thanks to the actions of Ioannis Chrisafis, an advisor to the Central Committee for Refugee Accommodation, a tree-covered plot in Podoniftis area, or Nea Filadelphia as it is currently called, was given as a training ground for the refugees. It was a tree-covered and rough land which was turned overnight, thanks to the work of refugees, into a pitch[3]

The beginning of their description stresses the importance of "The City," Istanbul, for them. The symbols they have chosen to use for their club refer to their

[2] http://www.aekfc.gr/hp/i-istoria-mas-42825.htm?lang=en&path=-234507649&tab=0&place=0

[3] http://www.aekfc.gr/hp/i-istoria-mas-42825.htm?lang=en&path=-234507649&tab=0&place=0

past and their identity. The name of the club is the most obvious, but there are other symbols buried inside the club emblem. The double-headed eagle is noticeable in the middle of the emblem. This refers to Byzantium, and the colors of the club, black and yellow, are also another symbol of Byzantium.

The AEK's relation to Istanbul is not only related to its identity; as a sport club, the AEK has links to a sport club in Istanbul. That club, Beyogluspor, was established by Greek intellectuals in Istanbul, in 1884 as the Clio sport club. In 1914, the club changed its name to Pera Club. The founding members of this club, K.D. Kostarakis, I. A. Zervoudakis and A.K. Stefopoulos, had to leave Istanbul after the population exchange. Many Greek sport clubs disappeared in Istanbul over time. However, Greek sportsmen, including the founder of Pera Club, did not give up sports after the population exchange. The most powerful AEK fan website, aek.com, also explains this on their history page. There were a lot of successful athletes among immigrants, which included football players. They played for Panionios club and some of them were members of the club. Others played for Panathinaikos, one of the biggest football clubs in Greece. But at some point, they decided to establish their own football club. The founding members of this new club were Emilios Ionas, Kostas Dimopoulos, Miltos Ieremiadis, Menelaos Karotsieris, Menelaos Ionas, Timoleon Tagarhs, and Kexagias.[4] On April 1924, Greek athletes who had migrated from Istanbul with other Greeks from Istanbul met in the Lux sports store on Veranzerou Street, located in a rundown Rum neighborhood in central Athens, where they established AEK with a total of 40 signatures.[5]

[4] http://www.aek.com/faq/faqen/storyen.htm

[5] http://www.trtworld.com/in-depth/the-greek-football-teams-of-istanbul-155315

AEK's first president,Konstantinos Spanoudis, was also an Istanbulite Rum. He was born in 1871 in Fanari, Constantinople (modern Istanbul). He studied Political science in Paris. He joined the Liberal Party and became a close associate of PM Eleftherios Venizelos during the military operations of Greece in the Balkan wars and World War I. After the Asia Minor Catastrophe, he moved to Athens. In 1924, they founded the A.E.K. along with other Constantinopolitans and Spanoudis became the first President of the new club. In 1932 he was elected Liberal Party MP. He died in 1941 in Athens.[6]

The AEK is not the only football club that was established by Istanbulite Rums. AEK Thessaloniki was also established by those immigrants, who also used the two-headed eagle as a symbol of their club. But this club did not survive very long. However, AEK Thessaloniki led to the creation of another important immigrant club, PAOK in Thessaloniki, and PAOK also chose the two-headed eagle as the emblem of their club.

Both AEK and PAOK today accept their historical ties to Pera Club and Beyogluspor. Beyogluspor still exist in Istanbul, where it plays in the amateur league. The club management is under Istanbulite Rums. They consider themselves to be the

[6] https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Konstantinos_Spanoudis

oldest football club in Turkey, even older than Galatasaray, Fenerbahce and Besiktas. They groomed one of the most important football players in Turkey, Lefter Kucukandonyadis, an Istanbulite Rum who played and became a legend for Fenerbahce and the Turkish national team; he also retired from the AEK.[7]

The AEK maintains its relations with Beyogluspor. Toli Harizanos, the chairman of Beyogluspor, said in an interview he gave to TRT World that while they did not have strong relations with PAOK, but they did with the AEK. Harizanos said,

> When Demis Nikolaidis was the president of AEK, they came to Istanbul and offered to help us. In the same month they called from Athens and said they were sending materials to Thessaloniki.[8]

7 http://www.trtworld.com/in-depth/the-greek-football-teams-of-istanbul-155315
8 http://www.trtworld.com/in-depth/the-greek-football-teams-of-istanbul-155315

Signed football jerseys of AEK Athens (left) and PAOK Thessaloniki at the Beyoğlu SC headquarters in Taksim, Istanbul.

3.1.4. The Original 21

The football clubs of all of the largest teams in Greece, Panathinaikos, Olympiacos, AEK and PAOK, are made up of a huge number of fans. These clubs name themselves according to gate through which they enter their stadiums: Gate 13 of Panathinaikos, Gate 7 of Olympiakos, Original 21 of AEK, Gate 4 of PAOK, and Super 3 of Aris (Zaimakis 2016, p. 4). While all of the clubs have different political orientations, AEK's Original 21, the largest club of AEK fans, is left wing. Before Original 21, there were TOFA (the Terrorist Organization of AEK Supporters), which was a far right group. But when Original 21 was created in 1981, TOFA lost its influence among fans and Original 21 became the club attracting the most AEK fans. Original 21 was the first group that showed solidarity with the political prisoners in Greek football history. They also protested the conservative government's reforms in 1991. The group's actions changed over time and current issues gave rise to an increase in nationalist movements in the 1990s, when great numbers of immigrants from former communist countries arrived. Intolerance towards Turks grew and football fans used terms like "Mongol subhuman" and "dirty Turks." However, Original 21 did not shy from pointing out their own immigrant background either. On 16 December 2012, they made a statement after huge and violent fascist protests in which 38 people were wounded. Moreover, they highlighted their Asia Minor immigrant background and referred to themselves as a community without colors or borders (Zaimakis 2016, p. 7).

Original 21 is still active politically in Greece, where they organized protests before the bailout referendum in 2015 and supported the "no" vote.[9] They also show solidarity with left-wing protestors in other countries. The Gezi protests is an excellent example of the solidarity they showed with Gezi protestors by waving a Berkin Elvan banner, the 15 year-old boy who was killed by police during the Gezi protests.

Symbols of Istanbul and their past can be seen everywhere in the club. However, the new stadium name, which reflects the refugee identity, is still an important part of the club. Agia Sophia stadium is still under construction but the

[9] http://www.open.ac.uk/arts/research/finance-crisis-protest/comment-and-debate/football-politics-and-crisis-greece-2

plan of the stadium and the name is in the middle of the official web page of the club. They represents their new ‘home’ as a center of sport, culture and memory for them. The AEK blesses Istanbulite Rums identity with everything it has. It is not an old story; the club’s new stadium name also showing that for AEK and its supporters Istanbul still is an important part of their current identities. The club itself is a part of their contemporary refugee identity. They keep their past alive through many institutions, the AEK perhaps being the strongest of them.

AEK's new stadium, Agia Sophia

From Salman Akhtar's perspective, the AEK and the Istanbulite Rums illustrate his four tracks in the reproduction of identity. First, coming from Istanbul, having an Istanbulite culture is a source of pride for them (from love or hate to ambivalence). The AEK and its representation of Istanbul identity is also part of this pride. Second, they idealize their past. The example given of two men's conversation with a woman who come from Istanbul given at the beginning of this section is good way to understand that. Those men accept that woman one of them. Even though she is Muslim and a Turk, they count her as one of them simply because she comes from Istanbul. Their origins contributed to their distancing themselves from Greeks from Greece (from near or far to optimal distance). Third, their Istanbul fantasy also keeps their identity alive. From Akhtar's perspective, their immigration story made them exiles. Their mourning process is still ongoing and their past, stories and histories create an Istanbul fantasy that does not reflect today's Istanbul (from yesterday or

tomorrow to today). Finally, they create a “we” and “others.” In this case, “we” represents all the people who came from Istanbul, who have the culture of Istanbul, and the “others” are the rest of the people who came from different parts of Anatolia. AEK keeps this “we” concept alive through its name, colors and stadium. The club itself is a part of their identity (from yours or mine to ours).

3.2. TURKIYEMSPOR CASE

Germany's Muslim population stands at 3.2-3.4 million, making it the second largest Muslim minority country after France (Kaya 2016, p. 43). With a population of nearly three million, Turks make up the majority of the Muslim population in Germany. The short history of Turks in Germany reveals the short history of Germany's struggles with migration. Germany's immigrant policies have been mainly shaped by the existence of Turkish immigrants and their problems.

3.2.1. Historical Background

Germany was an emigration country until the 1950s; between 1820 and 2000, more than seven million Germans went to United States (Kaya 2016, p. 43). In 1980, 60 million Americans had a German background (Martin 1991). During the Second World War, most of the foreign laborers came from the countries that were occupied by Germany, and those workers worked in the defense industry.

In the 1950s, when the German economy changed from agricultural to industrial, new work force demands appeared in the entire country. After the Second World War, Germany needed a work force to rebuild the country. Initially, Germany demanded unskilled labor for the agricultural and construction sectors (Castles and Kosack 1985). However, after the Berlin Wall was built, West Germany needed more skilled labor in different sectors. West Germany signed a guest worker agreement with eight countries between the 1955 and 1968: Italy (1955), Spain and Greece (1960), Turkey (1961 and 1964), Morocco (1963), Portugal (1964), Tunisia (1965) and Yugoslavia (1968) (Kaya 2016, p. 46).

Turks started to immigrate to Germany after the Second World War due to the lack of this kind of work force in Germany. German authorities thought that workers

would come to Germany for couple of years and then be replaced with newcomers. However, numbers tell a different story. The number of Turkish workers rose from 6,700 in 1961 to 605,000 in 1973 (Kaya and Kentel 2004, p. 9). Most of the first generation Turkish laborers were semi-skilled. At the beginning, the ages of these workers ranged from 20 to 39 (Yurdakul and Yukleyen 2011, p. 67; Kaya 2016). At the beginning, they were referred to guest workers. They were intended to be a temporary solution to an urgent work force problem, and, accordingly, had limited residence permits (Castle, 1984 and Yurdakul and Yukleyen 2011). In the middle of the 1970s, most of the Turkish immigrants came from rural areas (Gökdere 1978).

The guest worker system ended in 1973 after the economic depression in the 1960s. When this system ended, there were four million foreign workers in West Germany. In the same year, German authorities realized that those workers who had come as guest workers would not return to their homelands. Therefore, they had to consider how to think about their integration policies towards those people. Germany's first move was to enact the family reunification law in 1973 with support of the Social Democrats and Free Democrats. Through this law, Turkish immigrants were allowed to bring their wife/husband and children to Germany (Yurdakul and Yukleyen 2011, p. 68). German authorities thought that through this law, Turkish immigrants would feel more settled in Germany and would make a greater effort to be a part of German society. At that time, the German government focused on the integration of the current migrants. However, the integration problem was not an easy task to solve for German government. While this initial move was a good start for them, it was only the beginning for Turkish immigrants. The problem of integration was enormous.

3.2.2. Refugee Identity

Immigrant communities tend to associate themselves with the lower classes and create their own residential areas and work against the majority (Bloemraad and

Yurdakul 2008). In the Turkish immigrant context in Germany, the situation is not much different, but that is due, too, to German society and the country itself. Until 1973, when the guest worker system, Turkish, both German society and government thought that Turks would leave in a short period of time. This idea was also reflected in everyday language in society, Turks were called Gastarbeiter (guest worker) or Auslander (outlander). Both of these words refer to where Turks belonged and their foreign background (Kaya 2016, p. 50).

The family reunification law was an attempt to integrate Turkish immigrants into German society. However, it did not cover the more important problems related to immigrants, such as their legal status. Until 2000, when major changes were made in German integration laws, Germany had strict and segregationist laws. There were two different rights in German laws: general and reserved. General law basically covered people's freedom of speech and their liberty (Art. 2, 3, 4 and 5). On the other hand, reserved law covered freedom of movement, freedom of association, and freedom of occupation (Art. 8, 9, 11 and 12), and this law was restricted to German citizens only (Kaya and Kentel 2004, p. 10). Citizenship was the key issue for Turkish immigrant until 2000. German general law did not describe German citizenship but rather referred to the 1913 Imperial and State Citizenship Law (Reichs- und Staatsangehörig-keitsgesetz), which mainly stated German citizenship could pass from parent to children, but it also underlined the German race. In short, until 2000, German general law basically said that non-German people could not be German citizens.

People who came from outside of Europe had always struggled with gaining German citizenship. They were pushed by the German government to give up the citizenship of their country of origin. Until 2000, even children born in Germany did not have the right to acquire German citizenship. Until 2000, people who applied for German citizenship had to show that they had absorbed the German way of life, culture and values. After 2000, German authorities removed that restriction from the

citizenship law, but they put in a language restriction. Immigrants had to demonstrate strong language skills; in that way, German governments disqualified first and second-generation immigrants since most of them did not speak German fluently. The new immigration law instigated mandatory German language classes, which cover German language, culture, history and the legal system (Kaya and Kentel 2004).

Major changes in line with EU criteria were made in citizenship law in 2000. These changes allowed children born in Germany to acquire German citizenship, but they still had to give up the citizenship of their country or origin between the ages of 18 and 23 (Yurdakul and Yukleyen 2011). All the restrictions led to Turkish immigrants creating their own living area within the country. Especially the restrictions of involving to local and national political life made Turks more interested in their country of origin, Turkey. They created strong ties with Turkey through foundations and especially through religious groups and mosques (Kaya and Kentel 2004).

Such attempts by German governments created strong resistance movements within the Turkish community. German integration point of view was seen as an attempt at assimilation by Turkish immigrants. Consequently, they rose up against German society and government, and began to resist the integration policies. The strongest evidence of this is the number of Turkish immigrants who applied for German citizenship after the 2000 regulations. While many immigrants applied for German citizenship, Turks responded differently. The number of Turkish people who applied and gained German citizenship declined by 20% between 1999 and 2000, and continued in 2001 (Kaya 2016, p. 54). The German perception of integration was affected by 9/11 and the other terrorist attacks that happened in Europe (London and Madrid). After these events, Germany took integration to be a “Muslim integration problem,” which meant that the integration perspective was not inclusionary as the previous one. Previous integration policies encouraged immigrants to obtain

education with Germans, but Muslim integration policies kept the gap between two society alive (Yurdakul and Yukleyen 2011).

Today, Turks are an important part of the active German population; they run 60,000 businesses, which provide job opportunities to more than 400,000 people. Only 23% of those businesses are traditional food restaurants (Kaya, 2016, p. 58). They are mainly located in Kreuzberg, Berlin. Kreuzberg is also a great place to understand how Turks maintain their national identities. This district of Berlin is also called Little Istanbul or Turkey by Germans. The majority of people living there are Turks and most of the store names are in Turkish. The clothing that people wear also make reference to Turkey, such as a Turkish flag on a belt buckle. Kreuzberg also has traditional market places, and coffee shops mainly for men, just like in Turkey.

Recent research conducted by Ayhan Kaya shows that most Turkish people maintain their ties with Turkey, with 66% of them going to Turkey at least once a year (Kaya 2016). This behavior is a pattern that is clearly related to Salman Akhtar's definitions. Creating a house that looks like a house in Turkey is also another common instance within the Turkish immigrant group. From Salman Akhtar's perspective, the Turkish immigrant group in Germany is still in the mourning process, even in after more than 40 years after they first arrived. Their neighborhood, houses, stores and actions are illustrations of Akhtar's definitions. All of their actions are illustrative of their distance between German society and their homeland, Turkey. These patterns are also indicative of their emotional relations with German society, and the concerns they have over assimilation. These concerns draw them closer to each other and keep away them from host society. There are examples of people who do not speak German even after having lived in Germany for more than 30 years. They are common, especially in the first generation. They only speak Turkish in Kreuzberg, a place that refers to their homeland and where they do not have to speak another language other than Turkish. They can go to coffee shops for men like in Turkey, or they can find traditional foods in various restaurants.

After improvements in technology and growing communication opportunities, Turks in Germany had the opportunity to keep their identities and their connections with Turkey alive. Religious groups and media played a pivotal role in this process. Diyanet, the Directorate of Turkish Religious Affairs, is one of those groups. Diyanet, an official institution of the Turkish government, has more than 700 mosques in Germany (Golberg 200, p. 41). Diyanet, mainly encourages Turks to improve their socio-economic position within German society. However, in its *hutbes* every Friday, Diyanet stresses their real belonging to the Turkish state and their Turkish identities. It teaches Turkish to the young generations and supports the Turkish identity rather than a Muslim one (Yurdakul and Yukleyen 2011, p. 73).

Almost all of the Turkish media channels have German branches, which help keep German-Turks close to Turkey. The first TV channel established only for

German-Turks was TRT Int. After that, other big TV channels established their own branches for Turkish immigrants. These include, for example, Euro Star, Euro Show, Euro D, and Euro Atv. Major newspapers, such as *Milliyet*, *Hurriyet* and *Sabah* exist in Germany. TV channels in particular play a pivotal role in to keeping the tie between Turkey and German-Turks alive. For instance, TRT has organized a campaign to support the Turkish Army in their fight against the PKK (Kaya 2016, p. 66). The Turkish media is important especially for the first generation, which has limited access to German society because of their language. The Turkish media gives an opportunity to the first generation to keep their past alive in their imagination. Young generations do not suffer from language problems, which makes their communication with German society easier. However, German-Turks suffer due to the lack of representation of their local problems in Germany within these media channels. Therefore, they create their own media. Examples of these media include Aypa TV, Radio Metropol and TD1, which have been established in Berlin.

3.2.3. Turkiyemspor

Turkiyemspor is not the first football club established by Turkish immigrants but it is the most successful one. Turkiyemspor was founded by Turkish university students, Kadir Numan and Onay Ispartali, who came to Germany in 1978 to study. These university students had been playing football under "Kreuzberg Youth United," but the club was not officially professional. Consequently, it did not get any support from the German Football Federation. The club was first established under the name of "Izmirspor," which refers to the founders' background. Turkiyemspor still uses the same colors that were chosen when it was first created. These colors are blue and white, the colors of Izmir. In January 1987, the club changed its name to "Turkiyemspor Berlin." The club also uses the flag of the Turkish republic and the Berlin Bear at the same time in their logo.

In Germany, there are many different ways youth can play football. They can play in German or immigrant football clubs with mixed ethnicity or single-ethnicity clubs. Undoubtedly, in the German perspective, single-ethnicity clubs are seen as an indication of de-integration. For integration to occur, immigrants need to play in mixed ethnicity football clubs. However, some may say that this kind of mixed ethnicity clubs should be German clubs (Halm 2006, p. 76). Turkiyemspor was a unique example for Germany in 1990s; it was an immigrant club, the majority of supporters were Turkish immigrants and it had mixed ethnicity football players.

The club became a legend in the 1990s; it achieved glories in a short period and was able to move from an amateur league to the Berlin state league in just three years. Through its success, the number of fans grew. A year later, in 1987, it were promoted to the third league in the Berlin state league. In this way, it ended up playing in five different leagues in five years, which was a great success for an immigrant club. It played for Bundesliga 2, in the second division of German football. Supporters of Turkiyemspor started to dream of playing in the first division German football, Bundesliga. Thousands of people from all over Germany were coming to see their matches. In 1988, 12,000 people watched the match between

Turkiyemspor and Herta Berlin, one of the greatest football clubs in Germany.[10] That meant that Turkiyemspor brought together more people than Herta Berlin, which was the team that won the championship that season. The team won the Berlin local cup the same year and the following four years; they reached the finals five times and won the cup four times.

Harald 'Hacky' Aumeier, former vice-president of Turkiyemsport stressed, in my personal interview with him, that the club's support did not only come from Turks. He said that while it was true that in the 1990s, 90% of supporters were Turks, 10% were German or from other ethnic groups. He explained that Kreuzberg, where the heart of the club is located, was a multicultural district, with most of its inhabitants being supporters of left-wing parties. This meant that the first German supporters of Turkiyemspor were basically German leftists. However, he pointed out that there were also Turkish nationalists in the club, and that they did not negatively towards the German supporters. Aumeir also said that the club was multiculturalist in the 1990s: "there were Greek players on the team during the Kardar crisis and Serbians during the Yugoslavia crisis." During our conversation, Aumeier called Turkiyemspor "us" and said that was sign of football and its impacts on people to gather them.

Aumeir underlined the importance of the club for Turkish immigrants through his personal experience. He told me of one his memories with a Turkish laborer who had supported Turkiyemspor for a long time. The laborer told Aumeir that they were losing everyday against Germans in life, on the streets and in factories, but Turkiyemspor gave them an opportunity to beat them at least in one place, on the football field. Aumeir said that was a common feeling in the 1990s among Turkish immigrants. He also claimed that there were a lot of Turkish institutions across

[10] http://www.goal.com/tr/news/2556/editoryal/2010/02/03/1774098/goalcom-%C3%B6zel-t%C3%BCrkiyemsporun-hayatta-kalma-%C3%A7abas%C4%B1

Germany, including foundations and associations, as well as political movements, but that Turkiyemspor was still the most recognized Turkish organization in Germany.

The club is also known for its leftist actions; they even got a jersey sponsor from the LGBT platform in 2013. They are organize and support anti-racist and anti Islamophobic movements.

Things went bad for Turkiyemspor starting in the mid-1990s, when the club faced both economic and sportive problems. They had gone through the amateur league and lost fan support. Aumeier said that today there are only few hundred people following Turkiyemspor's matches and they cannot be called fans since most of them are the relatives of players. However, the club organizes support dinners and tries to get money. They play in the seventh league, but their women's team is getting better.

The women's team of the club is the most multicultural team in the club. There are German, Italian, Greek and Turkish players on the team. There are five women's teams in the club and more than 70 players from different ages play

football.[11] Because of that, the club has received an adaptation award from the German football federation.[12]

[11] http://www.dw.com/tr/s%C4%B1n%C4%B1r-tan%C4%B1mayan-futbol-a%C5%9Fk%C4%B1/a-15221474

[12] http://tr.beinsports.com/haber/berlin-turkiyemspora-odul

3.3. THE ASSYRISKA FF

Assyrians make up one of the biggest groups in the world that do not have a country. They are spread around the globe. Most of them are located in different countries within Europe; there are around 100,000 in Germany, 80,000 in Sweden, 15,000 in the Netherlands and 10,000 in Belgium and Switzerland (ESU Report 2008, p. 4). In this chapter, the focus is on Assyrian immigrants who live in Sweden and their football club, Assyriska FF.

3.3.1. Historical Background

There were two main immigration flows to Sweden after the Second World War. The first was dominated by labor immigrants from 1947 to 1972, and other consisted mostly of political or refugee immigrants in the mid-1970s (Çetrez 2005, p. 163). Assyrian immigrants belong to the latter. Assyrians came to Sweden mainly from Turkey and Lebanon. This stemmed from the political environment of the Middle East and the massacres in the 19th and 20th century in Iraq and Syria and increased violence beginning in the 1980s (Deniz 1999; Westin 2003). Assyrian immigrants who came from Lebanon were considered stateless as a part of Sweden's official refugee quota in 1967 (Gaunt 2010). These people settled mainly in Södertälje, a city 40 km from Stockholm. 14,311 Assyrian people live there and make up 17.9% of the city's population. The city is sometimes called the Assyrian Capital[13] (Çetrez 2005). Most of those immigrants came from Syria in 1971. Assyrians who came from Turkey faced obstacles related to the visa regime and Sweden attempted to limit Assyrians of Turkish origin in 1976 (Gaunt 2010).

[13] http://www.thenational.ae/sport/football/the-strangest-football-derby-in-the-world#full

Assyrian immigrants who came from Turkey were mainly merchants and had low levels of education. However, they were aware of the importance of education within the Swedish community and they encouraged their younger generations to get an education (Westin 2003, p. 992). However, the first generation of these refuges were not skilled and they were confronted by skepticism (Gaunt 2010). The real number of Assyrian immigrants is unknown because of Swedish laws; in Sweden, people are not categorized according to their ethnic origins or religion. In the Assyrian case, most were registered as a Turkish minority because of their citizenship; it is same for the Kurds (Westin 2003, p. 992).

These Middle Eastern Christians mainly came from same clans or villages in their country of origin. Therefore, they congregated in the same district, street or even apartment buildings. Most of them established themselves in small business; they were worked as a dry cleaners, tailors, shoe repairers, corner grocery stores, hairdressers and barbers and worked in kebab and grill restaurants (Gaunt 2010). In 1976, most of the Assyrian immigrants belonged to ten different clans and 15 extended families, with the size of the biggest clans consisting of between two and three thousand people (Gaunt 2010).

Swedish authorities did not address the importance of the social impacts of the migration until the mid-1960s. In 1975, the government formulated the first integration policy, in which immigrants were seen as permanent in the country. Equality was the key for this integration policy and it was the main objective. That basically means that people of foreign origin had to have basic economic, social and educational rights without any restriction. Foreign citizens did not have the right to vote in national elections, but they could vote in local elections. Freedom of choice was also another important goal of this integration policy; migrants were encouraged to work out his/her way of living related to their cultures. The most important example of this was language training and mother tongue instruction in schools being

supported by the government (Westin 2003, p. 988). The government also supported immigrant organizations and institutions.

These integration policies were mainly related to the first immigrant groups that came to Sweden from Nordic countries due to the shortage of labor in the country. However, when the labor immigrant program ended in 1972, Sweden took in another type of immigrants - asylum seekers. Starting in the 1970s, Sweden took mainly political immigrants, such as ones from Chile in 1973, young Iranians after the Islamic revolution or, as mentioned before, Middle Eastern Christians. The Swedish government formulated new immigration policies based on the new conditions. It identified some countries known to be human rights violators and established a quota for people who came from these countries. However, these new measures failed to help solve the government's problems regarding immigrants. It was faced with increasing costs of the resettlement programs and accommodations to house the refugees (Westin 2003, p. 989). In addition, public opinion started to change with respect to immigrants for the first time among young people (Westin 1987). After all these developments, Sweden changed its immigration policies once again in 1989. According to the new law, Sweden no longer accepted general humanitarian grounds for settling; only refugees in the traditional sense of the Geneva Convention would be accepted (Westin 2003, p. 989).

3.3.2. Refugee Identity

Assyrians are an ancient nation with origins in Mesopotamia. They trace their heritage back to the ancient Assyrian Empire that ruled there from 1100 B.C to 612 B.C. They converted to Christianity in the first century AD and they contributed Christian theology between the fourth and twelfth centuries (Çetrez 2011, p. 475). Their traditional language is Armaic. Assyrian is not the name that call themselves; for a long time, until the 19th century, they called themselves "Suryoye" or "Suryaye." The name Assyrian was used mainly by European scholars. Today,

"Syrians" and "Arameans" are also referred to as Assyrians. Followers of the Syrian Orthodox Church refer to themselves as "Syrians." However, all of these names refer to the same ethnic group (Wozniak 2011, p. 548). While the Aramaic language and their Christian religion are the most important aspects of Syriac identity, for Assyrians it is the ancient Assyrian Empire (Rommel, 2011: 854). These two groups have developed parallel institutions in every field. For instance, there are two national associations, one for Assyrians and one for Syriac immigrants. There are two national youth organizations and there are two bishops under the Syrian-Orthodox Church (Rommel 2011, p. 852).

The names reflect different ideological orientations and church affiliations. Two main groups have thus been produced: the people who call themselves 'Assyrian' and those that call themselves "Syrians." Being Assyrian is more related to ethnic kinship with the inhabitants of the ancient Assyrian Empire. Being Syrian, on the other hand, is based more on affiliation with the Syrian Orthodox Church.[14] Traditional Assyrian identity is based on villages or churches, but the tragic events that occurred during World War I also form a strong part of their identities. One third of the Assyrian/Syrians were murdered by the Turks and Kurds. Assyrians call these unfortunate events "Seyfo" (Wozniak 2011; Çetrez 2011; Gaunt 2006). These tragic events led to a division within Assyrian/Syrian society and a huge movement of people to western countries. While these people are melting into western society, the people who were left behind in the Middle East became surrounded by Muslim majority communities (e.g., Kurds, Persians, Arabs and Turks), which made them more closed communities.

At the beginning, the church played a pivotal role in the Assyrian/Syrian community in Sweden. That was directly related to the church's historical position in the Middle East, where it was the only legal representative for the Assyrian/Syrian

[14] http://old.visarkiv.se/online/assyria/virtual_assyria_1example.html

community (Deniz 1999). However, things changed over time, especially after the post-immigration process in the 1970s. Assyrians started to establish more political and cultural organizations. The church was unable to provide the answer to such new needs of the Assyrians as gender equality, ethno-national awareness and higher educational levels (Çetrez 2011, p. 476). All of these news developments led to a weakening of the religious collective identity and contributed to the emergence of new symbols and rituals, ethnic identity bonds (Deniz 1999).

In the new era, Assyrians argue that their identity belongs to each other and are still constructing their national identity. They are a stateless group of people who have common values; they do not have homeland to which they can return. On their website, called "Virtual Assyria," they represent themselves through the following statement;

> Does Assyria exist? Is it a country, a nation, or an organisation? Well, what is a nation, exactly? What does it mean when some people call themselves Assyrians – a people?
>
> "Cyberland Assyria." It sounds like a vision of the future, or possibly a video game. With the opportunities that global electronic networks put at our disposal, our experience of reality is changing. The "real" world now has a rival. Through virtual realities, such as "The Internet World," we are forced to consider the question: what actually is a nation, a community, a union, etc?
>
> Well then, does Assyria exist? Yes, but not as a nation in the old sense, where we imagine a country with geographical borders – a specific region inhabited by people who call themselves Assyrians.[15]

[15] http://old.visarkiv.se/online/assyria/virtual_assyria_3cyberland.html

A survey conducted by Marta Wozniac with 300 Assyrians living in Sweden provided an overview of the Assyrians' relationship with their national identities and their organizations in Sweden. 28% of the respondents declared knowledge of ktubunoyo (Classical Syriac). 48% read Assyrian newspapers and magazines, 58% watched Assyrian TV, 29% listened to Assyrian radio stations, 79% visited Assyrian websites, 65% were able to mention books written by Assyrians, and 74% could mention famous Assyrians. Tradition was very important for 77%; 94% knew their family history and 93% shared Assyrian tradition in the family. Tradition was understood by the majority as celebrating the feasts (especially Akitu – Assyrian New Year) and family gatherings (particularly weddings), religious practices (mainly fasts, like the three day Fast of Nineveh), preserving the language, hospitability, staying with parents until marriage, music and dance, cuisine (with the stress on Lenten). 71% of respondents supported Assyrian organizations, 45% supported Assyrian sport clubs (the great majority supported a football team from Södertälje in Sweden – Assyriska FF) (Wozniak 2011).

3.3.4. Assyriska FF

The conflict over the names the immigrants use to refer to themselves can be seen in the names given to the football clubs each group established. This is a situation that is similar to what happens when they create other organizations. There are two football clubs that have been founded by the two groups in the 1970s. The first one is Assyriska, which was set up in 1974, and the second one is Syrianska FC,

which was set up in 1977. The name conflict within the communities is clearly evident in the clubs' names.[16]

Assyriska FF is the most successful one of these clubs. While both of these clubs started to play in the lowest divisions, Assyriska FF showed great success and reached the Swedish Cup final in 2003 and 2005. They also played a single season in the first division in Sweden. These achievements made them really popular within the Assyrian community, not only in Sweden but also all over the world. They began to be seen as a national Assyrian team (Rommel 2011, p. 852). Syrianska, on the other hand, does not have a successful history. They have mainly played in lower divisions, but in 2008, they were promoted to the Swedish second division, and won the second division cup in 2010. They also got a chance to play in the first division in their history. Ironically, these days, both clubs play their matches in the same stadium.

Both of these clubs represent the Assyrian/Syrian community in Sweden, but they do not have strict rules when the topic comes to coaches and players. Players from all around the world play for both clubs. However, for both communities, football is always a space for division. In May 31 2009, the game between Assyriska FF and Syrianska turned into a clash between the two communities. Tension in the town, Södertalje, escalated before the game; more and more club flags were seen on cars, cafes and shops. The national media started to pay attention to the differences between the two communities and told the stories behind this tension between two communities. When the game was broadcast on national TV, the whole of Sweden could get a chance to see how historic differences could be a part of football. However, the most violent match between two clubs was in 1989, when both clubs were playing in division 4. 4,000 people went to stadium to watch the match. At the end of the game, Syrianska supporters entered the football field and attacked the Assyriska's players (Anderson 2009, p. 404). After these events, both clubs were

[16] http://inbedwithmaradona.com/journal/2011/7/5/the-story-of-syrianska-and-assyriska.html

banned and The Swedish Football Association decided that the two teams should never be paired in the same league again.[17]

During the game, the Zelge fan group, Assyriska supporters, unfurled a huge flag over the main terrace, portraying the important Syrian-Orthodox monastery at Mar Gabriel, a bleeding sword relating to the genocide of in 1915, and an image of Ishtar Gate in ancient Babel. Through this flag, they showed to the nationwide TV audience their history and what bound them together (Rommel 2011, p. 57).

The Zelge fan group, presented themselves as a professional fan group. What this means is that they claim to follow closely the recent trends in the football fan

[17] http://www.thenational.ae/sport/football/the-strangest-football-derby-in-the-world#full

world. They write new chants, which are inspired other clubs' fan groups. They also follow the new trends all over the world. In addition, they believe that this professionalism makes them more advanced than the Syrianska FC's fan club, Gefe. Gefe takes this "professionalism" as a sign of assimilation. Its members say that the Zelge fan group is more Swedish than the Gefes fan group, and that is not a good sign for them. They believe that they more "Assyrian" than the Zelge group (Rommel 2011 and Anderson 2009). The words of the Assyriska club spokesman, Robil Heidari, provide some insight into the tension between two teams: "they have to beat Syrianska FC, otherwise there is no meaning to be alive the day after the match."[18]

In Carl Rommel's interviews with Syrianska's supporters, one of them, Aram, told him that the main difference between two clubs was passion. To them Assyriska supporters lacked passion and "Assyrian soul," which made them less Assyrian and more Swedish. He also said that Swedish society saw them as being assimilated (Rommel 2011, p. 859). However, things have changed these days. Since both clubs use the same stadium, supporters have gotten friendlier towards each other; they say that both clubs more or less represent similar values and identities.[19]

Both groups of team supporters claim that their teams are the real "national team" of the Assyrians. In 2003, when the Assyriska reached the cup final, the chairman of the club said that there would be Syrians coming from all over Sweden and Europe. But these words were not welcomed by supporters. Many of them

[18] http://www.thenational.ae/sport/football/the-strangest-football-derby-in-the-world#full
[19] http://inbedwithmaradona.com/journal/2011/7/5/the-story-of-syrianska-and-assyriska.html

asserted that the "Syrian's" words made it look like it was the team of Assyrians (Anderson 2009, p. 408).

Akhtar's definitions are also helpful for getting a better understanding of the Assyrian case. As Akhtar says, especially their distance with the broader society is not optimal; they have kept themselves away from broader society. They have done this through their lifestyles, foods, radio and TV channels, newspapers, and football. They have also used football to emphasize their identity differences – such as when two teams were established by the same group, but on the basis of religious and national identity. Their distance within the society is also evident in the football clubs. Their football clubs, both Assyriska FF and Syrianska, have become the basis for a new sense of belonging in the new land. Both clubs became a strong part of the newly created "our" definitions. Related to this, like in all the other cases, football clubs keep their past alive, by praising it. Assyrians also use football in a similar way; their colors and choice of name praise their past and keep their yesterdays alive. Akhtar's concept of "from love or hate to ambivalence' is also visible in the Assyrian migrants; the cultural differences between them and Swedish society also has an impact on the adaptation process.

3.4. THE ADELAIDE RAIDERS

Australia has always been a good choice for immigrants; there are numerous people who have different identities and immigrant backgrounds in the country. At various times in history, Australia has been a popular destination for different immigrant groups. Even today, the country's immigration policies continue to attract people from all over the globe. This section focuses on the Adelaide Raiders football club, which was established by Croatian immigrants in Australia. Croatian immigrants also manifest all of the Salman Akhtar's approaches. In addition, Croatian immigrants in Australia are considered by some scholars to be representative of the failure of the multicultural integration approach. In this regard, the Adelaide Raiders football club is also not only a case supportive of Salman Akhtar's approaches but also of the idea that the multicultural integration approach can fail in some cases.

3.4.1. Immigration History

Croatian immigration has a long history in Australia. It started in the 1850s. Research suggests that the first immigrant groups came to the Australia as gold rushers or sailors. Early studies uncovered nearly four hundred migrants before the nineteenth century (Jupp 2007). There are no definite numbers available regarding the first immigrant groups. Until World War II, these migrants were not classified as Croatian since they were considered as part of the Yugoslav community (Hay 1998, p. 54; Armstrong and Giulianotti 2001, p. 78). Between the world wars, Yugoslavian migration to Australia increased. The number of Yugoslavia-born migrants was 3,969 in 1933 and 5,866 in 1947 (Hay 1998, p. 54). In the 1950s, many young men from the former Yugoslavia came to Australia because it was cheaper than the US or Canada. Most of them were from working-class or peasant stock; they mainly were part of the

manual labor force of the country (Armstrong and Giulianotti 2001). The Yugoslavia-born population reached 22,860 in 1954. This trend continued during the 1960s and 1970s. In 1976, the Yugoslavia-born population reached 100.000, with most being Croatians (Colic-Peisker 2010, p. 55). In 1986, for the first time authorities asked those migrants about ancestry and language spoken at home. The number of Croatian migrants started to become more visible after this. 18% of the 150,000 immigrants of Yugoslav origin claimed Croatian as their ancestry and 23 % of those over the age of five spoke Croatian at home (Hay 1998, p. 54).

Croatian immigrants who arrived Australia between the 1950s-1970s, like Turkish immigrants in Germany, came to the country for economic reasons and thought that they would return to their homeland at some point, i.e., that their stay would be temporary. However, they became permanent citizens of Australia. These migrants became permanent by passing through four main stages according to Colic-Peisker (2010, p. 57). The first stage is characterized by young men's choice of Australia due to a "chain migration" pattern; they followed an old immigration road there. The second stage consists mainly of economic reasons and the desire to develop strong ethnic networks in the country. The third stage entails family reunification, which is achieved when they bring their families for the purpose of settling permanently. The final stage involves the acquisition of citizenship and the decision to stay. In that sense, Croatian migrants who arrived in Australia in between the 1950s and 1970s have similarities with the Turkish immigrants who went to Germany as guest workers. They passed through similar stages to become permanent citizens in these countries.

During the 1990s, Yugoslavian immigration to Australia was continuous due to the instability of the region. Different from the migrants in the 1950s, 1960s and 1970s, Croatian migrants in the 1980s and 1990s were highly skilled workers. This group successfully integrated into mainstream Australia and were less active in the ethnic community (Colic-Peisker 2003, 2008). They were willing to sustain their

Croatian identity in the broader Australia, but they also wanted to be engaged mainstream Australia. For this generation and the second generation, being more visible in the mainstream while appearing less and less "ethnic" was important. They tried to change the "Croatian" perspective in broader Australia (Colic-Peisker 2010, p. 61).

3.4.2. Refugee Identity

Croatian identity cannot be separated from Yugoslav identity, which is more encompassing, covering mainly Croatian, Serbs and Slovenes in Australia. However, all of these groups have their own perceptions of their identities. Until World War II, the differences between these groups were not very visible. The word 'Yugoslav' also had varying meanings in different parts of Australia. For instance, in Mildura, Broken Hill and Kalgoorlie in the 1930s and 1940s, Yugoslav referred to left-leaning or communist Serbs and Croatian. However, during World War II, Croatian migrants stressed their national identity as Croats over being Yugoslav. They started to support Partisan groups led by Tito and created lobbies to support them from Australia. These groups started to complain about the Yugoslav Consulate in Sydney to Australian government because it was being run by Serbian royalists (Drapac 2009, p. 62). However, after 1945, some of the Croatian migrants began to refer to themselves as Yugoslav. This was directly related to their desire to distinguish themselves from the commonly held stereotype at the time that saw Croats as anti-communist supporters of far right groups. It should be said, however, that in the Australian context, identity conflicts between groups were not related to nationhood; they were more about political conflicts that came from their homeland, Yugoslavia (Colic-Peisker 2006, p. 217). It is related to the attitudes towards the Yugoslav state. As will be investigated later, in this case, these conflicts become visible in football club hostilities.

In this case, the important group consists of the people who immigrated to Australia up to the 1980s; afterwards, the immigrant profile changed. As explained in the previous part, starting in the 1980s, Croatian immigrants were mainly "economic immigrants," whose identity concerns and reflexes were not like the first immigrant groups. Especially after the 1990s, when skilled immigrants arrived in Australia, their relationship with the Australian community changed and they became better integrated. That is not mean they became assimilated, but they did show less ethnic sensibility. It is not a coincidence that the majority of Croatian football clubs or local groups were established during the 1940s and 1950s. Colic-Peisker concludes in her research that even when Croatia became independent in 1991, Australian Croats accepting "Croatian" identity were not in the majority. Indeed, at that time, in some cases their local identity became stronger, and some of the second-generation Croatian immigrants called themselves, for instance, "Dalmatian" or "Yugoslav" (Colic-Peisker 2006, p. 217). She claimed that there are two main cohorts in Croatian immigrant groups in Australia. One is the "Working-Class Cohort," which immigrated between the 1950s and 1970s. In the case of the immigrants making up this cohort their bodies were in Australia but their souls were in Croatia. The second group was the "Middle-Class Cohort;" this group was more cosmopolitan and not bound to any particular nation. Their perspective in life was *ucrum, ibi patria*, meaning "Where there is bread, there is (my) country" (Colic-Peisker 2006, p. 220).

Roy Hay also points out that Croatians have had various reasons for self-identifying as Croatians at different points in time, and argues that this is problematic. He argues that one of the main reasons for identifying as Croatian is the political positions of Croatians, but that there are other factors that have influenced people's decisions. He maintains that there have been four main reasons. First, during World War II, Croatian identity was related to Nazis; political leaders of that era fled abroad at the end of war. After World War II, it was not an easy thing for an

immigrant in Australia to accept Croatian identity. Second, Croatia has not always been as geographically clear as it is today, which had an impact on people's calling themselves Croatian. Third, until the 1970s, Australia did not have a multiculturalist approach towards immigrant groups. Up till then, their main point of view towards integration was nationalistic, emphasizing assimilation. Calling themselves as Croatian was also risky then since, in the Australian point of view, they might we perceived as a group that could not be integrated into the Australian way of life. Fourth, during Tito's rule in Yugoslavia, such nationalistic claims could lead to troubles; since most of the immigrants in Australia had relatives in Yugoslavia and there were a lots of Tito spies in Australian, Yugoslav community (Hay 1998, pp. 51-54).

3.4.3. Australia's Integration Policy

Changes in Australian integration policy affected Croatian immigrant's attitudes in society. It needs to be pointed out that Croatians are the most active immigrant group in Australia in terms of establishing their own institutions, especially in sport clubs, football in particular. Because of this, most of the scholars that criticize Australian integration policies choose the Croatian community to study.

At the end of World War II, Australia received a lot of migrants. During that period, the country had an assimilationist policy regarding immigration. New arrivals were expected to completely adapt to the dominant Australian lifestyle (Mann 2012). These policies are viewed as British-White (Castles 2013; Mann 2012). At the beginning, this was not a big problem because most of the immigrants came mainly from Britain or other parts of the Europe. Croatians, even though they are from Europe, had different responses to Australian assimilationist policies, which can be seen through their ethnic organizations. However, over time, immigrant profiles

changed. As migration from Middle East and Asia grew, the new groups led to new discussions on current integration policies. The country needed ethnic diversity and this led to Australian governments revising policies. Assimilationist policies were dropped officially in the early 1970s by the Whitlam Labor government (Van Krieken 2012).

Starting in the 1970s, Australia officially adopted multiculturalist integration policies towards immigrant groups. Multiculturalist integration is based on four principles: equality of access and services, cultural pluralism, ethnic rights and equal opportunity for social participation (Koleth 2010). In the Croatian context, it can be assumed that assimilationist policies created resistance, which resulted in Croatians creating their own communities by different associations. They built their own churches, radio stations, refugee aid organizations, ethnic schools and, most importantly, football clubs. However, some scholars have also stressed that multiculturalist policies also kept Croatian immigrants away from Australian society while respecting their ethnic identities. These scholars rely on Ager and Strang's (2008) approach to multiculturalism in integration, which is seen as leading to social distance. As Akhtar said, this distance makes immigrant groups more sensitive to their identity and closer to each other. In the Croatian context, it can be assumed that the distance between them and Australian society was not optimal**.**

3.4.4. The Adelaide Raiders Football Club

Adelaide Raiders is the first football club founded by Croatian immigrants. It was set up in 1950 in the city of Adelaide. The club is also the first Croatian organization that was established in Australia. Adelaide had one of the largest Croatian immigrant group in the country. The city is also home to the oldest ethnic school in Australia (Drapac 2009, p. 64). Through football, Croats found a place where they could have an impact on Australian sport, football in particular. They established many football clubs in Australia (see table below).

TABLE 1 CROATIAN SOCCER CLUBS IN AUSTRALIA

Name	Location	State	Founded	Ended
Metropolitan	Perth	Western Australia	1968	
Croatia	North Perth	Western Australia	1969	
Croat	Preston	Victoria	1960	1963
Croatia	Ballarat	Victoria	1959	
Croatia	Geelong	Victoria	1954	
Croatia	Melbourne	Victoria	1952[ab]	1972
Dinamo	St Albans	Victoria	1977	
Dinamo	Morwell	Victoria	1979	
Hajduk	Melbourne	Victoria	10 Jan 56	1958
South Parkmore	Dandenong	Victoria	18 March 79	
HNK Hajduk	Chelsea	Victoria	1981	
HNK Mostar	Sunshine	Victoria		
Zagreb	Geelong	Victoria	1958	1960
Zagreb/AR Split	Melbourne	Victoria	1975	
Zagreb	Mildura	Victoria	1978	
Essendon Lions		Victoria	1974	
Essendon Croatia		Victoria	1978	
Melbourne Croatia		Victoria	1984	
Melbourne CSC		Victoria	1992	
Melbourne Knights		Victoria	1993	
Croatia	North Geelong	Victoria	1967	
HNK Osijek		Victoria	1984	
HNK Split	Glenroy	Victoria	1976	
HNK Vukovar	Melbourne	Victoria	1975/1981	
Croatia	Glenorchy	Tasmania	1957	
Croatia	Launceston	Tasmania		
Croatia	Adelaide	South Australia	1952	
Croatia	Mount Gambier	South Australia	1960	
Croatia	Port Lincoln	South Australia	1970	
Zadar	Port Lincoln	South Australia	After 1970	
Croatia	Whyalla	South Australia		
Zagreb	Renmark	South Australia		
Adriatic	Adelaide	South Australia	After 1960	

(Drapac 2009, p. 65)

In this regard, Croatian immigrants are unique; the number of football clubs is much higher than any other immigrant group examined in this dissertation. There are reasons for this unusual situation. Most importantly, for Croats, there were three important things in their lives at that time. When they arrived in the new lands, they had to find a job, they had to have a house and they had to start a family. In many cases, after achieving all of these, Croat men would run directly to a football club. For some, football clubs took priority over the other three priorities since a football

club could offer them all of these at the same time; a family, a home and a job (Drapac 2009, p. 65). There is also another important factor that can explain their establishing football or sport clubs in a new land. Their pre-modern, pre-sporting community pasts also played a pivotal role in their attitudes in Australia.

The Adelaide Croatia Soccer Club was founded in 1950 by a small group of Croat youth. Unlike other clubs established after them, they did not pick a name that refers only their Croatian identity. They chose the name of the city where currently lived; this can be assumed to be a sign of local identity and belonging in this case. However, they put their Croat identity into their club logo; they picked the red and white checkered flag as a symbol of the club and a blue football ball in the middle of the logo. Their logo choice is directly refers to their Croatian identity.

On their current website, http://www.croatiaraiders.com.au, they use the following words to explain why the club was founded: “to promote the Croatian name locally, nationally and internationally.” After it was established, they registered

and played their first game. The club played in local divisions for a while. Then, two years after registration, Branko Filipi, an important Croatian business man in Adelaide, started to invest in the club. He became president of the club and held the position for 14 years (Drapac 2009, p. 66). Through his investments, the club started to be promoted. In 1958, they played in the second division and they missed the chance to play in the first division.

After one year, in 1959, they began playing in the first division for the first time in their history. They were the first immigrant team to play in the first division; this made them popular beyond Australia. They became a football team for all Croats who live in the diaspora. The club always has support from Croatian migrants. Businessmen have a regularly invested in the team. This is one of the important reasons why they have never been faced with closing, unlike some of the other Croatian football clubs. Their successful history began in 1961, when they beat Cumberland 4-nil to win the Ampol Cul, an even they refer to as a "milestone" in their history. That was a major success in the club history; after that, the club started to become more and more successful. They won the first division for four times (1980 1984 1988 and 1997).

First players of the Adelaide Raiders

They are also proud not only of the players who are prominent due to their Croatian identity, but also of support for the Australian national team. They post on their website the names of both Adelaide Raiders and Australian national team players. Adelaide has never has a political identity; that is the main reason why they have not been involved in any political clashes within the Yugoslav community. However, there have been cases of such clashes within the Croatian community. JUST (Jugoslav United Soccer Team), was a Croatian and Serbian community team. They played in Australian divisions until 1984. During the 1960s and 1970s, they were the most successful ethnic community team. Their main rival was the team "Sydney Croatia." The main reason for this was that Sydney Croatia was under the control of Ustashi groups, due to the fact that there were some violent matches between the two teams. They brought their political hostilities with them to the new lands; they also brought their football fanaticism.

Today, Croatians have their own football federation in Australia, and football still provides them hope and helps them to connect with new generations. According

to new multiculturalist policy changes, most of the ethnic teams had to change their names if they had have anything in them that referred to their ethnic identities. For instance, the Adelaide Croatia Raiders became the Adelaide Raiders, and Sydney Croatia became Sydney United. One of the gear stewards of the club shared his ideas on this: “Soccer is a nice game, but in this country it’s too complicated. Too many politics. It's very hard, when they change name. They said to me, you must change, but I never take it off. Always Croatia to me … this country should be more open. Multicultural? It's bullshit, it's bullshit. Not in soccer.”

Australian Croats are an excellent example of Akhtar’s “distance track.” Beginning in the assimilationist years of the country, they keep their distance between them and the host society; they created their own community life and institutions in the country. Sometimes, according to political realities of the time, they used their community power against Australian authorities like they did against Tito after World War II. The first generation of immigrants, in particular, has always maintained the dream of going back to Croatia. As Akhtar said, this dream also keeps their identities alive and the distance between them and Australian society. They create a new type of ‘ours’ definitions through their organizations, especially their football clubs, all over Australia. Adelaide is one of them, but as we can see in the table containing a list of football clubs and who established them, football clubs gave them a new kind of “our” concept.

3.5. THE SYRIAN CASE

In some respects, Syrian refugees are the embodiment of Akhtar's definitions. They demonstrate the patterns discussed by Akhtar and written about in this dissertation. They are in the middle of their "mourning" process, which they reveal in different ways. Aktar's "four tracks" (from love or hate to ambivalence, from yesterday or tomorrow to today, from your or mine to ours and from near or far to optimal distance**)** (Akhtar 1999, p. 77) are becoming more apparent with regard to Syrian refugees. Syrian refugees are literally survivors of war; in these kinds of cases, Akhtar, emphasizes a different type of unconscious "guilt" that he refers to as "survivor guilt." Syrian refugees have this kind of guilt. However, in Syrian refugees, this is not the most visible of Akhtar's tracks. This would be the track "from near or far to optimal distance." There are different examples of this in the Syrian refugee case. In this track, as Akhtar point outs, being far from their social environment is leading refugees to come closer to other refugees, Syrians in this case. There are a lot of Syrian neighborhoods, especially in border cities in Turkey. Having a dream of going back home is another pattern of this track. Looking at the surveys conducted with Syrian refugees, it can be seen that the majority of Syrian refugees say that they will go back to Syria when they can. Laying behind this is cultural differences, which also play a key role in creating the distance between Syrian refugees and Turkish society. Before delving deeper into Syrian refugee identity and their relation with football, a short history of their immigration needs to be examined.

3.5.1. History of Syrian Immigration

When the Syrian conflict began in 2011, it was not hard to predict that it would result in huge movements of people. However, no one could have foreseen that they would be the largest flows of refugees in history. Today, one in every five refugees in the world is Syrian; Syria has become the largest emigrant country in the

world (UNHCR 2014). Before 2014, the number of Syrian refugees in Europe was 70,000, but this had reached 219,000 in 2014 (UNHCR 2014, p. 5). Between 2011, the year of Syrian Civil war start, and 2015, the total number of Syrian refugees reached 897,645. There are 4,719,605 registered Syrian refugees in the entire world and 1 million of these refugees are children according to United Nations (UNHCR 2015).

Most Syrian refugees live in three main countries - Lebanon, Turkey and Jordan. Of these countries, Turkey has the largest Syrian refugee group. Numbers are rapidly changing, but in 2015 there were 2,620,553 million refugees in Turkey. According to current UNHCR date, the number has reached 3,168,757 million.[20] There are 22 refugee camps in Turkey but only 220,000 of the Syrian refugees live in them (Kirişci 2014, p. 1). The open door policy that the Turkish Government adopted at the beginning of war made Turkey a great destination for refugees. This policy basically offered refuges "temporary protection" (Kirişci 2014, p. 1). During the open door policy process, Turkey really has not had a particular refugee policy. This problem also stems from a part of the 1951 Geneva Convention that Turkey signed. According to Geneva Convention, Turkey has "geographical limitation," which makes Turkey only recognize people who came from west as an asylum seekers (Kap 2014; Ozden 2013). If Turkey takes in refugees from outside Europe, it must provide them temporary protection until a third country to which they can be sent is found. Turkey works with the United Nations during the protection period to provide refugees needs (Ozden 2013, p. 5). Because of that, Syrian refugees are welcomed as guests rather than as asylum seekers. However, Turkish government had to change the policies according to new conditions in 2013; through a new policy, the government gave "conditional refugee status" to refugees. This new status works through individual applications, which is similar to what is done to achieve asylum seeker status. However, the number of Syrian refugees was too high for individual

[20] http://data.unhcr.org/syrianrefugees/country.php?id=224

applications. In 2014 a new policy whereby the government gave Syrian refugees temporary protection status came into effect (Tunç 2015, p. 39).

3.5.2. Conditions of the Syrian Refugees in Turkey

At the beginning, Syrian refugees settled in the border provinces, but over time, the capacities of the camps began to be inadequate. Most of the Syrian refugees in Turkey live outside the camps. Camp conditions are much better than outside ones; they have even been praised by international media.[21] In these camps, the Turkish government provides basic needs such as food and health care. All the refugees have ID cards in the camps. The Turkish Disaster and Emergency Management (AFAD) works with Turkish Red Cross there. The UNHCR provides technical support to the government for registration (Ozden 2013, p. 6). All the camps contain medical centers, schools, recreational facilities and vocational training programs (Kirişci 2014, p.15). While camp conditions have been praised by national and international community, it does not mean that there are no problems. Refugees complain that are some serious problems in the camps. They say, for instance, that the food is not always edible and point out that there have been some cases of food poisoning. They have also said that there are problems with the distribution of basic goods such as soaps, toothpaste and baby food (Ozden 2013, p. 6). The camps in Turkey, though, have much better conditions than the ones in Lebanon and Jordan according to refugees.

An estimated 76% of Syrian refugees live outside the camp (Kirişci 2014, p. 15). They face a great many serious problems, including accessing food and finding a proper place to live. Camps are protected areas for the refugees; outside of these camps refugees have to survive by themselves. At the beginning of the conflict, when

[21] https://www.nytimes.com/2014/02/16/magazine/how-to-build-a-perfect-refugee-camp.html?mcubz=1

all the Syrians were welcomed by the government with the open door policy, Turkish society was also more welcoming to them. They were "guests" for the society, and they would go back to their country at some point. However, the conflict has become increasingly worse and both the Turkish government and Turkish society understood that refugees would be staying in Turkey much longer than the first thought. That had two consequences.

First, the government realized that the importance of integration policies and they started to work such policies as they applied to Syrian refugees. The Assistant Secretary of the Bureau of Population, Refugees and Migration, Anne Richard, used the definition of "invisible and dispersed."[22] Most of the refugees live on the streets or in parks, and many of them are beggars in the streets. As the growing number of urban refugees received media attention, the government took some measures, with the provision of health care services being the first (Kirişci 2014, p. 16).

Second, tension grew between the host nation, Turkish society in this case, and Syrian refugees. This directly affected Syrian refugees living outside the camps. They had to find jobs to make money, and find a place to live. Turkish society's reactions towards Syrian refugees was not surprising; on contrary, some of their actions or words are typical host nation reactions. As Castles and Miller have shown, Syrian refugees are seen in Turkey as a sign of insecurity, and the cause of high rents and the lack of job (Castle and Miller 2008, pp. 18-21). 70.8% of the society thinks that Syrian refugees have impacted the economy negatively; 62.3% thinks that refugees produced serious security problems (Erdogan 2014, pp. 24-35).

The tension between Turkish society and Syrian refugees has sometimes led to unfortunate events. In different cities of Turkey, mostly border cities, where the Syrian population is more visible, Syrian refugees and local people come face to face. These events mostly start with rumors, such as a Syrian attacked a local or a Syrian

[22] "State's Richard at Senate Hearing on Syrian Refugee Crisis," January 7, 2014.

was caught by police while committing a robbery.[23] [24] [25] In big cities like Istanbul, Syrian refugees are more invisible even they live on the streets or in parks or beg on the streets. However, in smaller cities, when the refugee population becomes close to the local population, their effects on the local economy or daily life become more noticeable to the local people. Consequently, tension between the two groups may increase and any rumors can spark unrest.

3.5.3. Conditions of the Syrian Refugee Children

Children always confront serious problems in immigration. According to UNHCR's 2015 report on Syrian refugees, in three years more than 1 million of Syrian children became refugees (UNHCR 2015). A great many of them do not attend school. According to UNICEF, 73% of the Syrian children in Turkey are not in school (Tunc 2015, p. 55). The majority of them live on the streets and beg, and many work in different industries (Harunogullari 2016). More than half of the Syrian refugee population consists of children, and 52% of them are school-age children (UNHCR, 2015: 28). Syrian refugee children share similar conditions in the three countries with the majority of the Syrian refugee population: Lebanon, Jordan and Turkey. There are 1.1 million registered Syrian refugee in Lebanon. Most of the children there work in the agriculture sector and dangerous industries (ILO, 2015). In Jordan, conditions are not different. After the influx of refugees, the number of children in the workforce increased dramatically. ILO's 2013 report estimates that there are 30,000 Syrian refugee children among the 160,000 Syrian refugees in the workforce (ILO 2013). In Turkey, 893,000 Syrian children participate in the Turkish labor market (Harunogullari 2016, p. 39).

[23] https://www.cnnturk.com/turkiye/mersinde-cinayet-sonrasi-suriyeli-ailelere-saldiri
[24] http://www.diken.com.tr/izmirde-suriyelilere-saldiri-500-multeci-mahalleyi-terk-etmek-zorunda-kaldi/
[25] http://www.gazeteduvar.com.tr/turkiye/2017/07/02/uskudarda-suriyeli-ailenin-evine-saldiri/

Most working Syrian children struggle with psycho-social difficulties. Most of them cannot attend school or play. Children who need to work, like Syrian refugee children, end up with inferiority complexes (Karaman and Ozcalik 2007, p. 40). Difficulties in social life, especially for children, become a source of isolation. Harunogullari concludes from the research she did on the Syrian refugee children who work in Kilis that these children avoid communicating with Turkish society and live within the Syrian refugee communities. She reports that they say that they need to do that to protect their identities, cultures and languages (Harunogullari 2016, p. 49). Similar conclusions can be drawn from the interviews I conducted with Syrian refugee children who play football in Istanbul. None of the children has any close friend from Turkish society.

Language is one of the most important factors in this isolation. Education plays a key role in this regard. Syrian refugee children's education is still problematic in Turkey.

The language of the educational system in a particular country is crucial for refugee children. It is a major factor in whether or not they will continue to attend school. This is particularly the case with refugee children who have escaped from conflict zones (Oh&Van der Stouwe 200, pp. 607-608). When the educational system only focuses on teaching the majority language to newcomers and misses broader topics such as peace or living together, more serious problems and conflicts can appear within the society (Dreyden-Peterson 2011, pp. 62-64). Studies on refugee children have shown that there is a correlation between alienation and lack of majority language knowledge (Ozer, Komsuoglu and Atesok 2016, p. 196). As mentioned earlier, Salman Akhtar also points out the importance of language for immigrants; it is the most powerful element of immigrant identity. The educational system is directly related to language when immigrant children are involved in it. In Turkey, there are 1.3 million Syrian children and 920,000 of them are school age. Only 325,000 Syrian children continue their education in Turkey and 600,000 Syrian

refugee children are not part of the educational system**.** Similar to other problems of refugees, there is difference between refugees in camps and those outside the camps when it comes to education. 90% of the children who live in camps attend school, but only 25% outside the camps do (Ozer, Komsuoglu and Atesok 2016, p. 199). However, implementing the education of refugee children entails difficulties. The majority of the children who attend school, i.e., 249,000 of the Syrian refugee children, do so at Temporary Education Centers (GEM), where instruction is in Arabic and a revised Syrian curriculum is followed (Ozer, Komsuoglu and Atesok 2016, p. 200). GEMs have been set up in neighborhoods in nearly every city through the support of the local authorities. These centers are managed by volunteers. The Turkish Ministry of Education (MEB) controls these centers through by its local branches. Local branches of MEB, mostly assign Islamic Divinity high school teachers to run GEMs because of their knowledge of Arabic. However, GEMs have become problematic with respect to integration issues in particular. While teaching the revised Syrian curriculum, the Libyan curriculum in some cases, these children do not take any class on, for instance, how to manage to live another county (UNICEF 2015). GEMs basically operate as a place that provides a Syria environment to the children; this leads to a distance problem between immigrant children and Turkish society, as Salman Akhtar̓ suggests. Syrian families tend to send their children to GEMs because their idea of returning hom̓e is still alive and they do not want to keep their children away from the Syrian education system (Ozer, Komsuoglu and Atesok 2016, p. 206). As will be explained below, most of the Syrian children with whom I conducted my personal interviews attend GEMs; only one of them goes to a Turkish school. The children who go to GEMs were unable to communicate with me in Turkish and the only child who goes to Turkish school had to be a translator in all interviews. According to the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees, the integration of immigrant children in the host nation education system is important not only for refugee children̓ 's education itself, but also for creating ties between the host nation children and refugee children. Integration will also help preclude potential

future conflicts between immigrant group and host nation and alienation (Dreyden-Peterson 2011, pp. 62-67). The language of the curriculum is important, but curriculum itself is also crucial for immigrant children. Curriculums have to provide both host nation children and immigrant children classes in human rights, peace and peaceful coexistence. Solving the language problem is easier when children are younger; younger children can learn Turkish more easily than older ones. Because of that, the number of Syrian immigrant children is higher in primary schools (Ozer, Komsuoglu and Atesok 2016, p. 207). There are fewer Syrian children in secondary schools due to language problem, and this problem leads to discrimination in secondary schools.

3.5.4. Interviews with Syrian Children

Some local authorities in Turkey are aware of the powerful attraction football power has for people. There have been attempts to get Syrian refugee children involved in football. Some municipalities arrange football tournaments to bring Turkish children and their Syrian refugee counterparts together.[26] [27] [28] The main purpose of all these tournaments is to help Syrian refugee children's integration process. The Bayrampasa municipality in Istanbul is one of the local authorities that arrange football tournaments with Syrian refugee children. The municipality and the Bayrampasa football club give Syrian refugee children a football pitch where they can train and play football. They play football Monday through Thursday from 9 a.m. to 1 p.m. every week. There is also another Syrian football club in Balat, Istanbul. These football clubs are not official or registered football clubs, but they refer to themselves as a "club." The club is called "Stars of the future" for now. Their club does not any name or symbol, but they want to become an official club someday. I

[26] http://www.milliyet.com.tr/suriyeli-cocuklara-futbol-turnuvasi-hatay-yerelhaber-2276639/
[27] http://www.milliyet.com.tr/sehitk-mil-den-suriyeli-cocuklara-futbol-gaziantep-yerelhaber-163294/
[28] http://www.urfanatik.com/ceylanpinar/suriyeli-cocuklar-turnuvaya-katildi-h64470.html

conducted in-depth interviews with Syrian refugee children in Bayrampasa.

There are 20 children in Bayrampasa; 15 of them agreed to talk to me. The children range in age from 10 to 17. In the interviews, I focused on two main topics: their relations with Turkish society and Turkish children, and their relations with football and its effects on their lives. I asked all of them at the end of the interviews if they had the chance to establish a football club in Turkey, what would be its name, colors and anthems, in order to create a bridge with it and the other cases of this dissertation. The Syrian refugee children's relationship with football can help us to better understand the refugee group's links with football. For now, they are children, they are playing football just because it is fun. But when you ask deeper questions about football, you can see that how they are see football and the pitch.

The biggest problem I had was with language. Only one of the children could speak Turkish. He ended up being my translator because he could speak Turkish properly. He was also the only one who goes to Turkish high school. He said that this is the reason he can speak Turkish and rest of his friends could not. Four of the children go to GEMs and rest of them do not attend school. All of them needed a translator. Three of them started to speak in Turkish, but at some point, they wanted to use the translator to explain themselves better. The newest child in the group had lived in Turkey for one year. The rest of them had lived in Turkey more than a year. They were from nearly every part of Syria, e.g., Aleppo, Damascus, Hama, and Latakia.

All of the children said that they had played football their entire life and wanted to become professional football players. They also said that football gave them hope for their future. The said that they did not feel they had to be concerned about life and think about their problems while they are in the pitch. Another important thing is that the football club is the first institution with which they had gotten in touch themselves after having arrived in Istanbul. All of them had heard about the club from their friends who did not play football in the club. At that age, most of the children are aware of the existence of the club. They all said that they had Turkish friends, but that they did not hang around with them or play football, even in the streets, with them. All of the children preferred Syrians. One of them, Mustafa, age 15, told me he could not find better friends than Syrians, citing the language barrier as an important reason: “Most of my friends cannot speak Turkish properly; it causes some problems of course, but when we hang out together, with other Syrians, we don’t need Turkish at all. When we need to communicate with a Turk, one of us who knows the language better than us solves the problem, like he’s doing right now for you” (he pointed to his friend who was translating what he said to me) (Muhammed, age 17).

When I asked them whether they would support a professional Syrian football club if there were one at any level in the Turkish football leagues, they all responded that they would and also said that they would like to be a part of the team as a player. Only one child, Ali, age 17, who was a goalkeeper in the current club, said it he would support the club not only because it was a Syrian club. All of them said that they would support a Syrian football player in any professional Turkish club and that his existence could motivate them to pursue his path. He could become a figure of hope for them; they all said that it would make them feel as if they could become a professional football player in Turkey: "Seeing a Syrian football player at the professional level in Turkey would make me really happy. I would feel confident, I would start thinking "If he can do it, so could I; why not? Who knows; maybe I'll be the first Syrian to play for the Turkish national team" (Mustafa, age 15).

All the children interviewed pointed out that the current club was giving them an environment in which they could become more social within in their Syrian community, but that it was not enough for their career. None of them thought that they could become a professional if they were to continue to play football in their current club. The biggest reason for that was that they felt that no one was scouting them. On the other hand, it would be easier for them if they played for a Turkish team. They gave an example of another Syrian child refugee, Adem, who plays for Somaspor and was invited by the U14 Turkish National Team the previous April.[29] They felt deep injustice, all of them thinking that they were not being seen by Turkish society or the football environment; they felt invisible.

There is another important point, which is has been brought up in regard to other cases examined in this dissertation: football clubs serve as identity representatives. In other cases, a club's colors, names and fan groups were stressed in order to get a clearer understanding of its relations of identity. In the Syrian case,

[29] http://www.yerelfutbol.com/suriyeli-messi-adem-u14-milli-takim-kampinda

there is no professional club whose colors or names can be analyzed, but that relation can be traced through a "what if" question. I asked all the children if, given the chance to establish a football club in Turkey, what its colors and names would be. All of the children said that they would use names and colors that referred to the fact that they are Syrian. Ten of them said they would prefer colors in the club logo that had some association with Syria, such as red, white or black; five of the children agreed on the color selection but they would add name "Suriyespor." They explained their name and color selection by saying that it needs to be emphasized that they were not from here: "We are not from here anyway; we were born and raised in Syria; we are from Syria. We should remember our past; maybe we won't go back to Syria ever again but this does not mean we should forget our past. If I established a football club, not just in the Turkey, in any part of the world, I would call it "Syria football club" to help us remember who we are" (Rahman, age 16).

When I asked them how they felt when they won a game, all of them used use words like proud, happy, be a part of something important, being more visible and appreciated. I asked the same question about defeating a Turkish team, and their responses reflected more clearly their relations with football. All the children said that they felt much better when they defeated a Turkish team. The main reason for this was that they felt at a disadvantage in Turkey. In regards to football, they all said that they did not have enough equipment to train or play football. They felt that when they defeated a Turkish team, despite these circumstances, they also overcame their disadvantaged situation. Their response to this question supports one the main arguments of this dissertation. Football is just football while they are playing with Syrian kids and against other Syrian kids. They all live under the similar conditions; but when they play against a Turkish team, they become more motivated. They all accept this motivation and say that a football pitch becomes a stage where they can show themselves to Turks.

Football has different meanings for Syrian children; it gives them hope and a field where they can show themselves to the host society and the world. Winning a game, as they say, is not a regular win - it is a powerful response to their disadvantages. As Kerim, age 14, said, real winning is defeating a Turkish team. The football pitch provides the arena where they can fight against their luck and current situation in Turkey. It also gives them hope for reaching a better future for themselves and their families: “I don’t have to think about now while I’m playing football. I don’t think about my job, my life, my lack of education. I only think about the score, I play for forgetting, it helps me to forget, that is why I love football” (Kerim, age 14).

Football became an increasing strong place to fight for their identities. They also escape the reality of their lives by playing football. It gives them hope for their future; it is not a battleground for them yet. It is just a game through which they can keep their hopes of future alive and show themselves to the broader Turkish society. However, their feelings about injustice making them angry about their luck. Most of them said that if Turkish people looked at them, they would be able to find good players among them. This is also related to their feelings regarding other areas of life. They feel invisible. They feel that even if they were better than Turkish people in some case, they would not be able to get the opportunity to prove themselves. This results in their hanging around together within their own community, which only adds to the distance between them and the larger Turkish society. They fill the subsequent gap through football. Syrians are going through the early stages experienced by the other cases discussed in this dissertation. In time, their perspective of football will change and become a battleground for them, too.

> The Syrian case is also a good illustration of Akhtar’s definitions; so is their relationship with football. Syrian children use football to get together. It affords them an environment where they can create stronger bonds with other Syrians. This has an impact on the distance between them and Turkish

society, as indicated by Akhtar. Their inability to speak Turkish also reinforces their dream of going back to Syria someday; it also alienates them away from the host society. The football club helps main their Syrian identity and keep their dream of returning to Syria alive. It sustains their "yesterday" and drives them away from "today." Their club is becoming a part of their identity. Every day, they impart new meanings to their club; these meanings are over and beyond a football game. There are external factors that feed this situation for Syrians; Turkish society is becoming more sensitive about Syrians. It is also pushing Syrians away and marginalizing them. The tension between the two societies is escalating. As indicated earlier, unfortunate events can occur when this happens. Football may be another battle ground for Syrians; there are signs of this in the children now.

CONCLUSION

This dissertation examined football identity relations through selected cases. In all of the cases, it was seen that there are reasons for immigrant groups using football and football clubs. Most importantly, football gives them an area where they can show themselves to the majority host population and provides them with an opportunity to defeat its members in one area, collectively. With increasing success, a football team becomes a source of pride to the community. During their daily lives, if they feel discriminated against, unlucky or that they are being treated unequally, the support they give to their club increases. Football stadiums become their home away from home, from away from their homelands. In the AEK case, this was clearly seen in the name of the stadium – Constantinople. Even the new generation of administrative staff of the club had similar ways of thinking about their identity, choosing Constantinople for their new stadium.

Every case demonstrated that football clubs serve as identity protectors and reproducers for immigrant groups. Their clubs are the best way to communicate with new generations, and via football they share their identities with their new generations while they reproduce them. Club names, colors and definitions of fan groups support their actual identities and keep them alive. Football is also not only an arena for new struggles, it is also a battle ground for old rivalries. This was seen in the Assyriska and Adelaide Raiders cases. All of the cases also support other studies on the relationship between football and identity. Teams and supporters are living examples of football and identity relations and they still keep their ties between their identities.

There is one country it should be point out why it was not a part of this dissertation. France has a unique position in the regard of immigrants and minorities, there are different groups that has immigrant background in the country such as; Armenians or Algerians. However, there is not any immigrant football clubs within these groups, this unique situation could explain by ‘citizenship

regimes'(Kymlicka,1998) theory. Kymlicka's 'citizenship regimes' can provide an angle to understand of the French case, but in his approach, he didn't pay enough attention to immigrants in particular, this is also taken as a weakest point of 'citizenship regimes' by other scholars, that is also another reason of citizenship regimes can not help to understand immigrant football clubs, and that is the reason why it is not a part of this dissertation. However, we can assume that, France republican citizenship approach couldn't give the chance to those groups to express themselves in their own identities. Three of the cases in this dissertation(Turkiyemspor-Germany, Assyriska-Sweden and Adelaide Raiders-Australia) are mainly from countries that adopt multiculturalist citizenship approach, according to that, they found an environment that they can show their ethnic identities. Rum immigrants in Greece were a part of active nation building process, that is the main reason why Rum immigrants didn't faced with tough reactions in Greece. Citizenship regimes is another topic to discussing immigrant identity, but as a country that have immigrant population, France's unique position, in this regard, can be explain through its citizenship perspectives.

Salman Akhtar's "four track approach to identity" is also illustrated by the cases. All of the football clubs demonstrate that they include all the tracks and feed them somehow. Mainly, football is used to preserve the distance between the immigrant group and the host nation; it keeps the distance between the two groups. Distance is one of Akhtar's tracks, and, as he said, immigrant groups have many ways for sustaining the distance of immigrant groups, including language and even foods. Football clubs also help immigrants to maintain distance. Clubs also fuels immigrants' hate towards host nations and replays it every week in the pitch. It produces negative opinions about the host nations by praising their identity and putting all the positive values on it. Club names and colors are the strongest evidence of immigrant groups' active to the past. They preserve their pasts in football clubs and praise it at the weakly matches. Lastly, the existence of these clubs are also new

shapes of identity. Through these clubs, immigrant identities acquire a new way to express their identities. Not only do they use their language, religion in some contexts, foods and music, but they also points out their support for their football clubs as a part of their identity.

	AEK	Turkiyemspor	The Assyrıska FF	The Adelaide Raiders
From love or hate to ambivalence	×		×	
From near or far to optimal distance	×	×		
From yesterday or tomorrow to today	×		×	×
From yours or mine to ours	×	×	×	×

In the last case of the Syrians, it was seen that the relationship between football and immigrants is an ongoing reality. Through the interviews, the importance of football for Syrian children became clear. Their answers to the question of a hypothetical football club demonstrated how football can be a part of an identity and how it would make a particular immigrant group feel. Their responses to how they would feel about defeating Turkish teams are showed that football can be a part of invisible hate. It was also seen that four of Akhtar's tracks were evident in the role played in the lives of Syrian children. Their first reflex, similar to the other four cases, was to use football as a kind of divider tool. They also tended to use football to praise their identity and a new battle ground for their identity.

Finally, it was seen that football can easily be use as a divider by immigrant groups. However, football also has other impacts. It also has the power to bring people together. This power is not used much by people, but it would be useful when the topic comes to immigrant integration. Football has natural strengths. It has a common goal. It enables people to work hard with together for a particular purpose. It

is a great way to communicate with people, especially for children. As seen in the Syrian refugee case, children's first choice to communicate each other is through playing football. This power would be useful for creating a common future for both host nation children and immigrant children. Football already creates memories for almost everyone. In this dissertation, I focused on the divider memories that created by football, but these memories can easily be unifying ones as well. Football's impact on people should not be underestimated. It deserves more attention.

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