

A Case Analysis of the Turkish Football in regard to the UEFA's 10- Point Action Plan against Racism

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Abstract:

Football is enjoyable and meaningful together with the fans. However, the hate crimes (racism, discrimination, humiliation, xenophobia and Islamophobia) are social diseases of some fan groups, and threaten public safety and the social life. UEFA has been determined to fight against hate crimes in football by creating a network called FARE, and by implementing a road map called 10-Point Action Plan since 2003. The purpose of this case study is to analyze the Turkish Football in relation to the UEFA's 10- Point Action Plan against Racism. The findings of this study revealed that the policies implemented in Europe with success were hardly put into practice in Turkey. No policies were developed to implement the UEFA's 10-Point Action Plan and the recommendations of the European Commission were not taken into consideration in Turkey. Although the football produces a very significant economic resource, no funds were allocated to education of Turkish football fans.

Keywords: *Football, Fan, Education, 10-Point Plan of Action, the EU White Paper*

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Introduction

Sport is believed to strengthen and protect the social structure and to help young people develop positive behaviors; thus, many countries back up sport with significant funding. Major sporting events such as the Olympic Games, World Cup, and European Championships attract global interest, and football has a privileged position within sport. This game attracts worldwide audiences and generates a vast industry. Due to its popularity, football also creates an exquisite platform that allows minority groups in a country to express themselves on the club level and in the world arena.

Sport is the largest social movement of Europe and it holds particular importance because of its unifying and integrating characteristics. Indeed, the European Parliament has supported sport for its contribution to the European integration process (Tokarski, 2001). The European Union (EU) Sport Commission Rome Declaration clearly highlighted sports' important role in society and its active value in social life, communication, integration, health, education, and the environment as it encourages communal living (De Keper, 2001).

The first negative effects of the rapid commercialization of sports were seen in football after 1990 when hate crimes emerged as the primary issue. Social deviations such as racism, discrimination, humiliation, xenophobia, and Islamophobia are constraints for public authorities.

The EU has called for public authorities to fight against excessive behaviors such as violence in football and recommended supporting the campaigns of non-governmental organizations (NGOs) working in this field. Hate crimes, which are quite common in football, are a social problem in the EU and various funds have been allocated to help volunteer organizations and NGOs take an active role in fighting against them. The Union of European Football Associations (UEFA) is also determined to fight against hate crimes in football; it created a network called Football against Racism in Europe (FARE) and implemented a road map called the 10-Point Action Plan in 2003. The purpose of this case study is to analyze Turkish football in relation to the UEFA's 10-Point Action Plan against racism.

Hate Crimes Record of Football Fans

Since the 1980s, football fans across Europe have been involved in violent incidents. The most important one is the Heysel disaster of 1985. After this incident, hooliganism was identified as a priority issue to tackle. Penalties for football clubs, and bans and international travel prohibitions for the involved supporters, were introduced. Racist and discriminatory behaviors became a vital issue after the 1990s. Examples of the excessive behavior of football fans include:

- *December 1991, Scotland:* Alarmed by the rise in far-right activity at Scottish grounds, football supporters formed a campaign to combat racism in football, Supporters' Campaign against Racism in Football (SCARF).
- *July 1992, Italy:* Lazio fans showed their anger at the club's new signing, Holland's Surinamese-Indian, Aaron Mohammed Winter, by scrawling "we don't want neither nigger nor Jew" on a wall of the club's headquarters.
- *October 1993, Germany:* During a European championships qualifier between Germany and Turkey, German fans chanted repeatedly "Kreuzberg must burn"; Kreuzberg is an area in Berlin where many Turks live.
- *December 1994, Spain:* Fans of Sporting Gijon sprayed "red and white yes, black no" on the walls of their stadium after the club signed Nigerian Rashidi Yekini.
- *October 1995, Netherlands:* The Dutch Football Association protested to the UEFA about racist abuse against Ajax's black players during a UEFA Champion League match against Ferencvaros in Budapest.

- *June 1996, France:* Jean Marie Le Pen, president of the Front National, said that French players of ethnic minority origin should not sing the national anthem because they are “not worthy” to represent the nation.
- *September 1998, Austria:* Austrian fans chanted anti-Semitic slogans throughout a game between Austria and Israel.
- *February 1999, Turkey:* After Kevin Campbell signed for Trabzonspor, the president of the club said: “We bought a cannibal who believes he is a forward.”
- *November 2000, Italy:* Racist abuse was heaped on Liverpool’s Emile Heskey throughout England’s friendly in Turin.
- *August 2001, Romania:* During the derby against Rapid Bucharest, Dinamo supporters displayed a huge banner on the terrace saying “More Tigane” (Death to the Gypsies).
- *October 2001, Czech Republic:* Bayern Munich players Samuel Kuffour and Pablo Thiam were subjected to monkey chants from Sparta Prague fans during their UEFA Champion League match.
- *October 2001, Portugal:* Racial abuse was directed at Emile Heskey by Boavista fans. The Liverpool and England striker said afterward: “It does happen a lot in Europe and the fact is I have got used to it. I have had to.”
- *October 2002:* A series of games during UEFA club competitions involved incidents of racial abuse of players, with the Euro 2004 qualifier, Slovakia vs. England, subject to mass racist chanting.
- *April 2003, England:* Supporters at the England v. Turkey match used racist abuse against other fans and players (UEFA & FARE, 2003).

Prof. Dr. Andreas Zickler (2010) identified these inappropriate behaviors as syndromes. He studied behavioral disorders diligently in the football fields. His studies revealed that individual behaviors and attitudes affect group character. The results of several research studies demonstrated that xenophobia and Islamophobia rose between 2002 and 2005, even though the findings in 2010 indicated a downtrend. The results also indicated that racism has existed for many years and that racist attitudes against the homeless and homosexuals have risen along with anti-Semitism. However, hostile attitudes toward people with disabilities have declined (Zickler, 2010).

Initiatives against Hate Crimes

Coalition of Cities against Racism

The International Coalition of Cities against Racism was founded by the United Nations Educational, Scientific, and Cultural Organization (UNESCO) in 2004. The initiative is based on the insight that the local level plays a key role in combating discrimination and exclusion. Involving cities is a good way to put international conventions, recommendations, and declarations into practice.

Several regional networks have been established to define appropriate local strategies to fight racism: in 2004 in Europe, in 2005 in North America, in 2006 in Asia, Africa, and Latin America, and in 2008 in the Arab region.

The German city of Nuremberg has taken on the main responsibility for the European Coalition: It hosted the inaugural conference in December 2004 and has been the “lead city” for the European coalition of cities (ECCAR) ever since. Under the coordination of the respective lead city,

each coalition defines its own 10-Point Plan of Action. The plan is composed of 10 commitments covering the various areas of competence of city authorities, such as education, housing, employment, and cultural activities. It is adapted to the specific circumstances of cities in the region and members of the coalition share experiences at regular meetings. In 2008, all regional coalitions were combined into the global coalition of cities. UNESCO's objective is to create a global network of cities interested in sharing experiences to improve their policies to fight racism, discrimination, xenophobia, and exclusion (Coalition of Cities against Racism, 2004).

Football - Migrants - Minorities - NGOs

Sport, especially football, is a global pursuit. Football is played with the same rules everywhere and is accepted by large communities because of its simple playing materials and the high excitement generated by the game. Furthermore, football is a great communication tool as it can generate contact between minorities and communities and help them establish their identity (Heitmeyer, 2000).

Europe's largest immigrant groups are located in Germany. The biggest integration success of this immigrant group is realized through football. In football, the issue of how to overcome the problems of minorities takes on a positive dimension; they gain self-confidence at schools, workplaces, and sport clubs via the coaches and referees through the internet network and this gives them an opportunity to build self-esteem (Dembowski, 2010).

Bundesliga broke the audience record worldwide for the seventh time during the 2007-2008 season. With an average of 40,000 spectators in the stadium watching the matches, Germany rose to the leading position in the world. When the 2006 World Cup took place in Germany, the stadiums were modernized to host the matches. As a valuable product, football was glorified for moving away from the tense atmosphere of the ancient Roman gladiators and creating a supporter culture with fan songs (Gabriel, 2008).

The Alliance of Active Football Fans (Bündis Aktiver Fussballfans e.V. (BAFF)) was established across Germany in the 1993/1994 season to protect the public interest. BAFF was established as an umbrella organization; it has organized isolated minorities to meet twice per year and started fan congresses with the attendance of 4,000 people. BAFF's board of directors is composed of minorities; its aim is to fight racist oppression and, therefore, it has supported demonstrations against racism and for democratic rights at the stadiums and in the streets. In a short time, through partnerships and joint moves with other fan groups, BAFF became a structure that can spread a strong message. From 1994 through 2006, it offered effective training programs and public opinion actions, and "the return of the decoder" and "postcards" campaigns were carried out. Cooperation was established with FARE and also collaboration in campaigns of the UEFA and FIFA (Dembowski, 2008).

Prof. Dr. Gunter A. Pilz stated that xenophobia and racism were serious threats to German democracy and cultural policy and football should be given necessary importance as it performs as a "social telescope" that can raise an alarm. It is clear that racism and xenophobia signal dangerous social developments (Pilz, 2008, p. 16).

UEFA and FARE Cooperation

In 2001, the UEFA began a partnership with the FARE network through financial support. One million Swiss francs were donated to the network in August 2001, and a further donation of 400,000 Swiss francs was made to help fund the Unite against Racism conference in London. In October 2002, a joint letter was sent to the entire European football family issuing a 10-point action plan to encourage action at the club level. The UEFA also supports its member associations in undertaking anti-racist action at the national level with a new financial assistance scheme approved by the UEFA Executive Committee in November 2002. On March 5, 2003, a landmark event in tackling racism occurred at Chelsea FC, in London. The FARE and UEFA worked together to organize the

Unite against Racism conference to bring together representatives of all 52 European footballing nations to exchange ideas and information and to set out a response to this problem. The Good Practice Guide is one practical outcome of the conference and reflects the intention to deliver change. Lasting change will only be achieved through sustained work that reflects local and national realities, undertaken in a spirit of partnership. Although numerous problems and challenges exist, the endeavor has the potential to unite.

UEFA's 10-Point Plan of Action for Professional Football Clubs

Originally brought together by FARE in 2002, the 10-Point Plan of Action for Professional Football Clubs sets out a variety of measures that football clubs can take:

1. Issue a statement saying the club will not tolerate racism, spelling out the action it will take against those engaged in racist chanting. The statement should be printed in all match programs and displayed permanently and prominently around the grounds.
2. Make public address announcements condemning racist chanting at matches.
3. Make it a condition for season ticket holders that they will not take part in racist abuse.
4. Take action to prevent the sale of racist literature inside and around the grounds.
5. Take disciplinary action against players who engage in racial abuse.
6. Contact other clubs to make sure they understand the club's policy on racism.
7. Encourage a common strategy between stewards and police for dealing with racist abuse.
8. Remove all racist graffiti from the grounds as a matter of urgency.
9. Adopt an equal opportunity policy in relation to employment and service provision.
10. Work with all other groups and agencies, such as the players union, supporters, schools, volunteer organizations, youth clubs, sponsors, local authorities, local businesses, and police, to develop pro-active programs and raise awareness of campaigns to eliminate racial abuse and discrimination (UEFA & FARE, 2003).

In 2003, the UEFA and FARE jointly published a good practice guide for tackling racism in European football following the first Unite against Racism conference at Chelsea FC in London. The guide looked at the issues facing national associations and reported on activities being undertaken by key actors in European football. In 2003, the need to tackle racism was already understood as an issue the European game needed to address with vigor. Since then, the political and sporting environment has moved it further up the agenda. Within the game, there has been concern about players who have been abused at the highest level; in some countries, far-right and neo-Nazi activities around stadiums have become more evident, and prominent individuals have made abusive comments that have been broadcast around the world.

These incidents have led to concerns on the political level, with governments seeking to intervene to encourage and support the process of tackling racism and discrimination. Club football is at the heart of sports. The clubs themselves, their players, and fans make the news week in and week out for most of the year. The club is where many of the most dynamic developments in the game take place and it is at the club level that action to tackle racism bears the most fruit.

The Historic Decision of the European Commission – The White Book of Sports

Sport is a growing social and economic phenomenon which makes an important contribution to the European Union's strategic objectives of solidarity and prosperity. The Olympic ideal of developing sport to promote peace and understanding among nations and cultures and educating

young people was born in Europe and has been fostered by the International Olympic Committee and the European Olympic Committees.

Sport is an area of human activity that greatly interests citizens of the European Union and has enormous potential for bringing them together, reaching out to all regardless of age or social origin. According to a November 2004 Eurobarometer survey, approximately 60% of European citizens participates in sporting activities on a regular basis within or outside some 700,000 clubs, which are themselves members of a plethora of associations and federations. The vast majority of sporting activity takes place in amateur structures. Professional sport is of growing importance and contributes equally to the societal role of sport. In addition to improving the health of European citizens, sport has an educational dimension and plays a social, cultural, and recreational role. The societal role of sport also has the potential to strengthen the EU's external relations. Strengthening the prevention of and fight against racism and violence at sports events, especially football matches, remains a disturbing problem and can take different forms. The violence has been shifting from inside stadiums to outside, including urban areas. The European Commission is committed to contributing to the prevention of incidents by promoting and facilitating dialogue with member states, international organizations (e.g., Council of Europe), sport organizations, law enforcement services, and other stakeholders (e.g., supporters' organizations, local authorities). Law enforcement authorities cannot deal with the underlying causes of sport violence in isolation.

Sport attracts European citizens, with a majority of people taking part in sporting activities on a regular basis. It generates important values such as team spirit, solidarity, tolerance, and fair play, thus contributing to personal development and fulfilment. It also promotes the active contribution of EU citizens to society and thereby helps to foster active citizenship. On July 11, 2007, the European Commission published a *White Paper on Sport*, acknowledging the essential role of sport in European society, in particular in tackling the new threats and challenges that have emerged in European society, such as commercial pressure, exploitation of young players, doping, racism, violence, corruption, and money laundering. In the report, the Commission encouraged the exchange of best practice and operational information on risk-supporters among police services and/or sport authorities. Particular importance was given to police training in crowd management and hooliganism.

The Commission recommended that sport federations establish procedures for dealing with racist abuse during matches, based on existing initiatives. It also encouraged strengthening the provisions regarding discrimination in licensing systems for clubs.

The Activities of Football Fan Organizations in Turkey

In Turkey, the classical fan understanding in which the fans just want their teams to win has continued. The fan organizations, which oppose the loss of common gains by focusing on problems arising due to commercialization in football, are not active. The organizations that are reacting to the calls of FARE and the European Commission are extremely limited. Intellectual NGOs of Europe and publications introducing FARE are limited as well (Cerrahoglu, 2006).

CARSI, which is an organization of Besiktas Football Club Fans, the Union of Active Fans in Football (FATAB), which was founded by academicians, and the Federation of All Football Fans (TFTF), including 17 different fan organizations, have focused on many problems in football, including racism and discrimination (Cerrahoglu, 2012). The Association of Fan Rights (THD), which is well known for its protest activities against the regulations about electronic entrance tickets for football matches in Turkey, has exhibited distinct and intellectual behavior (Cerrahoglu, 2014).

FATAB (whose founding president is the researcher of this publication) was the only fan organization invited to the first FARE seminar organized in London in November 2011. In this FARE seminar, Cerrahoglu and Eryaman presented a critical analysis of the current situation regarding discrimination in Turkish football.

The Approach of the Ministry of Youth and Sport to Fan Organizations in Turkey

The Congress of European Football Fans was organized in Turkey on July 13-15, 2012. The Turkish Football Federation (TFF), UEFA, and Metropolitan Municipality of Istanbul provided financial support to the organization. In addition to the Federation of All Football Fans and Union of Active Fans in Football, university student fan clubs like UNIFEB, UNIBJK, and UNIUltrAslan provided logistic and participation support. As preparation for the congress, Daniela Wurbs, coordinator of FSE, Necati Cerrahoglu, president of FATAB, and Seyhan Hasirci, academician from Germany, met with the Ministry of Youth and Sport to request participation and support from the ministry. Although the coordinator of FSE reminded that "till now all of the fan congresses had a start with the speeches of the Ministers of Sports of the related countries" and requested the continuation of the tradition, there was neither participation from the Ministry of Youth and Sport nor any information booth.

The workshop "Prevention of Violence and Disorder in Sports" was organized by the Ministry of Youth and Sport, Ministry of the Interior, and High Council of Judges and Prosecutors in Ankara on June 17-18, 2013. Suat Kılıç, Minister of Youth and Sport, Sadullah Ergin, Minister of Justice, and Muammer Güler, Minister of the Interior, participated. The following decisions were made in the workshop:

- 1- Electronic Entrance Tickets
- 2- Monitoring System
- 3- Banning for Life the Entrance of Hooligans to Football Matches

The police commissioner of Ankara, members of the High Council of Judges and Prosecutors, some presidents of federations, some presidents of football clubs, and around 80 judges and prosecutors joined in the workshop. No fan groups or representatives were invited to the meeting.

The Ministry of Youth and Sports has never found it necessary to accept the invitations to fan congresses or meetings. Moreover, the ministry prefers not to communicate with such organizations. The ministry invites only high-status justices and security officers and some presidents of federations and football clubs to the meetings in which important issues about fans are discussed. None of the representatives of fan groups has been invited to such meetings. After the change of the Minister of Youth and Sports, although all sides in sports were invited to the congress of 2014 in Antalya, again fan organizations and representatives were excluded. The ministry has a generally low opinion of fan organizations and does not find it necessary to accept their ideas for solutions. This is not related to the intellectuality of those groups; it is a result of the ministry's general approach. The fact that none of the academicians who study fan groups and fan culture has been invited demonstrates that the ministry has no policy on the topic in place. Attempts to solve problems associated with fans still involve taking security precautions and there is no study or policy on the UEFA's 10-point plan.

Case Examples of Hate Crimes in Turkish Football

- It is not uncommon at Diyarbakirspor games for fans from the other teams to shout slogans like "PKK [Kurdistan Workers' Party] out!" They imply that every supporter of the Diyarbakirspor is automatically a supporter of the PKK, a terrorist organization. Diyarbakirspor represents the biggest city in southeastern Turkey, and many ultra-nationalists consider the team to represent the Kurds and, by extension, the PKK.
- The animosity between Bursaspor and Diyarbakirspor fans started on September 26, 2009. On that game day, Bursaspor fans greeted Diyarbakirspor in Bursa with huge Turkish flags and banners that read, "We are Turks, we are all soldiers," and "Happy is he who calls himself a Turk." The incidents did not stop at the level of verbal abuse. In the 26th minute of the September 26 game, Bursaspor supporters broke off the plastic seats in the stands and threw them at Diyarbakirspor fans. Some Bursaspor fans even tried to jump over the fences to attack

the visiting team supporters. The brawl did not stop until police officers were placed between the two teams' supporters, but 10 Diyarbakirspor fans, including 1 woman, had already been injured.

- Not even the announcement from Diyarbakirspor Chairman Cetin Sumer that he would withdraw his team from the league woke up the federation administration, and it levied only a minor fine of just TL 100,000 on Bursaspor. The TFF has been reluctant to punish racist and discriminatory behavior in the past despite many examples of it, such as the Galatasaray fans who shouted anti-Semitic slogans at an Israeli player or Trabzonspor fans who wore white hats similar to the hat worn by the killer of Turkish-Armenian writer Hrant Dink. They were not punished, either.
- The next football game between Bursaspor and Diyarbakirspor for the Turkcell Super League was suspended at the 17th minute on March 6, 2010, when Diyarbakirspor fans began throwing foreign objects at Bursaspor athletes in Diyarbakir Stadium. At the 17th minute of the game, when Bursaspor gained a corner kick, fans threw objects at the player taking the corner kick and injured an assistant referee. The match official and assistant referees retreated to the locker room, suspending play. During the game, which began six minutes late because fans threw foreign objects behind the Bursaspor goal post, a journalist was also injured when an object hit him in the head. Officials, including Diyarbakirspor Club President Cetin Sumer and players for Diyarbakirspor, tried to prevent fans from throwing objects onto the field and at Bursaspor athletes. After cancellation of the game, police used tear gas to disperse Diyarbakirspor fans still engaging in disruptive behavior outside the stadium.
- It was a memorable event when Besiktas fans stood up for their French player, Pascal Nouma. One week after referee Ali Aydın referred to the French striker as "the black player," the Inonu Stadium was filled with banners that read, "Hepimiz zenciyiz," which means, "We are all black." The slogan quickly became a catchphrase in social life and was used to support anyone suffering from discrimination, most famously in protests of the assassination of the Armenian-Turkish journalist Hrant Dink. Banners reading, "We are all Armenians" in Turkish and Armenian were raised in the air during the rallies.
- Another debate sparked when Genclerbirligi coach Samet Aybaba made a notorious comment about his player, Abdel Zaher El Saka, "This country prefers an Arab over me."
- Most recently, Sivasspor's Israeli striker Pini Balili has been the subject of racially abusive remarks. During a game against Sivas, Galatasaray fans yelled "damn Israel" in their chants before cursing at Balili.
- Trabzonspor supporters threatened the Central Refereeing Committee, or MHK, Chairman Oguz Sarvan with the slogan, "Armenian Oguz, genocide for you!"
- Hooligan groups are well organized, have their own "leaders," and often consist of organized street fighters. These groups have a "racon" (code of conduct), which states that the intention must be to injure rather than kill and that a stab must be made below the waist. Other hooligans have fired firearms into the air to celebrate their team's victory, actions which have accidentally killed innocent people watching the celebrations from their balconies.
- Before Galatasaray's semi-final UEFA Cup match with Leeds United A.F.C. in 2000, two Leeds fans, Christopher Loftus and Kevin Speight, were stabbed to death in Istanbul following street fights between Turkish and British hooligans. The UEFA allowed the game to proceed and Galatasaray won 2-0. Leeds complained because home fans jeered while a message of condolence was read for the victims. Galatasaray's players refused to wear black arm bands. The Leeds chairman at the time, Peter Ridsdale, accused Galatasaray of "showing a lack of respect." He also revealed that his teams' players had received death threats before the match.

- Ali Umit Demir was arrested and sentenced to 15 years' imprisonment for the stabbing, but the sentence was reduced to 5 years on the basis of heavy provocation, while five others were given lesser sentences of under four months. The families of those accused of attacking with knives defended the actions and approved of their children punishing the "rude British people." Galatasaray fans were banned from traveling to the return match in an effort to avoid further clashes between fans, although there were reports of attacks by Leeds fans on Turkish television crews and the police. However, the assistant chief constable in charge of policing the game believed that the number of arrests was "no worse than a normal high category game." Hakan Sukur was hit with projectiles from Leeds United supporters and the Galatasaray team bus was stoned after driving through an underpass.
- A lawsuit was filed against the Turkish national team captain Emre Belozoglu, with the allegation that he made racist comments toward Didi Zokora during the match between Fenerbahce and Trabzonspor on April 15, 2012, and two years' imprisonment was demanded. Belozoglu was sentenced to two months and 15 days in prison. After the decision, Zokora's lawyer said Emre Belozoglu was the first football player in Turkey to be penalized for racist behavior.

Conclusion

As seen from the case examples provided above, although it is not very common, the existence of racism in Turkey is a reality. Thus, it is necessary to tackle this problem.

Although the 10-Point Action Plan was known to football clubs, no activities or campaigns to fight against hate crimes in sport, such as racism, discrimination, humiliation, xenophobia, and Islamophobia, have been carried out (Cerrahoğlu, 2013).

The European Union gives significant importance to the matter; however, its calls to address the problem have been ignored by Turkey, which is candidate for EU membership, and this approach may cause social problems. Another interesting point is that the topic has not received the necessary interest from the sports media.

The Ministry of Youth and Sports and the Football Association have shown no interest in the 10-Point Action Plan and the football fan associations have not paid attention to the subject, despite its being a hot topic in Europe. These perspectives have been studied in the scientific research and the results are itemized and presented below:

1. Fan associations are not aware of their power and dynamics.
1. Being a fan is seen as an opportunity for income and living expenses.
2. There is a perception that being a fan is limited to the interest of the team.
3. Fan groups have been manipulated by the former club managers.
4. No intellectuals with vision take part in fan associations.
5. People with an intellectual background are not interested in fan clubs.
6. If a problem arises with the fans, police measures are primarily considered the solution.
7. If there is a problem, the enforcement of Law No. 6222 has only been applied to the fans.
8. The Ministry of Sports and the Turkish Football Federation do not give the necessary importance to the fans.
9. The Ministry of Youth and Sports does not have any project or plan for the fans.

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