

STUDYING IDENTITIES, INTEGRATION AND DIASPORAS THROUGH SPORT: AN ALTERNATIVE APPROACH¹²

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Abstract

This article aims to provide a critical review of the literature on sports studies in three major subject areas that are of great interest in today's world. These are identities, social integration, and diasporas and transnationalism. A selective analysis of these literatures provides the necessary analytical background concerning the theoretical and methodological approaches to social role of sports. Building on this background, the paper puts forth a theoretical and methodological proposal on how to frame future studies on sociology of sports which is informed by the existing literature on sports as well as French sociologist Pierre Bourdieu's theoretical work. It argues that some of the analytical and theoretical tools that are central to Bourdieu's analysis, namely 'the field' and 'capital', would constitute very powerful tools as well as open up a potentially very enriching theoretical perspective.

Keywords: Sports and Social Sciences, Sport in Social İntegration, Bourdieu, Field, Capital

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Spor Üzerinden Kimlikleri, Entegrasyonu ve Diasporaları Araştırmak: Alternatif Bir Yaklaşım

Öz

Bu makale günümüz dünyasında büyük önem taşıyan üç konu üzerine yazılmış olan spor çalışmaları literatürü üzerine eleştirel bir değerlendirme sunmayı amaçlamaktadır. Bu konular kimlikler, toplumsal entegrasyon, ve diasporalar ve ulus-ötesiciliktir. Bu konular üzerindeki spor çalışmaları literatürlerinin değerlendirilmesi bu çalışmanın öne süreceği kuramsal ve yöntemsel tartışma için gerekli analitik arka planı sağlayacaktır. Bu değerlendirmeden hareket ederek, çalışma spor sosyolojisi alanında gelecekte yapılacak çalışmalar için bir kuramsal ve yöntemsel yaklaşım önerisi geliştirmektedir. Bu yaklaşım yapılan literatür değerlendirmesinin yanı sıra Fransız sosyal bilimci Pierre Bourdieu'nün kuramsal çalışmalarına dayanmaktadır. Makale, sporun sosyal etkilerinin inceleneceği sosyal bilim çalışmaları için Bourdieu'nün özellikle 'saha' ve 'sermaye' kavramlarının oldukça zenginleştirici bir kuramsal bakış açısı yaratmada yararlı olacağını öne sürmektedir.

Anahtar Kelimeler: Spor ve Sosyal Bilimler, Sosyal Entegrasyonda Spor, Bourdieu, Saha, Sermaye

Introduction

The relevance of sports for social inclusion policies addressing vulnerable communities including migrants, refugees, ethnic minorities, disabled individuals, etc. have almost become common sense in today's world of cultural and ethnic diversity. In fact, in most of the Western countries, where migrants and migrant-origin minorities make up of a significant proportion of the national populations, governments explicitly adopt and encourage policies and projects that use sport for the social inclusion of these vulnerable communities. Sports are seen as a useful way of engaging young people, getting them to be physically active, and hence healthier, giving them various psychological benefits including a sense of aspiration and success, bringing them in contact with the larger society, and creating a platform for meaningful social and cultural dialogue.

In the same manner, studies focusing on the social functions of sports have mushroomed in the last few decades since the 1990s. Sports have long been considered to be peripheral subjects for serious social scientific analysis and theorisation, if not completely irrelevant (Giulianotti, 2004; Jarvie and Maguire, 1994). This was the case, despite the fact that major theorists such as Marx, Weber, Durkheim, and Simmel have viewed these subjects anything but peripheral (Jarvie and Maguire 1994, p. 2). In fact, as early as the 18th century, Adam Ferguson suggested that sport was a form of collective ceremony which demonstrates community solidarity (cited in Jarvie and Maguire 1994, p. 1). Still, treating sport itself as a separate subject for social inquiry is a relatively recent phenomenon, which is marked by the emergence of a plethora of specialised institutions, journals, and other publications in the last decades.

This recently developing literature is quite fragmented in terms of theoretical as well as methodological approaches. This is not surprising given that the issues studied through and/or within sporting contexts are also very diverse including identities, social integration, racism and xenophobia just to name a few, and they are central to many different social science disciplines. In such a framework, this article has two main objectives: firstly, it aims to provide a critical review of the literature on sports studies in three major subject areas that are of great interest in today's world. These are identities, social integration, and diasporas and transnationalism. A selective analysis of these literatures will provide the necessary analytical background concerning the theoretical and methodological approaches to social role of sports. Building on this background,

secondly, the paper aims to put forth a theoretical and methodological proposal on how to frame future studies on sociology of sports which is informed by the existing literature on sports as well as French sociologist Pierre Bourdieu's theoretical work. It will be argued that some of the analytical and theoretical tools that are central to Bourdieu's analysis, namely 'the field' and 'capital', would constitute very powerful tools as well as open up a potentially very enriching theoretical perspective. The theoretical discussion will try to substantiate the argument that sports would be better conceptualised as a 'social field' instead of merely a political tool or social space.

In the following section, a brief explanation on methodology is provided. Next, the article will provide a summary of the current view on sports' usefulness for policies targeting diaspora communities, minorities, and other vulnerable communities, usually in the context of social inclusion and integration policies. Then, the sports studies literatures on identities, integration, and diasporas and transnationalism will be reviewed. In the last main section, the theoretical argument for approaching sports as a 'social field' will be introduced and supported. The article will conclude with a brief discussion section.

Methodology

This article presents an analytical review of the literature on studies of sports in an effort to synthesise existing approaches and propose a sound theoretical perspective in studying the social implications of various sports. The particular analytical focus was on how sports and sports-related initiatives have been used to integrate ethnic and cultural minorities. Therefore, a comprehensive review was conducted on the literatures looking at the interrelationships between sports and (i) (re)production, representation, and negotiation of collective identities; (ii) integration of minorities and social incorporation of vulnerable groups such as disabled individuals or former drug addicts; and (iii) diasporas and transnational activities.

In addition the review of these literatures, next, a theoretical discussion is engaged between the two grand traditions in sociology of sports, i.e. functionalism vs. conflict approaches. Lastly, a critical evaluation of Pierre Bourdieu's theoretical approaches involving habitus, field, symbolic and other capitals is conducted.

The literature review presented in this study has been conducted in the framework of a larger research project on the place of sports in integration of immigrants.

Sports Studies Literatures

As it was mentioned above, before offering an alternative theoretical and methodological approach to the study of sports in the context of social sciences, a review of the existing literatures is presented in this section under three major headings.

Identities through Sport

Back et al. (2001, p. 270) show through their fieldwork on English football that football “provides one of the few spheres in which ideas about identity, ethnicity and race can be expressed, embodied and performed”. Their ethnographic work on the English national team has searched for these forms of expressions, embodiments, and performances in and through the body languages of players during national anthems, the songs chanted by the fans, and the institutional and personal manifestations of, overt and covert, racism inside the game (Back et al. 2001).

Obviously, similar analyses exist on the relationship between national identity and other sports. For example, Ward’s (2009) is one such study on cricket as a key symbol of Australian national identity. There is a widely acknowledged and quite complex link between various identities and sports. In most cases, it is not beneficial, if possible at all, to analyse only one type of collective identity as they are usually fused with one another in very context-specific and complex ways. Archetti’s work on the Argentinian national identity, for example, claims that the constructed national identity is deliberately masculine as “Argentinian football ‘functioned’ as an efficient ‘rite of institution’: the creation of a separate arena in which the main difference is the one established between the accepted participants and those who will never participate, i.e. the women” (Archetti 1994, p. 236).

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

“Behind the façade of its obvious entertainment aspect, it [football] has proved to be a perpetuating reflector of nationalism,

race, ethnicity, religion, community and communal identity, gender and cultural specificity” (Bandyopadhyay 2009b, p. 697).

Various social groups, and particularly minorities, have used sports to produce, articulate, and sustain a distinct ethnic and cultural identity (see below). The position of the individual immigrant in social science research is also noteworthy. An increasing number of studies are interested in this aspect of identities and identity politics which attempt to go beyond the generalising and reifying tendencies within the sociology of collective identities. A starting point is to treat cultural identity formation as an ongoing process, and culture as a process of production, instead of as a product (da Cunha, 1995). Therefore, cultural identity formation is inherently a political process subject to much negotiation and conflict. One good example of this is Hall's (1995) study on the British-Sikh youth in Leeds, in which she shows how these young people 'act English' in some contexts and 'Indian' in others.

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

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

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

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

Integration through Sport

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

gration” (Armstrong 2002, p. 471). Archetti (1994, p. 225) shows how football has been strategically used in Argentina by the governments to build a masculine national identity during the process of its modernization in 1900-1930. Accordingly, this has been done by using football to create a “collective memory with shared symbols that emphasized particular (public) events and ceremonies as the initial moments of tradition” (Archetti 1994, p. 235-236).

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

As the above quote by Hay and Guoth (2009), using football as a means to sustain a distinctive ethnic and cultural identity is one of the patterns that emerge in the literature. Another significant pattern is how immigrant and diasporic communities are using sports as a way into mainstream society. One such study, for instance, looks at how young ethnic minority individuals consider football as a way of realising the dream of upward social mobility in Danish society (Agergaard and Sorensen, 2009). Burdsey (2004a) similarly looks at how British Asians play football in such a way to be ‘one of the lads’. The former analysis looks at how economic and social capital influences the chances of such young players ‘making it into’ the professional leagues, while the latter study examines the ‘de-ethnification’ of the British Asian football players by ‘downplaying’ their, say, Bangladeshi identity and prioritizing a British one (Agergaard and Sorensen, 2009; Burdsey 2004a, pp. 16-17). Ismond, similarly, investigates

whether sports provide Black and Asian athletes in different branches in Britain a chance for social upward mobility, and seems to provide a cautious yet affirming answer (Ismond, 2003).

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

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

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

Such projects and organisations aiming integration are increasing throughout the Western world. Such outreach and empowerment projects that utilise the popularity and potential of sports have also notably been increasingly used to address other issues and social groups. For example the London Playing Fields Foundation is running a number of projects targeting such diverse social groups as the ‘long-term mentally ill’ (Coping through Football), 14-16 year-old girls (Active Angels), and adult females (Female Coach Development) as well as diasporic commu-

nities (All Nations Football Festival). For the analysis of another example from an Australian context, see Sherry and Strybosch's (2012) work on the 'Australian Community Street Soccer Program' targeting homeless and disadvantaged adults.

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

Diasporas and Transnationalism through Sport

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

For instance, Ben-Porat (2012, p. 443) argues that during the establishment of the State of Israel, "football was a political-community project",

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

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

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

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

context. One such study on migrant minorities and football in Australia concludes that there are many possible patterns:

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

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

Functionalism v. Conflict Perspectives in the Study of Sports and Going Beyond This Duality

The sociology of sport is usually framed around the differences between two grand theories of societies; functionalism and conflict theory. However, it can be argued that the complexity of reality requires one to take account of both the various social functions of and roles played by sport and the social conflict and struggles that take place on and around the sport fields. The proposed theoretical and methodological approach aims to go beyond this duality by encompassing the both, and which is informed by Bourdieu’s essential concepts of ‘field’ and ‘different forms of capital’. Before detailing this approach, a brief review of these two main rival theoretical perspectives in studies of sport will be presented.

Functionalism in Studies of Sport

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

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

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

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

Sports have been shown to aid in pattern maintenance and tension management (Jarvie and Maguire, 1994, p. 10). Jay Coakley (1990, p. 23), for instance, suggests that sports do this by 'discharging aggression' in a relatively harmless way. This function of sports, also, has been very central to community sporting initiatives where it is suggested that the adult members in the community want their kids to have a decent and healthy platform to discharge their excess energy and tensions. The reported logic goes, if the youth didn't have this platform, they would have had to resort to bad habits such as joining gangs on the streets or doing drugs, and so on.

As something that teaches people the basic values and norms of the society in which they live and that performs a useful socio-emotional function by creating and spreading feelings of camaraderie and community, sport

contributes significantly to social cohesion. In a related manner, one of the most significant 'social functions' or 'roles' of sport is argued to be integrating individuals into society through 'collective representations' (Jarvie and Maguire, 1994, p. 4). In her study on Brazilian football, Lever (1983) suggests that sports help complex modern societies 'cohere' and that 'spectator sport' is one mechanism that builds people's consciousness of togetherness. Politicians have also noted in numerous occasions the importance of sports in terms of social cohesion. Spiro Agnew, for instance, who was then the vice-president of the US, said at the height of the Vietnam War that athletics was 'one of the few bits of glue that holds society together' (Lasch, 1979, p. 202-203).

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

- Functionalism, not only concerning the sociology of sport, has been criticised to be inherently ahistorical, concentrating only on contemporary or abstract societies.
- It has also been argued that functionalism is ineffective in its dealing with social change, as its focus tends to be on "static structures contributing in some reified way to the functional needs of society".
- The nature of the social actor in the functionalist perspective has also been criticised to be 'oversocialised'; i.e. social actors are rather seen as passive and constrained by cultural and social forces than as dynamic and creative.
- Lastly, the functionalist perspective on sport has been criticised for being unable to deal effectively with conflict. In most functionalist analyses, the argument goes, conflict is overlooked or downplayed.

A Conflict Perspective in Studies of Sport

The main alternative to social theory of functionalism emphasizes the centrality of conflict and suggests that society is shaped by the unequal distribution of power in society (Giddens, 2001). From a conflict perspective, the social institution of sport would be viewed as "the product of contending forces, each seeking to exercise control and maximize ad-

vantage over the various elements of physical play (like gaining access to commercial or public funding, or excluding ‘undesirable’ groups from sports clubs)” (Rowe, 2004, p. 100). In other words, far from a functional part of a harmonious system, sport is viewed as the reflection for, result of, and public platform for conflict.

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

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

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

es“(Simmel, 1955, p. 35).

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

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

Therefore, it seems necessary to combine the functionalist insights that focus on the social role and function of sports with the continuous interplay of power relations, negotiation of meanings, construction of hegemonic notions and values, and their contestation. In the text section, the proposed perspective is introduced that uses Bourdieuan tools in which both the functionalism and conflicts underlying the everyday social relations concerning sports can be conveniently situated in one social space, which can also be used in constructing an analytically sound and practically feasible ‘field’ for the ethnographic fieldwork.

Bourdieu: Different forms of Capital and Sport as a Field

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

To meet these challenges, devising a theoretical framework which is informed by some of the key concepts developed by the French social scientist Pierre Bourdieu looks promising. His key theoretical concept of 'habitus' attempts to take account of the structure and agency of an individual and their dynamic interplay. Moreover, Bourdieu's conceptualisation of 'field' allows one to define an effective field for the ethnographic fieldwork that is not necessarily restricted by the geography or specific social groups. More importantly, such a conceptualisation enables the researcher to consider the various social functions of sports whether these are conscious and strategically pursued projects of various 'agents' or more complex functions on higher societal levels, while also taking an account of the conflict underlying the relations amongst various agents inhabiting various 'positions' within this field. Also, by looking at the field as a whole, the researcher is saved from taking only a partial account of these relations by only concentrating on some of the actors such as the spectators or players.

Bourdieu's Field: According to Bourdieu, agents do not act in a vacuum, but rather in concrete social situations governed by a set of objective social relations; any social formation is structured by way of fields which are hierarchically organized (Johnson, 1993, p. 6). A field is a structured space of 'positions and position-takings' where:

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

This way of conceptualization allows one to conveniently situate all of the actual and potential agents (or subjects of analysis) within a single social context. Moreover, it also allows one to situate each agent, individual, or institution in relation to all other agents and the overall field by using specific positions that impose specific determinations on their occupants. Of course, this imposition is not at all mechanistic or totally objective. In-

stead, there is a constant complex interplay between the changing state of the field which is reflected on the structure of positions, agents' habitus, the level of specific capital available to each agent and/or position in the field, and agents' strategies to improve their position in relation to the relevant stakes in a given field (Barnard, 1990; Bourdieu, 1977, 1990, 1993)

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

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

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

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

This conceptualisation is essential for a fuller understanding of the specific fields of sports. Various forms of symbolic capital such as individual achievement by becoming a champion, 'helping kids stay away from streets' by providing financial support, etc. are a major driving force in many sporting fields. Also, appropriating these different forms of capital has been essential in understanding the complex relations amongst agents. For instance, without considering talent in the football pitch as a specific form of human capital in the field of amateur community football, one cannot understand how some players have been able to acquire other significant forms of capital such as social capital and economic capital.

Sport as a Field: An Alternative Approach

The analysis in this article suggests that there is a need for a holistic approach for a healthy analysis of sports in various social contexts, particularly in relation to ethnic and cultural minorities. This holistic approach needs to take account of functionalist aspects of sport as well as the potential for conflict in the form of power struggles and continuous negotiations within the social space of sports. Moreover, this approach also needs to take account of the agency of actors, individual as well as collective, together with the structural context and constraints.

It was aimed in this work to suggest that such an approach would be possible if the sport in question, e.g. football or cricket, was conceptualised as a field in itself, instead of merely a policy instrument or a social arena. The field of football or cricket needs to be conceptualized in such a way to acknowledge that it includes a structured system of social relations between various agents; e.g. players, coaches, spectators/fans, etc. It should

be noted that, each of these agents and/or positions may include other sub-fields within themselves, and most of them do. Each of these sub-fields, then, could have their own structure and dynamics.

In addition to conceptualization of the specific sport as a field, in the sense Bourdieu used it, a conceptualization of specific forms of capital that exist within this field is essential. In different sporting fields, these capitals would be different. For instance, in a field of amateur community football, one of the most important capitals is the possibility of 'taking kids off streets'. In other words, while some agents within this field do not seem to be acquiring any 'obvious' gain such as financial capital or social networks; this symbolic capital might work as a significant motivating factor. Another example might be representation of identities in the public sphere. In other words, for the participants in the field, what matters most significantly might be the chance of publicly declaring that their cultural identity exist and needs to be acknowledged by the mainstream society.

Conclusion

Relying on the literature review conducted for a larger research project, this article presented the current picture on studies of sport in the context of social sciences. Although the importance given to sport has been on the increase, it can still be argued that the literature is still far from maturation. This work particularly focused on studies on sport in the framework of its impacts on identities, integration and diaspora politics. Therefore, it was an attempt to provide a selective yet comprehensive analysis on the potential of sport studies on these topics.

Building on this critical review, this article also suggested that a meaningful analysis of the relationship of sports with minority and vulnerable communities need to go beyond the existing dualities of functionalism vs. conflict, and agency vs. structure. An alternative approach, thereby, was proposed one that takes a holistic approach. Such an approach, it was argued, would conceptualise the relevant sport as a field in itself with a specific structure and set of institutional and individual actors. Moreover, it was argued, the theoretical tools of symbolic and other forms of capital need to be taken into account to fully reflect the complexity and dynamism of the sporting fields.

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Özet

Günümüzde sporun özellikle göçmenler, mülteciler ve engelliler gibi hassas grupların topluma kazandırılması konusundaki önemi genel kabul kazanmış görülmektedir. Bu duruma bağlı olarak, spora sosyal bilimler tarafından verilen önem de son yıllarda büyük artış göstermiş; spor, pek çok farklı sosyal bilim disiplininin tam anlamıyla ilgilendiği merkezi konular arasında yerini almaya başlamıştır.

Bu makale, bu bağlamda sayıları hızla artmakta olan spor üzerine yazılmış sosyal bilimler literatürlerini, ilgi alanı kapsamında üç başlık altında gözden geçirmiştir. Bu başlıklardan ilki olan kimlikler ve spor literatüründe, sporun gerek ulusal gerekse etnik ve kültürel azınlıkların kimliklerini üretmelerinde, kendilerini tanımlamalarında ve bu kimliklerin kamusal alanda temsil edilmelerinde sporun yeri ve önemi ele alınmıştır. İkinci olarak, özellikle göçmen ve mültecilerin entegrasyonu konusunun gündemde hızla yükselmesiyle önemini artırmış olan sosyal entegrasyon başlığı değerlendirilmiştir. Bu bölümdeki son kısımda ise yine son dönemde önemi artmakta olan diasporalar üzerine olan literatür incelenmiştir. Burada da sporun diaspora toplulukları için hem mobilizasyon ve kimliklerin kamusal alanda temsili, hem de kaynak ülkeleri ile aralarında bir köprü kurmak konularında etkili olduğu vurgulanmıştır.

Makalenin ikinci analitik yarısında ise öncelikle spor sosyolojisine hakim olan iki büyük kuramsal gelenek olan işlevselcilik ve çatışma yaklaşımlarının altı çizilerek, her iki yaklaşımın da sporun sosyal etüdünde önemli yer tuttuğu, ancak kendi başlarına yetersiz oldukları vurgulanmıştır. Bu bağlamda, hem işlevselci hem de iktidar ilişkileri ve çeşitli çatışmaları göz önünde bulunduran bütünlükçü bir yaklaşıma ihtiyaç duyulduğu öne sürülmüştür. Ayrıca, böylesi bir yaklaşımın literatürde göze çarpan

diğer bir ikilem olan yapı ve eylem ikilemini de aşmasının gerekliliği vurgulanmıştır. Bu bağlamda, Fransız sosyal bilimci Pierre Bourdieu'nün çalışmalarında sıklıkla kullandığı, araştırma konusunun kendi içinde bir yapısı bulunan ve kendine özgü elemanları barındıran bir saha olarak tanımlanması bir çözüm olarak öne sürülmüştür. Ayrıca, yine Bourdieu'nün kullandığı sembolik ve kültürel sermaye gibi çeşitli sermaye türlerinin de o saha içindeki ilişkileri anlamlandırmadaki önemine dikkat çekilmiştir. Böylelikle, sporun sosyal etkileri ve önemi bağlamında yapılacak sosyal bilimler çalışmalarının, sporu bir politika enstrümanı ya da sosyal ilişkilerin bir kolu olarak kavramsallaştırması yerine, ele alınan sporun kendisinin bir saha olarak kavramsallaştırmasının gerekli olan bütüncül yaklaşımı sağlamada yardımcı olacağı öne sürülmüştür. Diğer bir deyişle, örneğin etnik toplum futbol ligleri üzerine yapılan bir çalışmanın, bu liglerin tamamını araştırma sahası olarak tanımlaması, bu saha içindeki elemanların, hem kurumsal hem de bireysel olarak, belirlemesi, bu sahanın kendi özelliklerinden doğan pozisyonları ve sermaye çeşitlerini tespit etmesi araştırmaya gerekli olan kuramsal ve yöntemsel araçları sağlayacaktır.