A post-multicultural mindset?

An ethnographic examination of attitudes towards cultural diversity and group making behaviour in community sport

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This paper describes attitudes towards ethnic diversity and group making behaviour among Brazilians and Portuguese at a Portuguese-cum-multicultural soccer club in Amsterdam. Drawing on six months of ethnographic fieldwork, I analyse the fine balance between expectations around intercultural mixing and actual mixing. I introduce the concept 'post-multicultural mindset' to refer to the dominant discourse at the soccer club. This mindset is formed through national discourses and is characterized by open disapproval of ethnic concentration and a preference for intercultural mixing. The results shows that reasons for joining the club are mostly culturally driven and thus the value of separate grouping practices among Brazilian and Portuguese (post)migrants should not be underestimated. Acceptance of differences and conviviality facilitate an inclusive club culture, but also produce separate ethnic spaces. I argue that members' multicultural presentation of Forte Portugal provides a socially accepted environment for ethnically concentrated sport participation.

Keywords: community sport, everyday multiculturalism, ethnic concentration, diversity, local encounters.

Introduction

Multiculturalism has faced great public criticism in Western European countries over the past decades. The demise of multiculturalism as a public policy and political debate in several European countries leaves these "de facto multicultural societies without policy for dealing with this" (Berg & Sigona, 2013: 349). Recent parliamentary elections in the Netherlands were dominated by themes such as integration management and preserving Dutch identity. This illustrates the growing nationalistic stance and anxiety towards cultural diversity. However, cultural diversity and diversity in general have become indicators for success. The newly established Diversity Committee at the University of Amsterdam, which promotes cultural, social-economic, religious, racial and gender diversity, is a salient example.

These political and societal debates trickle down to sport environments, which have become a topic for both celebration and criticism of (cultural) diversity. Policymakers and scholars describe sport and sport clubs as a great tool for integration into wider society and for establishing intercultural interaction (e.g. Elling et al., 2001; Veldboer et al., 2010; Walseth & Fasting, 2004) and some municipalities have "tried with fervor" to make ethnically concentrated sport multicultural (Van Daal & Keur, 2006: 34, own translation). Other scholars point out the special values of sport and sport clubs to unite dispersed people and as a place where people with a shared national or ethnic background can meet and feel 'at home' (e.g. Joseph, 2014; Tiesler, 2012; Stodolska & Santos, 2006). From this angle, ethnic concentration is seen as a chance to unite people and is thus framed in a positive way. However, viewed from public concerns regarding integration, ethnic concentration is also described negatively in terms of 'ethnic segregation', which is said to constrain integration

(cf. Wiertz, 2016). In this ethnographic research, my aim is to go beyond assessing to what extent sport stimulates ethnic concentration or is a suitable tool for integration. It rather investigates how national discourses on integration and ethnic concentration (and diversity) are lived, enacted and negotiated in everyday life.

Following scholarly work on everyday and lived multiculturalism this study explores attitudes towards ethnic mixing and group making behaviour among people of various backgrounds at Forte Portugal, a soccer club in Amsterdam that is at once Portuguese and multicultural. Board members and players attach value to and consciously present the club as multicultural and aim to create 'a multicultural club culture', rather than a solely Portuguese one. Despite what its nation-specific club name might suggest, members of Forte Portugal are of varying national backgrounds: Portuguese, Brazilian (the two majorities), Dutch, Turkish, Moroccan and Spanish.

As a micro-public space (Amin, 2002), the club offers opportunities for studying two concurrent processes: interethnic mixing and ethnic concentration. How do these two processes relate to each other? Why is a multicultural presentation relevant and how can members' attitudes towards multiculturality be described? More specifically, what are members' ideas, perceptions and practices around ethnic mixing and grouping behaviour? How do macro-level developments influence everyday ethnic identification?

Although multiculturalism is proclaimed to be dead[1] by political commentators, this and academic literature show the ongoing importance of its currency in everyday language (Modood, 2008). To capture this currency, a different approach towards multiculturalism should be taken. A scholarly shift has taken place from a normative, political understanding to an interest in multiculturalism as a lived phenomenon that takes shape in everyday life (e.g., Nagel & Hopkins, 2010; Berg & Sigona, 2013; Wise & Velayutham, 2009). The challenge is to go beyond the normative debates about fair multiculturalism and instead examine 'actually existing multiculturalism' that aims to study sense making of cultural difference in local social encounters between people (Schierup, 1994; Uitermark et al., 2005). Furthermore, this study aims at going beyond the few ethnic 'groups' talked about in the media, which fail to capture a full picture of multiculturality in the Netherlands, and in stead looks at less politicized environments.

In this article, I show the on-going relevance of idealistic multiculturalism in on the ground encounters of cultural difference. I introduce the concept 'post-multicultural mindset' to refer to club members' disapproval of ethnic concentration and preference for multiculturality. Meeting co-ethnics and being able to consume (and thereby produce) 'Portuguese' or 'Brazilian' culture is seen as the main reason for members to join the club and members are proud and willing to share 'their culture' with outsiders. On the other hand, cultural concentration is said to inhibit integration into Dutch society and ethnic concentrated soccer clubs (mainly Moroccan and Turkish clubs) generally have a bad name and are held responsible for broader ethnic segregation. Presenting the club as multicultural legitimises and helps to overcome the constraints of ethnic concentration.

The 'multicultural club culture' is not based on an all-surpassing culture despite the shared interest in soccer and shared cultural aspects, of which the most important is language. It is rather based on the social acceptance and recognition of the *lack* of similarities and the

[1] Allen (2007) argues the 'discourse of the death of multiculturalism' is not about the multicultural setting of Commonwealth nation-states or multiculturalism ideals, but is used to refer to growing reality of anti-Muslim and anti-Islamic hostility. Allens argument is based specifically on the British context, but is applicable to other European nation-states, such as the Netherlands.

recognition of each other's separate group making processes. Based on ethnographic fieldwork and interviews, I conclude that interethnic interaction is constrained by cultural distance, migratory and age differences between members of the two majority formations; sport related aspects and group size. The results of this study show how people in a sport environment behave towards and give meaning to the politicized and complex topic of multiculturalism in the Netherlands.

The paper has the following structure. In the first section I outline the three theoretical orientations that are central to this research: diversity, everyday multiculturalism, and group making behaviour. I then discuss the various stances towards multiculturalism and migration over the past few decades in the Netherlands followed by a discussion of the research methodology. These sections lead to the main body of the article, in which I describe and analyse in three sections the soccer club, the members of the club and their attitudes towards multiculturalism and diversity. The conclusion draws together the main findings and reflects on lived multiculturalism in community sport and how it relates to national discourses around cultural diversity.

Diversity, everyday multiculturalism and group making

This study draws on and seeks to contribute to a growing theoretical interest in the relationship between leisure and cultural diversity. To approach the research questions, three basic theoretical concepts are combined: diversity in general, ethnic diversity in the form of everyday multiculturalism and theories on group making processes. The change regarding diversity in migration studies is concerned with broadening the scholarly focus from migrants' cultural and national roots to other modes of differentiation and forms of belonging, such as age, generation, class, migration history and length of residence (Olwig, 2013). Diversity is suggested in the literature to replace multiculturalism, as it is a broader concept that includes more than just nationality or ethnicity.

In this study, I approach diversity and everyday multiculturalism as supplementing each other; diversity goes beyond a shared cultural background and includes other aspects of difference. Everyday multiculturalism takes the scholar and readers to the everyday experiences of and ways of dealing with cultural difference in actual encounters between people of different national backgrounds and to go beyond the politicised and normative debate on multiculturalism. A focus on group making processes helps avoid the pitfall of taking 'ethnic groups' for granted and instead asks how categories of belonging and difference are made and put to work in social practice.

Most studies on diversity take place in neighbourhoods and housing estates in super-diverse (Vertovec, 2007) metropolitan cities. Based on the British context, super-diversity was first introduced in 2005 by Vertovec by which he refers to three related aspects: descriptive, methodological and policy-oriented (Meissner & Vertovec, 2015). In a descriptive way, super-diversity portrays changing population configurations due to global migration patterns and includes many variables, such as "countries of origin, languages, migration channels and immigration statuses, gender, age, space/place, and practices of transnationalism" (Ibid: 542). These multiple aspects of super-diversity underline the urgency to go beyond an ethno-focal lens and provide tools to rethink patterns of, for example inequality, social interaction and creolization.

The second theoretical concept used in this paper is 'everyday multiculturalism', which is extensively elaborated by Wise and Valeyutham (2009). Traditionally, multiculturalism is studied from a top-down perspective to develop policies concerned with "management and

containment of diversity by nation states" (Wise & Velayutham, 2009: 2). The authors add that this resulted in macro-theories focussed on multicultural citizenship and on the recognition of groups and group rights. Stratton and Ang (1994) state the term is "associated with an official recognition of the existence of different ethnic groups within the state's borders, and evidences concern about disadvantage and equity which the state recognises as its responsibility to address". In a negative way, multiculturalism is described by nation-states as a "failure of the modern project of the nation-state which emphasised unity and sameness… over difference and diversity" (Ibid.). On the other hand, cultural diversity can also be seen as a good thing that is actively promoted by the government.

Defining multiculturalism from the nation-state's perspective leaves us with an abstract understanding of the multicultural society and makes it difficult to understand how cultural diversity is actually lived on the ground. In this study, multiculturalism is studied in the form of conviviality, rather than a governmental policy. The concept of everyday multiculturalism provides the suitable tools for exploring conviviality. Wise and Valeyutham define everyday multiculturalism "as a grounded approach to looking at *everyday practice* and lived experience of diversity in specific situations and spaces of encounter" (2009: 3). The authors focus on the micro-sociology of everyday multicultural encounters and include broader social, cultural, and political processes and how these filter "through the realm of everyday practice, exchange and meaning making" (Ibid.: 3). Central to everyday multiculturalism is how people make sense of situations of cultural or ethnic differences and the strategies people use to bridge these differences.

Looking at the 'everyday' makes it possible to shift to an on-the-ground account of lived multiculturalism that "takes social actors seriously" (Touraine, 1984 in Semi et al., 2009: 69). Also, everyday encounters are the settings where multiculturalism as a national discourse (governmental policy and public debate) is implemented and might find its local effects (e.g., Duyvendak, 2011). Prosaic 'micro-places' (Amin, 2002), such as workplaces, schools, youth centres and sporting teams, offer opportunities for such encounters. Arguing against housing estates and urban spaces that are characterized with fleeting encounters, Amin (2002) states that places with engaged intercultural contact with compulsory negotiations provide more suitable places to study local policy effects and meaning making processes.

The use of collective terms, such as 'ethnic group' and 'community', can be highly problematic. Brubaker argues against 'groupism', which is "the tendency to take discrete, bounded groups as basic constitutions of social life, chief protagonist of social conflicts, and fundamental units of social analysis" (2004: 8). The problem is that ethnicity is used to explain things with, instead of looking at ethnicity itself, Brubaker argues. In the last quarter century, cognitive perspectives have replaced subjective approaches that conceptualize entities as primordialist and all-decisive. This cognitive turn emphasizes the "more complex knowledge structures" and suggests that ethnicity is "not a thing *in* the world, but a perspective *on* the world" (Brubaker et al., 2004: 32). Crucial for this research is that taking 'ethnicities' and 'groups' as unproblematic points of departure would "neglect the everyday context in which ethnic and national categories take on meaning and the processes through which ethnicity actually 'works' in everyday life" (Brubaker, 2004: 21). Instead, I approach ethnicity "as a skilled practical accomplishment… [in which] categories are made relevant" (Brubaker et al., 2004: 35; see also Sacks et al., 1974; Stokoe, 2012).

In a similar vein, Baumann (1999) proposes approaching 'ethnicity' as constructed through social actions and as a discourse, rather than a property of a person given at birth, as often presented in daily language. In the British context, discourses can vary greatly and are

simultaneously given recognition in lived multiculturality processes of dominant and demotic ('of the people') (Baumann, 1996). Looking at boundary making in encounters of difference helps show how groups change over time and are not static. Because processes of collective and individual ethnic categorization are mediated through social interactions, it turns into a contextual affair.

The complexity of group making is further explored in this paper following the concept of grammars of identity/alterity formulated by Baumann and Gingrich (2006). The authors argue that the construction of identity (a personal or a group identity) always correlates exclusions of alterity; every 'us' excludes a 'them'. Identities, as fluid and multidimensional subjectivities, "include power-related ascriptions by selves as well as by others; and they simultaneously combine sameness, or belonging, with alterity, or otherness (Baumann & Gingrich, 2006: x). Group making is not simply based on an us/them binary, but is far more complex. Context dependency, power relations, and dynamics around dominant and subordinate groups are captured in varying 'grammars of identity'.

Thus far, the concept of everyday multiculturalism has rarely been applied to sport settings (an exception is Knijnik and Spaaij [2017]). Bringing together recent theoretical approaches to migration and diversity, everyday multiculturalism and group making practices, this study aims to understand attitudes towards interethnic mixing and grouping behavior in community sport. How are these two processes related to each other and how are attitudes towards multiculturalism influenced by national discourses? Before answering these questions, the next section presents the changing debates around multiculturalism in the Netherlands.

Multiculturalism in the Netherlands

The Netherlands have always been an immigration country. This, together with Dutch history in slave trading and colonialism, explains the ethnically and religiously diverse character of the Netherlands. In the current age, globalization processes further stimulate international migration. This poses new challenges of diversity management to immigrant-receiving countries. The term 'multiculturalism' gives recognition to different (but equal) 'cultures' living in a nation-state. As a paradigm, multiculturalism collectively describes the institutional and public discourses towards diversity and how it is ought to be managed. In this section I briefly discuss relevant migration flows to the Netherlands and changes in dominant national discourses of multiculturalism.

The period after the Second World War is seen as a 'new immigration period' in which migrants from all over the world settled in the Netherlands for varying reasons. Three general overlapping post-war migration waves can be identified (White, 1993). The first wave consisted mainly of low educated labor migrants from Turkey and Southern European countries, such as Portugal, to fill the labor gap right after the war. The first wave was followed up by family reunion migration wave. Moroccan and Turkish labor migrants chose to unite with their families in the Netherlands, whereas migrants from Southern European countries generally choose to migrate back. The third wave took place in the 1980's and is called the 'post-industrialization wave' (White, 1993). This wave consisted of asylum seekers, highly educated labor migrants and migrants with illegal statuses. From the same period on, post-colonial migration took place from Suriname, Indonesia and the Netherlands Antilles took place (Jennissen, 2009). After achieving independence in 1975, Surinamese citizens took the Dutch nationality when moving to the Netherlands. In the same period, from the 1980's on, Brazilian citizens increasingly migrated to the Netherlands, mainly for educationally and economically driven reasons (Meeteren & Pereira, 2013).

It was in the 1980's that multicultural thinking became a central way to describe the status of migrants and ethnic minorities (Meurs & Broeders, 2002; Prins & Saharso, 1999). The starting point was the publication of the *Minderhedennota* (the Minority Memorandum) in 1983 by the Second Chamber. This was the first time that politicians "pleaded for a coherent minorities policy" that contains the right for minorities to maintain their 'own' identity and culture (Essed & Nimako, 2006: 287). This interpretation of multiculturalism gave recognition to visible cultural differences and by doing so made cultural difference a public matter, rather than something practiced in the private sphere (Joppke, 2004). Maintenance of peoples' 'own' identity and culture characterized the management of ethnic diversity[2]. Before this, national immigration policy did not exist and municipalities were responsible for regulating the relationship between natives and newcomers (Uitermark et al., 2005).

The turn of the century brought with it a turn in the dominant discourse: maintenance of 'own culture' as policy was now being questioned. In his essay called *Het Multiculturele Drama*, Scheffer (2000) was one of the first ones who problematized the current discourse on multiculturalism, that was characterized with an 'everything will be alright' attitude. The author lays out the concerns about cultural integration and *allochtonen* (allochtons)[3] many people living in the Netherlands had (and are still having) and that were thus far not voiced. This stance was taken up politically: policy language changed towards demanding immigrants familiarize themselves with the 'Dutch ways' (*Inburgeringswet* – Integration Act)" (283). Integration is now thought of as 'cultural assimilation' and newcomers are expected to incorporate 'Dutch culture' and leave their 'home culture' to a minimum.

Current times are characterized by a high number of asylum seekers and illegal migrants arriving in the Netherlands, reaching a high point in 2016 with the so-called '(European) migration crises'. High numbers of undocumented people from Southwestern Asia and Africa, travelling across the Mediterranean Sea or via Southeast Europe to West Europe, challenged Western European countries with their management of diversity.

In these politically tense and insecure times, a third change in the dominant multiculturalism discourse can be identified and is called 'post-multiculturalism'. The idea of post-multiculturalism continues to place strict assimilation policies on newcomers (citizenship courses, acquisition of knowledge of national customs and language courses), but includes recognition of cultural (and other) differences that are voiced and institutionally embedded (Uitermark et al., 2005; Vertovec, 2010). In this way, "post-multiculturalist policies and discourse seek to have it both ways: a strong community and values coupled with the recognition of cultural differences" (Vertovec, 2010: 91). This ideology tries to fuse left and right wing political ideas. Two processes seem to be contradictory: immigrants are said to threaten Dutch identity and values, but more recognition is given to the *value* of cultural diversity. The changing discourses around multiculturalism depicts the political and societal spheres in which this study takes place and tries to understand how actors make sense of this in daily life.

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[2] See Duyvendak (2011) and Uitermark (2010) for a critical account of the Dutch being multiculturalist; this is an inaccurate picture. Policies around ethnic minorities were rather focused on improving their socio-economical disadvantaged position in Dutch society and/or to facilitate re-emigration to migrants' (guest workers') home countries. It might have given leeway to Islamic institutions, "integration policies never straightforwardly promoted immigrant cultural and/or religious identities" (Duyvendak, 2011: 88).

[3] This term is officially not used anymore earlier this year because of its negative and exclusionary connotations, but is still used to refer to people of backgrounds outside the Netherlands.

Public and political debates about multiculturalism in the Netherlands are predominately about a few ethnic minorities (of which Moroccan and Turkish) and the problematisation of Islam and conflicting cultural values. Moreover, these heated debates are concerned with the assimilation aspect of post-multiculturalism, rather than exploring how recognition is given to the value of cultural diversity. But what about minorities not talked about in public and political realm? How do they produce and make sense of multiculturalism? How do they place themselves in the (heated) debates about cultural diversity? Lastly, how does the morality of post-multiculturalism 'work' in everyday practices?

Ethnography in and on the field

The data presented in this paper is drawn from a six-month ethnographic research project that studied attitudes towards ethnic diversity at a multicultural soccer club in Amsterdam. The research topic was developed in close collaboration with a club representative, who was one of the 'gatekeepers' in this study. This gatekeeper provided official access to the field and approved this research to take place. In two explorative interviews, board members emphasised the diversity in national backgrounds of members and showed a strong preference for national and cultural diversity over ethnic concentration. These interviews broadened my initial research interest on diaspora formation in community sport to studying everyday encounters between club members with varying migration backgrounds.

Everyday multiculturalism, as a category of analysis central to this research, brings with it a specific epistemological stance that gives preference to direct observation, listening and devoting attention to strategies of meaning giving in encounters of difference. To establish a comprehensive understanding of grouping behaviour, observations of and participation in the daily life of respondents in their natural setting, both at the soccer club and outside the sport setting (home environment and parties), were central to this study.

In this research, participant observation took place in various forms: as a player in the newly established female team, as a volunteer in the canteen during trainings, on match days, at non-soccer related events and to a lesser extent as an assistant in administrative tasks. A clear function as a player and volunteer helped me to find my way around the club and to get into contact with other players, visitors and volunteers. In a later research stage, having this clear role was no longer essential to get access and I could just 'hang around' at the field site. Immersion and 'fitting in' in the field required getting to know the actors, their common behaviour and their customs. Being an official member of the team also meant familiarizing myself with playing soccer and participating in trainings, matches and team meetings. Acquiring this 'carnal know-how' (Wacquant, 2015) was not trouble-free; blisters, heavy muscle pain and a beginning knee injury combined with insecurity about the value of my contribution to the team dominated the first few weeks as a novice soccer player. Why did I sign up for this team without any previous experience in playing soccer? From pure good luck, I scored a few times in the first matches, which provided me a reputation of 'top scorer'. This reputation brought me in contact with interested players from other teams and volunteers and gave me some self-confidence.

A few times a week I volunteered in the canteen, pouring out beer and soda, deep frying french fries and preparing *bifanas* (a Portuguese sandwich with sliced meat). The bar was a great place for conducting observations, getting in contact with members, volunteers and visitors, and talking to them, as many members spent time there. However, the bar could also form a barrier to getting in contact with people and switching from a volunteer role to a visitor or female player role. Also, as I will come back to later on, some group formations

were more closed than others and therefore harder to participate in. Other ways to get into contact with these players was to participate in a few selection and veteran team trainings and ask nearby people for translations or clarifications of behaviour.

In addition to participant observation, I conducted 13 interviews with players, visitors and volunteers. These in-depth, semi-structured interviews mostly took place in the boardroom of the club, at public libraries or at peoples' workplace. Overall, respondents' national and socio-demographic backgrounds were taken into consideration and represent the composition of the club. Two respondents were female, both played in the female team and are of Portuguese background. With other female players and volunteers, I was only able to have informal conversations or share a few words, due to language restrictions. Apart from the two Portuguese players and myself, the female team players were of Brazilian background. These players would not respond to invitations or cancel the interviews on short notice, because of illness, work or language insecurity. In general, females were more hesitant to talk about their club and migration experiences compared to males. Both field notes and interviews were analysed using Atlas.ti.

Unfortunately the female team was taken out of the competition after three months due to on-going conflict during matches that led to confrontations with opposing teams. One of the early conflicts was registered at the Royal Netherlands Football Association (KNVB) and led to an official hearing procedure. It also led to a noteworthy ethical struggle I encountered. As one of the players that were heard during the hearing, I vowed to tell the truth, but on the other hand did not want to harm relations in the field.

This brings me to general ethical issue of anonymity ethnographers are faced with as the boundaries between researcher and participant roles are often blurred. Personal stories, thoughts and opinions are to be handled with care and trust, because they include sensitive topics ranging from subjective ideas about other members ("Portuguese can be such gossips, really not normal", as one of the respondents told me) to open hearted and vulnerable migration stories. To minimise this issue, in this paper, the club name and respondents' names are replaced with pseudonyms to preserve their anonymity.

The epistemological stance I take in this research is further based on the recognition of the relevance of the anthropologist's personal experiences in the field. Subjectivity is part of the anthropological narrative (Vale de Almeida, 1996) and as a participant in the field I influenced the research in various ways. For example, in interviews and informal conversations, members used my presence to illustrate the ethnic diversity present at the club and 'proof' of their openness towards other cultures. My personal background (as a white Dutch female) and experiences concerning everyday multiculturalism contributed to the lived experiences of my interlocutors that are, mediated through my interpretation, presented in this paper.

In this field site, practices and processes of group formation were part and parcel of daily language and encounters. Emphasis was mainly placed upon Brazilian and Portuguese practices of membership. I was part of the group making processes that I studied, which resulted in a bias towards interacting more with Portuguese (post)migrants. It was quite difficult to get in daily contact with and become part of the more closed Brazilian groups. I experienced language barriers with most members of Brazilian background due to a lack of a shared language; most Brazilian migrants spoke little Dutch and I myself only could speak a few words in Portuguese. Volunteering did not create encounters with Brazilian members, as most did not engage in these activities. Members of Portuguese background form the 'established group' and gave me official access to the field site. Participating in the soccer

team provided me with the opportunity to focus on physical participation in the team when verbal communication was limited.

Forte Portugal Amsterdam

If there is a general characteristic to describe Forte Portugal, it is its members' diverse backgrounds alongside the presumed Portuguese background of members. Forte Portugal was established in 1994 by a group of players who had already been a team for many years. The club started with one selection team, which mainly consisted of players of Portuguese and Turkish background. Despite what the club name might suggest, the club in fact was never 'completely' Portuguese. Over the years that followed, more players of both Portuguese and other backgrounds joined the club.

The club is located in an area in West Amsterdam that was part of a plan, implemented after the Second World War, to expand the border of Amsterdam. From the beginning, this part of Amsterdam has always been socially and culturally heterogeneous and from the 1960's onwards, (post)migrant families slowly moved to the western part of Amsterdam (Hellinga, 2005). The percentage of (post)migrants has grown from 5 percent in 1981 to 49 percent in 2010 (Mepschen, 2015) and thereby the are has the highest concentration of allochtons, next to the Bijlmer (Gemeente Amsterdam, 2016).

During the daytime, Forte Portugal has soccer trainings and matches. In the evenings, the soccer club hosts live music acts, parties and national celebrations, such as *São Martinho* (Portuguese Saint Martin). Also, the canteen is rented by people who organize events, for example, private birthday parties and baby showers. Loud top hits music (Dutch, Brazilian and to a lesser extent Portuguese), freshly prepared food, people dancing and an abundance of alcohol mostly characterized the parties and activities. The party size varies from a few over one hundred people and vary in organizational professionality. The preparations for private gatherings and public parties generally starts in the early afternoon and takes all day. The two top pictures on page 22 show two private events.

In general, parties are organized and visited by people from Brazilian or Portuguese backgrounds. Announcements of dinners and parties are communicated in Portuguese on the club's website and Facebook page by volunteers and are sometimes translated into Dutch or English. No matter what kind of event is taking place in the canteen or how many people there are, Portuguese television is shown on a large projection screen. The screen is visible from everywhere in the canteen and it hangs next to the Dutch flag. Mostly TV2 is broadcast with on-going news or soccer matches reports. At times, Brazilian or Portuguese national soccer matches are screened and supporters gather in the canteen, as happened during the 2016 European Championships.

Forte Portugal Amsterdam is a meeting place where, apart from playing soccer, people meet, drink and eat and socialize. In the following section I describe the dominant discourse concerning multiculturalism at the club and how members are expected to interact with each other.

The dominant discourse: a post-multicultural mindset

Board members and players prefer to present the club as multicultural rather than solely Portuguese, as it was originally set up. The current board members aim to create a multicultural club culture recognizable for everyone. Although the majority of the respondents were not aware of this mission statement, they did share a similar 'post-multicultural mindset'. This mindset is characterized by a certain anxiety towards ethnic

concentration accompanied with a willingness to share ethnic cultural aspects with others. In general, intercultural interaction is seen as unproblematic. Moreover, a multicultural presentation is important for establishing and maintaining a positive reputation and crucial for financial stability of the club. Before exploring why this is crucial, I will look at what members understand by a multicultural setting. Ruan explains why he thinks the club is multicultural:

> *Portugezen en Brazilianen zijn toch twee verschillende culturen en die komen toch bij elkaar. Je hebt er ook Nederlanders die er spelen, je hebt jij die daar ook komt. Je hebt Fatih die is Marokkaan en zit bij ons in de eerste. Dat is multicultureel.*
>
> Ruan, player in selection team of Brazilian origin

Most respondents list the varying national backgrounds of club members to argue for, or against, the multicultural character of the club. This multiplicity of national backgrounds is why people appreciate the club. It provides an opportunity to share Portugueseness with others and learn about cultural practices such as celebrations and traditional dishes. Later in the interview, Ruan explains how volunteer Patricio (responsible for stock acquisition) makes him feel welcome because he is willing to order any desired items:

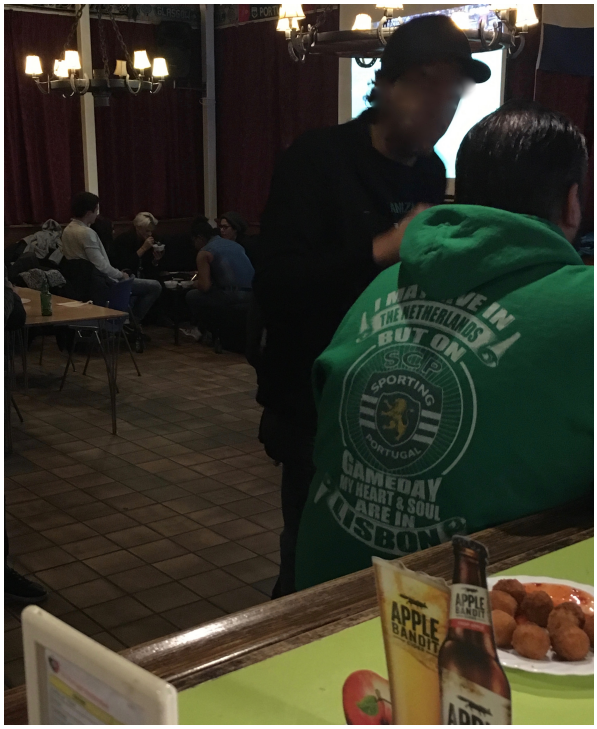
> *Hij is open voor anderen. Als je een* bifana *wilt, heeft hij* bifana*,* Portugese bifana*, als je* coxinhas *wilt hebben, heeft hij dat ook. Als je* Guarana *of* Sumol *wilt drinken, heeft hij dat ook.*
>
> Ruan, player in selection team of Brazilian origin

Patricio explained that: "as long as people buy it, I do not mind ordering it". The typical Portuguese, Brazilian and Dutch food and drink are used as a symbol of the multicultural character of the club and to demonstrate mainstream multicultural agenda (Colic-Peiker & Farquharson, 2011). On a busy Saturday Ana was bartendering and a group of soccer players of Dutch origin ordered some drinks. One of the men asked whether they also have Portuguese food and drinks, because of the club name. Ana nodded and explained that they have Portuguese snacks and drinks, but there is much more: "We also have cheese buns, croquettes and minced-meat hot dogs and Brazilian soft drinks". Emphasis is put on the culinary diversity to prove that Forte Portugal is more than only Portuguese.

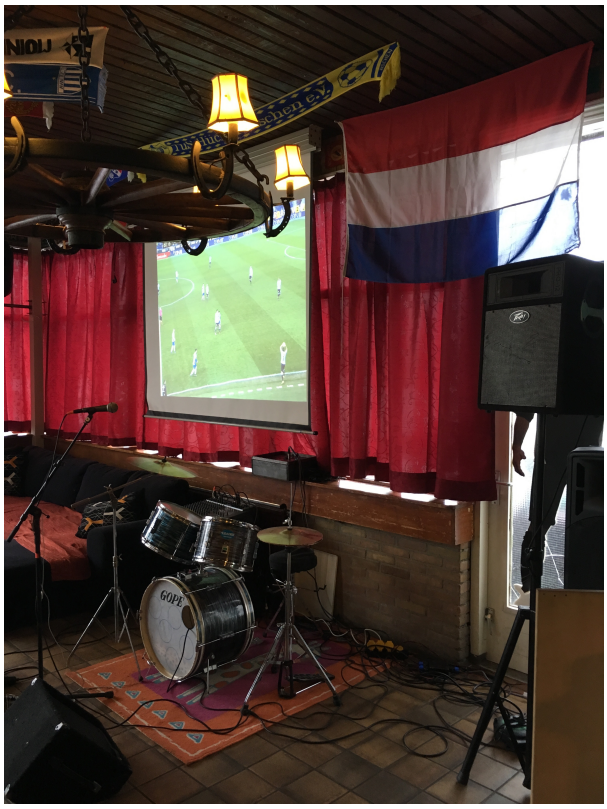
When I asked respondents their reasons for preferring a multicultural character and why it might be valuable to present the club this way, they gave various reasons. Three key arguments are natural development, financial advantages and reputation. Hans illustrates the first reasons why the club is (presented as) multicultural:

> *Ja het is een Portugese club, de naam doet het al, weet je, ik bedoel dat is de basis, en heel langzaam is iedereen erbij gekomen en is het een verkleinde Europa geworden zal ik maar zeggen.*
>
> Hans, veteran player of Dutch origin

Over time, sport clubs become one with their surroundings, Hans argues that Porte Portugal takes its surroundings quite broadly (Europe). The surrounding could be more locally as well; the youth team is the most ethnically diverse at the club and generally lives in the neighbourhood.



Impression of different activities at the club
Clock wise: Brazilian birthday party with dinner; card game after the soccer match; Juve Leo member; selection team in Portuguese colours outfit; drum kit ready for use. All pictures were taken by Jora Broerse, except right top. Source: Facebook, 27 March 2017.



The second reason to be multicultural is because it is financially (and organizationally) not feasible to focus on only one target group:

> *XX is een Nederlandse club, maar het bestuur daar was alleen Hindoestaanse mensen. Die heft het ook niet gered. XX heeft het ook niet gered. Weet je dat je moet als je overeind wil [houden], moet je open gaan voor iedereen.*
>
> Shivam, volunteer

Finally, the third key reason for multicultural presentation is establishing a positive reputation among soccer clubs and the broader society.

> *Ik denk ook dat het een gezonde manier is hoe de buitenwereld naar jou als club kijkt. Maar dat weet ik niet zeker; je hebt ook genoeg Marokkaanse club die puur Marokkaans blijven.*
>
> Hans, veteran player of Dutch origin

Hans hesitates when asked whether clubs should be ethnically concentrated because of how clubs are seen in society and thinks members of Portuguese origin should answer this. In Amsterdam, there are multiple Moroccan soccer clubs (just as Turkish clubs) that are known for their negative reputation because of their ethnically concentrated character. Miguel's view on ethnic concentration and not accepting players of different backgrounds is more outspoken:

> *Als je dat zou doen, 'hier niet, jullie zijn niet welkom', krijg je als club meteen een ander beeld: ze zijn discriminerend dat ze ons niet binnen laten. Dat speelt hier geen rol, iedereen is welkom.*
>
> Miguel, regular visitor of Portuguese background

Board members and players emphasize the importance of being open towards outsiders rather than being mono-ethnic. (Board) members are well aware of the potential risk of being seen as a discriminating club. That ethnic concentration leads to segregation is the most often mentioned reason for preferring a multicultural character and is reflected in broader societal discussions around integration of newcomers. Negative news items around people of Moroccan (e.g., Nieuwsuur, 2016) and Turkish origin within and outside the sport context feed this strong opposition towards ethnic concentration. Especially among Portuguese (post)migrants, participation with co-ethnics is openly disapproved because it hinders integration into Dutch society and, as Miguel explains, might lead to being seen as a discriminating soccer club.

Anxiety around being seen as Moroccan is also visible on a personal level – Portuguese migrants feel ashamed for their 'Moroccan' sounding accent. One member decided to wear an earring so he would not be seen as Moroccan or Turkish and in everyday language, jokes are made when someone does or says something 'Moroccan'. These examples show how members attach a negative connotation to Moroccan and Turkish nationality. Interestingly, these practices are based on abstract discourses around Moroccan and Turkish 'culture' and not based on personal interaction with people of Moroccan background.

The discourse around multiculturalism in the Netherlands includes an idealistic view that culturally different people live together harmoniously. This view is combined (or contrasted?)

with the expectation towards newcomers to culturally assimilate to 'Dutch culture' and to show loyalty towards the nation-state. Populist and right wing political parties "reveal their allergy to cultural difference and believe immigrants should be forced to assimilate or 'go home'", with particular focus on Muslim immigrants (Duyvendak, 2011: 90). Social actors make very clear what is expected of Dutch citizens. The previous paragraph illustrates how these macro level (political and societal) ideals are incorporated on the micro level and influence peoples' everyday ethnic identification.

Conviviality and ethics of mixing

Forte Portugal provides an associational space where people of many backgrounds meet and live in relative harmony. It is a place for intercultural *and* intracultural interaction. The main reason for members to join the club is to meet other Portuguese/Brazilian (post)migrants and participate in cultural activities. Despite irritations on and around the soccer field based on cultural differences and the social pressure for multicultural presentation, multiculturalism is also seen as normal and unproblematic.

Similar empirical studies have described how ethnic, religious and linguistic diversity has become an everyday feature of social life (Wessendorf, 2010; Gilroy, 2004). In the British context, Gilroy was the first to use the term 'conviviality' to describe "cohabitation and interaction that have made multiculture an ordinary feature of social life". 'Down to earth' civility and acceptance of difference in the public realm is related to what Wessendorf (2013) calls *ethics of mixing*. The author describes this as "implicit grammar of living in a super-diverse area, shaped by a public and political discourse which emphasises the positive aspects of cultural diversity" (Ibid.: 408). In contrast with most negative media reports, lived cultural diversity is characterized by emphasising the positive sides of diversity. Also, learning from each other is seen as an opportunity. In the next two sections, I describe the inter- and intracultural interaction that take place at Forte Portugal and explore how diversity is negotiated in an everyday context.

Practices of group making

Formally, the seven teams in the club are organized based on personal soccer qualifications and age. In daily talk, however, distinctions between the teams are also made on the basis of national background. In this way, the veteran teams are often referred to as 'the Portuguese teams', the Saturday selection team and the female team are referred to as 'the Brazilian teams' and lastly the Sunday teams are called the 'Surinamese teams'. An exception to this categorization practice is the youth team, which is not talked about in national terms. The main language spoken by the youth members and their parents and spectators is Dutch. This team is the most ethnically diverse team at the club and most rooted in the neighbourhood.

This study mostly focuses on the adult players. Players of each team are similar in age as well as migration and integration background. Describing the teams also makes it possible to describe most of the visitors and members of the club in general. It is a valuable way to describe the club from the perspective and life of the actors. Looking beyond the emic terminology to explore the meanings behind its use and at the actual people that makes the team helps prevent slipping into essentialist 'groupism', but at the same time it helps give recognition to the on the ground and everyday use of ethnic and nationalist terminology. In this way, the 'Portuguese', 'Brazilian' and 'Surinamese' teams are considered as categories of *practice*, but are not simply taken as categories of *analysis* (Brubaker, 2004). Looking at how

daily talk contributes to the understanding of group making processes practiced at the club and how groups and individuals are ascribed an ethnicity. How are the teams described in emic terms and what are reasons for people to become members of this Portuguese-cum-multicultural club? What kind of intra- and interethnic interactions take place, and how does this relate to group making processes and feelings of belonging?

The 'Portuguese' teams

The 'Portuguese' teams refer to the two veteran teams for male players aged 35+. The first veteran team was set up around eight years ago for leisure and socialising. A few years later a second team was established for more competitive players. Most players on both teams know each other and hang out in the canteen together after a training or match. Most players of Portuguese origin were born in the Netherlands or have lived there for over two or three decades. This means that most players are familiar with the Dutch language and, as players explain, are seen as integrated into Dutch society. Portuguese and Dutch are the main languages spoken, depending on the situation. The language used in discussions in the canteen or in cheering and shouting instructions from the sideline during a game or training depend on the receiver(s). A conversation could start in one language and switch to another when someone joins or leaves the conversation. Discussions in WhatsApp groups are mostly in Portuguese.

Visitors of the club with a Portuguese background are not limited to the players and volunteers. There is for example a group of young adults who used to play at the club and these days come to the club to relax and socialize. Two regular visitors, Victor and Miguel, both aged around 20, are part of this group of friends, which includes approximately 12 former players. They come to chat, smoke cigarettes, drink sodas or beers and relax on the couch.

Among the members of the veteran teams, and other Portuguese (post)migrants who visit the club, there seems to be a contradiction in identification with the Portugueseness of the club and personal identification with Portugueseness. I will first look at the ethnic specific reasons for joining and appreciating the club and continuously describe a certain hesitation to ethnic identification.

The following quotes illustrates the value commonly attached to the Portuguese food and drink available in the canteen and participating with other Portuguese (post)migrants:

> *Portugese biertjes,* bifanas*, die barbecues. Dat soort dingen zijn toch anders dan bij een Nederlandse club, als je een broodje kroket eet. Een broodje kroket word je niet gelukkig van. Gelach. Maar van een* bifana *of* kip piri piri*, of dorade of de barbecue word ik wel happy.*
>
> Chico, veteran player of Portuguese origin

> *Je hoort geen één woord Nederlands, het is alleen Portugees, Portugees, Portugees. En dan denk je: "Oh ik ben in Nederland". En maar dat geeft wel een fijn gevoel, omdat je ook onder je eigen groep ook zit.*
>
> Laurenco, former player and frequent visitor of Portuguese origin

Portuguese food and drinks, chatting, and *gezelligheid* (cosiness) after the match or training as well as socializing with people from 'your own group' are often given as reason to join this soccer club. Forte Portugal provides a meeting place where local intracultural contacts are established and transnational ties are created. Examples of transnational ties and contacts that

are fostered are the constant broadcasting of the Portuguese TV channel TV2 in the canteen, international soccer trips by the veteran teams to Portugal and the annual international event held at the club in the spring. Also, most individuals of Portuguese origin maintain ties outside the realm of the club, via phone or (social) media contact, and take frequent trips for holidays, family matters, such as funerals, and for soccer matches of Portuguese national teams.

Contrasting to the Portuguese specific reasons for joining the club is the resistant stance towards participating in a 'Portuguese community'. In general, people of Portuguese descent are not very eager to ascribe themselves membership in a Portuguese 'community', either local or wider. Members of the club talk about Portuguese people who "ignore the place they are living" (Lena, female player Portuguese background) and only interact with other Portuguese. Interaction with non-Portuguese people is the shared norm. Lena moved to the Netherlands two years ago and although she established a network with other Portuguese (post)migrants before and after arrival, she strongly opposes identifying herself as part of a 'Portuguese community':

> *I had the feeling I was kind of defending my country, it was that, the feeling I might be in a different country, but still I can wear my flag and support Portugal, because I am very proud of being Portuguese. So yes it was nice.*
> and
> *Most of my friends are Portuguese, but I don't feel that way and I don't want to feel that way, because when I consider myself being part of a group I feel limited you know?*
>
> Lena, female player of Portuguese origin

Lena explains that she has many Portuguese friends in the Netherlands, earlier in the interview she explains that getting in contact with other Portuguese (post)migrants was part of her 'settlement strategy' and how much she likes it to represent her country by joining Forte Portugal and wearing the Portuguese coloured outfit. However, representing herself in terms of part of a group or community feels limiting herself, as she is an independent person.

The veteran teams consist mainly of Portuguese players but is more ethnically diverse with players who identify or are referred to as Spanish, Surinamese, Dutch and Turkish. One evening I was sitting at the bar in the canteen and I overheard a conversation between seven veteran players:

> *Just before the players headed towards the soccer field a new player entered the canteen. He looks around inspecting the canteen and approaches the group of veteran players. In Dutch he asks for Ferreira. A player sitting on a bar seat asks says "hi" and asks "the Brazilian or Portuguese one"? The new player doesn't know and he explains he's here for the first time. Now the other players who are part of the circle say hi and welcome him. After a short silence one player from Surinamese background explains the composition of the team: "We have Portuguese, Spanish, Turkish, Surinamese and Dutch players".*
>
> Field notes 18 October 2016

This excerpt illustrates how new players are introduced to and socialized into the team and the importance of ethnic reference in daily language. Also, this quote shows the acceptance of

difference and the celebration of multicultural character. However, ethnic concentration is celebrated too:

> *Today we had a great match; there were mostly Portuguese on the team and only one Brazilian player.*
>
> Chico, veteran player of Portuguese origin

Chico is enthusiastic about Portuguese aspects of the club, but also expresses that he would not mind playing at another club. He got to know the club via his former colleague and even though he has been active in soccer before, he did not know of the club before that. Another respondent who was born in Portugal and has lived in Amsterdam for over 18 years accidently found an advertisement of the club on the streets where he is living, in a nearby neighbourhood. Not much later he and his son joined the club. For both respondents, membership is mostly based on coincidence.

Despite the fact that Forte Portugal is not really or not at all known by Portuguese veteran players, it is a one of the few places where Portuguese (post)migrants meet and foster ties with their homeland. In the literature, transnationalism is not only characterized by maintaining social ties but also an attempt by migrants to define "their identities in terms of both their point of origin and their destination" (Kivisto, 2002: 39). The multiple ways respondents identified themselves and are identified by others often leads to confusion; in Portugal they are seen as Dutch and in the Netherlands they are seen as, and feel, more Portuguese. This experience is discussed among Portuguese at the club and explained to me as a constant challenge. Stodolska and Santos introduced the term *transnational leisure* to define "leisure that is maintained by transnational migrants to foster ties with their countries and communities of origin" (2006: 143). In the US context, soccer clubs and teams help provide Portuguese first and second-generation migrants to establish a link to their homeland (Moniz, 2007). Like Forte Portugal, Moniz describes how clubs "hold community integrative social events and organize visits of Portuguese teams and players" (Moniz, 2007: 465).

These seemingly contradictory statements can be read in a broader dominant discourse: one of recognition of ethnic background in combination with the importance of integration into Dutch society. This discourse is characterized by the fact that it is understandable and pleasurable to participate in ethnic concentrated environments, but with a certain limit. A preference is given to a multicultural context and (too much) ethnic concentration is seen as negative and as constraining successful integration. The shared mantra is based on the idea that intra-ethnic participation should always be combined with participation in multicultural or 'Dutch' settings.

The 'Brazilian' teams

The Saturday selection team, the female team and the Monday informal soccer gatherings are referred to as the 'Brazilian' teams in daily talk. The Saturday selection team in its current form was established two years ago. The previous team broke up and a new one was formed with players, all around the ages of 18-30, who already knew each other from another club in Amsterdam. The female team was set up at the beginning of the season and was taken out of the competition three months later. Although the team was started by at least three players of Portuguese origin and more played on the team, it was still called the Brazilian female team. Female players are around the same age as the selection team players and also knew both each other and the Brazilian male players from the same club in Amsterdam. Both Brazilian

female and male members hang around at the club before and after matches or trainings and other days.

The 'Brazilian' teams are known for the great atmosphere they brought to the club; they sit in the canteen, drink, chat, play loud music and sometimes dance. According to veteran players, these players brought back the liveliness to the club. The main language that is spoken is Portuguese, or as some call it, Brazilian-Portuguese, emphasising the differences in pronunciation, rhythm, and the use and meanings of words. Many players of Brazilian background do not speak Dutch or English. This makes participating at a 'Dutch' soccer clubs difficult. Therefore, Forte Portugal is seen as one of the few places where Brazilian newcomers can play soccer.

The club facilitates another 'Brazilian' team that is organized more informally and is not part of the national competition. For the last few years, on Monday evenings the soccer field is reserved free of charge for players of Brazilian background to play and afterwards socialise, eat and play music in the canteen until the next morning. This is a group of around one hundred Brazilian migrants, living (and working) in Amsterdam and its surroundings. Some travel for over an hour to join this weekly soccer game and social gathering. In a WhatsApp group chat, players sign up and are assigned to teams. Because participants of these informal soccer trainings are not playing in the national competition, the trainings evolve in an informal way. Mostly they play matches in teams of 5-6 players on one third or fourth of the field (depending on how many players there are) that take either ten minutes or until one team scores three times.

In contrast to most players of Portuguese origin in the veteran teams, Brazilian players do not hesitate to identify themselves with or talk in terms of a Brazilian 'community' or 'volk' (people) in the Netherlands. Brazilian migrants consciously join the club to meet co-ethnics and to share migration experiences. Jorge has lived in the Netherlands for over ten years and explains:

> *Voor mensen die net [naar Nederland] zijn gekomen is het belangrijk om bij elkaar te zijn, contact te maken en ervaringen te kunnen delen.*
> and
> *Een paar kunnen geen eens voetballen, maar toch komen ze. Om bij elkaar te zijn, misschien voor werk of voor informatie.*
>
> Jorge (18), regular visitor of Brazilian origin

There is a stronger sense of community belonging and diasporic practices in the 'Brazilian' teams compared to the players in the veteran teams. For Brazilian players, the club provides a 'safety net' – a place for newcomers to socialize and create a network with co-ethnics. As is widely discussed in sport and diaspora literature, sport environments can function as a 'social space' (Werbner, 1996: 93) in which a sense of belonging to a certain community is created. The following quote illustrates the conscious effort put into 'being Brazilian' and taken care of as you do with a beloved one:

> *Net als je getrouwd bent of je hebt een vriend [pointing at me], een relatie, moet je af en toe uit eten, af en toe cadeautje geven, af en toe zeggen dat je er mooi uitziet. Dat is ook tegenover cultuur, je moet toch naar m'n volk, even voelen dat ik Braziliaan ben.*
>
> Jorge (18), regular visitor of Brazilian origin

Culture is not only 'taken care of' at training or match days; next to these 'official' moments, players with Brazilian background visit the club much more often, for example, to visit other 'Brazilian' teams' matches, watch Brazilian soccer teams on the TV-screen, go to parties, or just to hang around and drink beer.

The usage of 'm'n volk' (my people) is interesting in the previous quote, as it implies a certain cultural monotony among Brazilian habitants *and* Brazilian migrants. In fact, cultural differences cannot be bigger within Brazil, especially among migrated Brazilians that reformulate their interpretation of culture influenced by the host society. Ruan explains in an interview that people from all over Brazil become members of the club: people from the far North to the far South, from São Paulo and Rio de Jeneiro to the Amazon area. At the soccer club, everyone is equal and welcome, Ruan continues to explain that he would not meet so many Brazilian migrants with such diverse backgrounds in other social areas in life, such as parties or a church.

Although the soccer club provides a meeting place for Brazilian migrants with varying backgrounds, it does not form an exclusive meeting place. Before joining the club, players already knew each other and there are many places where Brazilians meet and socialize outside the club, for example, Brazilian bars, house parties, and Brazilian restaurants. A former meeting place was another soccer club in Amsterdam. Nonetheless, the club plays an important role in facilitating a suitable sport environment, especially for newcomers from Brazil who don't speak Dutch and often have little English proficiency. A shared language with board members and most players in other teams makes it much easier and more pleasant to spend time off. Also, in most other clubs, policy around membership and payments are much stricter. In Forte Portugal, members in financial difficulty are (partly) set free of fee payments, opening hours of the canteen are flexible and alcohol consumption before a training or match is allowed.

Members of both Brazilian and Portuguese origin have one shared reason for joining the club: meeting co-ethnics. However, a conceptual distinction should be made when it comes to self-identification with an ethnicity of origin. Portuguese players are less open to identifying themselves in terms of community than Brazilian players and therefore I describe cross-border activities by Portuguese as transnational practices, whereas I refer to these activities as diasporic practices.

The 'Surinamese' teams

Just like the female team, two Sunday 'Surinamese' teams were set up in the beginning of the soccer season. These teams were composed of members of varying national backgrounds, but mainly Surinamese and Brazilian (post)migrants. The coach of these teams was also new to the club and brought around eight Surinamese players with him. Laurenco explains why he thinks these teams are called Surinamese:

> *Er zitten alleen maar Surinaamse personen in het team en aan hun manier van zijn kan je ook zien dat het Surinamers zijn, manier van praten bijvoorbeeld.*
>
> Laurenco, former player and frequent visitor of Portuguese origin

Between both teams there were 'only' eight players of Surinamese origin, but in Laurenco's experience, all of the players are of Surinamese descent. Speaking manners and behavioural characteristics (bright and cheerful appearance and being open towards others) made them

typically Surinamese. In contrast to the Portuguese and Brazilian team members, players on the Surinamese teams spent much less time in the canteen. Also, trainings and sometimes matches had to be cancelled due to a lack of players. Halfway through the season, the two teams were reduced to one. The players of Surinamese origin knew each other already and met mostly outside the club. For these players, the club does not play a key function in bringing them together. What does their relative absence in the canteen and on the soccer field (and therefore in this study) tell us about everyday multiculturalism at the club?

The main language spoken among the Surinamese players is Dutch and most of the players were born in the Netherlands. From a young age, they participated in Dutch soccer competition and clubs, which is why the players on this team are said to have a 'Dutch' soccer style. Both their language and soccer style differ from Brazilian players, who rarely speak Dutch. Especially on the soccer field this leads to miscommunication and frustration. On the 'Surinamese' teams, but also on other teams when language barriers make verbal communication challenging, someone who speaks multiple languages is asked to translate, hand gestures are used, or a coach or player physically demonstrates an exercise. In this way, the soccer game brings players of varying backgrounds together. The following quote even shows a strong connection between Brazilian and Surinamese citizens or migrants:

> *Het is ons buurland en Braziliaans voetbal is ons mooiste voetbal, zo is het bij ons ingeburgerd. [Het is] alsof we Braziliaans zijn, qua voetbal. Dat is zo ingeburgerd, iedereen is Brazilië. Ik ben nooit voor Nederland en als ik voor een club, land in Europa ben, is het Duitsland.*
>
> Shivam, volunteer

Even though Shivam has lived most of his life in the Netherlands, he still experiences Brazil as his 'neighbouring country', implying he lives in Suriname, and feels Brazilian when it comes to supporting a soccer team or nation. In Suriname, "everybody is Pelé" Shivam explains.

Despite the deeply felt connection by the volunteer, the team fell apart and I have hardly seen players of the 'Surinamese' teams in the canteen. Language not only played a barrier on the soccer field, but also outside the soccer field as specific or general information on Facebook and the clubs website was communicated in Portuguese. This makes it harder to understand and include non-Portuguese speaking players and this had its influence on the participation of Surinamese players. When respondents (of any background) were asked to describe the club in multicultural terms, the 'Surinamese' team was always mentioned. In practice, however, members of these teams did not really become part of the club, as Portuguese and Brazilian dominating cultural expressions made it exclusive rather than inclusive for members of Surinamese origin. In this way, the dominant post-multicultural mindset and the ideal of creating a multicultural club culture that is recognizable for all members and visitors is challenged.

Explaining grouping behaviour: three stories

Despite the focus on being multicultural and the "everyone feels welcome" attitude, according to player Hans, interethnic mixing only takes place on a superficial level. An important aspect of ethics of mixing is the expectation that people should mix in public and associational places and there is "little understanding for groups who are perceived as 'not wanting to mix'" (Wessendorf, 2013: 407). Both volunteers and players expressed and at

times are bothered by parallel grouping behaviour among Portuguese and Brazilians. As this is a prominent topic of discussion among club members, I ask how actors explain the superficial mixing despite this strong ethic of mixing. Based on formal and informal interviews, I outline the following three stories that explain grouping behaviour and show how actors deal with difference in public: cultural distance, migratory and age differences, and sport related aspects.

> *Today a live band plays at the club and there is a nice atmosphere among the visitors. A few visitors I haven't seen before arrive in the canteen. Everyone is dressed up. Men are mostly wearing tidy shirts and sneakers. Women are wearing short skirts or tight trousers and high heels, it seems they spent significant time on their make up and hair. People greet each other and give each other one or two kisses on the cheek and say spontaneous things in Portuguese. People are chatting and food is being prepared. I'm staying behind the bar looking at people and poring drinks now and then. A female player comes up to me to say hi and gives me two kisses on the cheek. The band plays and I realize a division in the canteen: on one side of the band players and visitors of Brazilian origin organize themselves and on the other side of the band the Portuguese veteran players and their relatives are gathered. Why is this happening?*
>
> Field notes, January 7 2017

The picture on page 22 that shows the drum kit and the Dutch flag and was taken before visitors arrived in the canteen. As the excerpt explains, players and visitors of Brazilian origin gathered on one side of the band and members of Portuguese origin on the other. What is so clearly observable this evening represents what happened most other days: one could easily observe the two groups sitting apart in the canteen, veteran players hanging around at the bar and selection team players sitting at the tables, on the couches or outside at the red coloured Superbock chairs. Even though the members respect and recognize each other's cultures and practices, interethnic encounters only happen on a superficial level.

Cultural distance

Portuguese and Brazilian cultural characteristics such as language, music and food are highlighted in daily communication and in interviews both as similarities and as differences. For example, a shared language binds people and makes it easier for newcomers to participate in activities at the club and a shared interest in soccer and socializing after games or matches brings people of Portuguese and Brazilian people together. In contrast, cultural characteristics are a prominent way to emphasise difference and to explain grouping behaviour. In this way, segregation is culturalized. How do actors exactly make sense of cultural difference at Forte Portugal? How do differences become central to group identification? Sebastian told me how he explains grouping behaviour:

> *Andere energie, andere cultuur, ze voelen zich lekker bij elkaar. Waarom niet? Kijk, het zou leuk zijn als iedereen kan mixen. Dat zou ideaal zijn, maar het zit in de cultuur van hun en van ons. Ik zeg niet dat het gaat botsen, maar het zijn twee verschillende culturen.*
>
> Sebastian, veteran player of Spanish origin

Sebastian talks about culture in a static and unchangeable way. Portuguese and Brazilian culture are fundamentally different, which makes them complicated to mix, even though he realizes this is the ideal picture. Moreover, Sebastian talks about feelings – the culture a person 'belongs' to or 'has' is what they feel most comfortable with.

The main topic for creating both distance and similarity is the Portuguese language. Members emphasise differences in accents between Portuguese and Brazilian (post)migrants that make verbal communication challenging, because the groups use different words or talk at different speeds. Simultaneously, Portuguese (post)migrants, as the dominant group, use encompassment grammars (Baumann, 2006) to refer to Portuguese language as a shared characteristic. A higher level of similarity between Portuguese and Brazilian migrants is formulated to create a shared basis for interaction and to incorporate the minority groups. In this way, actors formulate group identities and give meaning to difference.

Cultural distance can be emphasised through differing norms and values. In informal conversations, norms and values are often linked to national background. When the female soccer team was disqualified from the competition, volunteers declared that the unacceptable behaviour was based on different norms and values. Ana explains that these women can be very aggressive and simply do not understand 'it'; they do not have the same norms and values we have. Ana continues explaining that Brazilians cluster together too much and cannot mix with other team members.

On the weekends before and after the matches, music is played and so now and then members dance with each other or alone. These are mostly members of the Brazilian team, who play cards, eat, drink a lot and chat loudly. These are the moments on which the party and fun characteristic of Brazilians is based. Players of the veteran teams mostly go home earlier and the Portuguese volunteers stay behind the bar or sit at the barstools. One evening during my fieldwork the evening took another course:

> *Tonight* São Martinho *is celebrated at the club, also referred to as Portuguese Saint Martin or the chestnuts celebration. Central to the feast are coming together, eating roasted chestnuts and drinking new wines, called* caldo verde. *We start in the early afternoon by cracking hundreds of chestnuts that are later that day roasted on the barbecue and shared with the visitors. Around 8pm the canteen is filled on one side with veteran players with their wives, children and other relatives and on the other side Brazilian players are sitting. There is also one older couple originally from a region in Spain next to the Portuguese border. Each year they attend a party to celebrate* São Martinho. *This is the first time they visited Forte Portugal. After dinner, it became clear that the musical band that was supposed to perform tonight is not going to show up. The organizer reacts furiously and continues playing todays hits and Brazilian songs. Nevertheless there is a positive vibe and I decide to stay for a bit longer and have my first glass of wine in my fieldwork period. Around 11pm Brazilian players stand up from the couch and start to leave. They leave like they spent the evening: collectively. Only some volunteers, veteran players and me are left in the canteen, around ten people in total. After the Brazilian players had left, I noticed something had changed. Portuguese songs from decades ago are played and this time Portuguese members come closer to the part of the canteen that functions as a dance floor and some start to dance. There is loud laughter, wine glasses are refilled with* caldo verde *and more low quality Portuguese songs are played from peoples' youth. This is the first time I see volunteers and Portuguese members moving*

> *their hips, singing along with the music and exchanging memories related to the songs. Moreover, this is the first time I feel comfortable enough to join the dance floor. It was a great evening.*
>
> Field notes, 13 November 2016

After the Brazilian team players left, the dynamic changed; whereas before the dance floor area was dominated by Brazilian players and 'their' music, afterwards players and visitors of Portuguese origin started dancing, drinking and take up bodily space in the dance floor area. This excerpt is an example how the club as a meeting space is used in different ways. It can have different functions and different meanings are given to the space depending on who is present and who is not. The dominant idealist discourse around multiculturalism is mainly given meaning and presented by Portuguese (post)migrants, but if it comes to everyday ambience at the club, Brazilian cultural characteristics dominate.

One way actors explain the fallout of interethnic mixing is through culturalization of grouping behaviour. Members of Forte Portugal see Portuguese and Brazilian culture as fundamentally different. In this way, culture is essentialized and thereby it is unlikely to change.

Migratory and age differences

The question of grouping at Forte Portugal is explained not only by referring to cultural differences, but also by other axes of differentiation, such as migration and age differences. These other axes are just as important as cultural distance and, as I will show, are presented in conversations and interviews in a processual way: people's needs and ways of interacting can change over time.

Sebastian explains how soccer might be a shared interest among players of varying backgrounds at the club, but due to age differences a more substantial shared basis of conversation is simply missing:

> *Maar goed [groeperen] ligt wat ik zei aan de leeftijd, de meesten zijn hier geboren of leven al lang hier in Nederland. Dat is het verschil en dan kan je nooit goed mengen, want ja dan heb je het over iets anders. Misschien heb je het over voetbal, Madrid of Barcelona, daar praat je wel over maar over normale dingen, over het leven niet zo veel.*
>
> Sebastian, veteran player of Spanish origin

Different life stages lead to different interests and topics to talk about, Sebastian explains. 'Normal things in life' are not topic for conversation and apparently differ too much to form a shared basis.

The amount of time migrants spent in the receiving country and differences in migration background lead to differing needs and motives to join Forte Portugal. Portuguese (post)migrants who were born in the Netherlands or have lived there for over a few decades have other interests and needs that are fulfilled in the club than Brazilian players, who generally migrated to the Netherlands in the past ten to fifteen years. For Brazilian migrants, the club provides a place to share information and help each other with work or practical issues newcomers have to deal with, such as finding affordable housing and applying for a (permanent) residence permit. Migration is often a chance to seek better education or jobs. Brazilian migrants often arrive in the Netherlands with little money. Some might have a few

contacts and residency for the time after arrival, but no clear future plans. For all this, newcomers from Brazil depend on previously migrated Brazilians.

Portuguese migrants, as members of the European Union, have a very different starting point compared to their Brazilian counterparts when it comes to legal residency. From the start, Portuguese migrants can legally live and work in the Netherlands. The application for a legal permit in the case of Brazilian migrants is often a long process full of obstacles. This leads to vulnerable and often uncertain situations that again leads to a further dependence on fellow Brazilians when it comes to, for example, housing and work.

Migratory difference also means a different time spent in the Netherlands and to what extent people are seen as 'integrated'. Integrated is seen by respondents as participating in Dutch society, speaking the language and participating outside your 'own group' and co-ethnics. At the club, Brazilians are motivated by other Brazilians, and even more by Portuguese (post)migrants to learn the language and 'integrate'. The Portuguese are seen as the integrated people with legal status and legal jobs. Brazilians, in general, are portrayed as newcomers, not integrated, having different norms and values, people from the outskirts of Brazilian cities or inland areas, and at times even as uncivilized or unsophisticated. These differences in how people are perceived constrain intercultural interaction.

> *[Ze zijn] als laatste gekomen en zijn niet… Ze leven een ander, nog in hun eigen wereldje. … en nog steeds niet geïntegreerd.*
>
> Sebastian, veteran player of Spanish origin

Two topics are touched upon in this quote: firstly, a difference between 'hosts' and 'guests', because Brazilian players came second and second, that they are still not integrated. Later, Sebastian describes his integration experience and acknowledges that 'full integration' does not happen over night, but can be achieved over time. Not being integrated is a matter of participating in their 'own world' rather than with members of a different ethnicity. Moreover, the first part of the quote shows how a difference is made between people who got to the club first and people who came later, and thus are 'the guests'. Volunteer Patricio shared a similar opinion. One evening after all players from the selection team had left I was sitting in the canteen with Patricio and a veteran player. They talked about how they regret that 'the Brazilians' do not sit or talk with players from other teams or try to speak Dutch. Patricio argued:

> *Als je bij iemand thuis komt, ga je je toch ook gedragen en voorstellen aan de mensen?*
>
> Patricio, volunteer of Portuguese origin

Brazilian players are expected to mix and take initiative in interacting with other teams, whereas the 'settled' and 'ruling' members of the club think themselves free of this expectation. In this way, a power relation is created between 'hosts' and 'guests'.

Soccer related aspects

Whereas the previous two stories approach culture in an essentialist or more processual way, soccer related aspects could be seen as in between these two. The two main soccer related aspects are the organization of teams and soccer style. Earlier, I discussed the social organization of teams in everyday language: the 'Portuguese', 'Brazilian' and 'Surinamese' teams, and argued how this reinforces grouping behaviour. But there is more to be said:

> *Waar ga je over praten na een wedstrijd?*
>
> Ruan, selection player of Brazilian origin

The question Ruan asked me in an interview clearly illustrates that teams are not only teams during trainings and matches. Also after a training or match, players hang out together to discuss what happened; individual players show off their moves or players collectively discuss how to improve their tactics. Thus, the organization of teams makes it practically difficult to interact with other teams and thereby also members of different national backgrounds.

The second soccer related constraining factor is characteristic soccer styles. Brazilian soccer style is described as intuitive and based on *talentoso* (talent) (Jorge, 20) whereas Portuguese and Dutch players play in a compact and organized way. 'Brazilian', 'Portuguese' and 'Dutch' styles are a much-discussed topic at the club. For some respondents, it is appealing to see how different styles are practiced within a team, but for others it forms a source of vexation.

Emphasizing differences between soccer styles is an example of a group making process, because players identify themselves with a certain style and use it to reinforce their ethnic background.

> *Me: Hoe [heeft] zo'n speelstijl invloed op het Braziliaans voelen of het Surinaams voelen?*
> *Shivam: Weet je hoe ik dat kan zien? Want Brazilianen, wat ik je zeg, ze houden van scoren en pingelen pingelen want na de wedstrijd gaan ze met mekaar staan en altijd kijk hoe ik gepingeld heb.*
>
> Shivam, volunteer

This idea of typical national style is embedded in a long political history in Brazil and used as means to craft a new vision of the nation. This vision "suggested a more inclusive national discourse that accepted Brazil's racial and ethnic heritage even as it drew pseudoscientific racist ideas" (Nadal, 2014: 47). Thus, soccer, or also known as 'futbal arte', has a political and social role in Brazil and their style has become a way Brazilians think about 'their' soccer and about themselves (Nadal, 2014). When moving to other countries, Brazilian migrants bring this style with them. Jorge used to play in the selection team and nowadays visits Forte Portugal approximately once a week to socialize and watch trainings or a game. Before joining Forte Portugal, he played at a 'Dutch' soccer club with players who played in a 'Dutch way':

> *Bij de andere club was ik de enige Braziliaan in het team van twintig Nederlanders, maar hier zijn allemaal Brazilianen, dus kunnen wij op onze manier spelen.*
>
> Jorge (18), regular visitor of Brazilian origin

Jorge explains that being surrounded by other Brazilians made it possible to play 'their' way, the Brazilian way. Soccer style is a form of differentiation and could form as a basis for group making and belonging. Forte Portugal facilitates the space for this interaction to take place.

Not all players and coaches of the 'Brazilian' teams are enthusiastic about this intuitive style. Fatih, the only player in the selection team of Moroccan origin, used to play at a higher ranked soccer club and describes his experiences with a Brazilian style:

> *Brazilianen willen altijd hakkie, trucjes. Ja dat gaat niet op het voetbalveld.*
> Fatih, selection player of Moroccan origin

Fatih thinks this 'Brazilian' style of his co-players is not really effective and experiences that they sometimes "forget they play in a team". They rather focus on scoring and individual play and success. In the same interview, Fatih explained he felt included into the team, despite the language barriers that made it difficult to communicate outside the soccer field. My personal experience as player in the 'Brazilian' female team was different: I did not always feel included and at times even felt invisible to other players. I am convinced this had partly to do with my lacking soccer skills; passing the ball to another player would be a tactical better choice. However, another player of Portuguese origin with substantial soccer experience thought differently about this and explained that 'they' (Brazilian players) did not play with us because they want to play among themselves.

In an informal conversation in the canteen with a coach and another volunteer this 'egoistic' style was discussed along with how the coach (of Surinamese origin) tried to convert the Brazilians to a team-mentality. For a few weeks in mid-season, the coach of the selection team selected a 'Best Player of the Game'. The aim of this reward was to compliment players who might not have scored, but who played very well and indirectly contributed to scoring. The coach tried to show the importance of each team member and showing that making goals is not the only important aspect of playing soccer. After a few weeks, however, the coach decided and was advised by other volunteers to stop, because it led to tensions on the team and between the team and the coach. Players did not understand that someone could be awarded without having scored. The reaction of the coach was: "They have a different culture, they don't understand this in their culture". Another volunteer who later joined our conversation added that Brazilians do not play for the team, but for themselves; they do not respect each other or grant co-players a compliment. The two volunteers emphasised differences and set boundaries between them and us based on nationalized norms and values. This conversation makes clear that 'their culture' is based on Brazil, but it does not become clear where the culture of the volunteers is based on. Do the volunteers represent 'Dutch' culture? Or is it perhaps the club culture? Or soccer culture? Or is it a question of settled vs. newcomers? Whatever it is, it illustrates the complexity of the use of 'culture' and how norms and values are nationalised in daily speak. Through this, boundaries are reinforced between 'us' and 'them' and group values (and thereby belonging) are (re)produced.

Challenging the post-multicultural mindset

A shared interest in soccer, food and socializing and a shared language do contribute to bringing Brazilian and Portuguese (post)migrants together, but also form the basis for emphasising difference. In the preceding I have shown the multiplicity of factors that constrain interethnic mixing and reinforce group making practices illustrate the complexity of understanding of 'culture' in everyday multiculturalism. Members of Forte Portugal use generally three ways to explain and go about group making processes: cultural distance, migration and age differences and soccer related aspects.

Whereas cultural distance is a story of fundamentally different cultures that sees cultural diversity as a static situation, migratory and age differences are perceived in processual way; over the years people can overcome these differences and intercultural interaction becomes more likely. The former story is based on culturalization of difference, whereas migration and age differences encompass a story of temporization of difference. The third way members make sense of difference is about the practical arrangement of the teams and varying soccer styles and is partly based on organizational aspects and partly on fundamental soccer styles players 'have'.

The three stories members use to make sense of group making do not take place in a closed context, but are interrelated. Differences in migration background and time spent in the Netherlands influence the needs different members seek to fulfil. Cultural differences plays a role in all factors in one way or another; for example, language barriers make it harder to verbally communicate with co-players, which leads to less contact after the game.

After all, what does group making behaviour tell us? Is it problematic? Does it challenge the dominant post-multicultural mindset? Or is it part of the ideology of multiculturalism, as giving recognition to the existence of different 'cultures' is an important element? I argue it is not the actual practices of grouping behaviour what makes it compelling, but the anxiety around being mono-ethnic and the frustration showed by members (mainly of Portuguese origin) when they talked about the separate groups. It challenges members' incorporated expectations around cultural assimilation (still) dominating in Dutch society. Thus if the lack of interethnic mixing challenges the post-multicultural mindset, it is concerned with the assimilation element of post-multiculturalism and shows the on the ground unease experienced by members to really practice their 'own' culture in public.

Conclusion

This paper examined attitudes towards cultural diversity and grouping behavior of members of the Portuguese-cum-multicultural soccer club in Amsterdam. Attitudes refer to actual practices and idealistic stances. (Board) members prefer to present Forte Portugal as a multicultural club rather than an ethnically concentrated one and aim to create a club culture that is suitable and recognizable for all members, of all cultural backgrounds. In this paper, I explored this club culture and how meaning is given to difference in everyday inter- and intracultural encounters.

I introduced the concept of post-multicultural mindset to refer to members' open disapproval of ethnic concentration and their preference for multiculturality. Members explain that ethnic concentration inhibits integration into Dutch society, while in a multicultural setting, interethnic interaction can take place that supports integration and, moreover, gives the club a positive reputation. It is a *post*-multicultural mindset, in that it reflects the current national discourse: post-multiculturalism. This means that members are aware of the expectations around integration into Dutch society and showing loyalty towards the nation-state, but also see the value of 'their' cultural contribution to Dutch society. The Portuguese (post)migrants especially have a strong willingness and proudness to share Portuguese culture with outsiders. However, the mindset is challenged through group making processes that are in conflict with national discourses around the expectation of newcomers to culturally assimilate.

Based on the data, I found three ways that members of Forte Portugal make sense of this group making: cultural distance, migratory and age differences and soccer related aspects. Whereas cultural distance is a story of fundamental and unchangeable cultural differences,

migratory and age differences are perceived in a more processual way – over the years people can overcome these differences and intercultural interaction becomes more likely. This is in line with diaspora studies, which describe the changing needs to be fulfilled in ethnic gatherings (Collett & Petrovic, 2014). Soccer related aspects, such as the organization of teams, tell a more practical story to make sense of difference and group making. Other soccer related aspects (national soccer styles and a team vs. ego mentality) are again presented in an essentialist way.

All stories illustrate different interpretation of 'culture' and demonstrate the complexity of everyday multiculturalism. Despite academic criticism, I have shown the ongoing relevance of the so called 'essentialist categories' in daily speech for making sense of the social world. This agrees with Semi et al., who aim to go beyond a "celebration of processualism" (2009: 82) and combine actors' essentialist views with a processual approach.

Members of Forte Portugal generally have a pragmatic understanding of multiculturalism and many appreciate this (ideological) characteristic of the club. Getting in contact with and achieving conviviality among people who are 'culturally different' is what members of the club find important. As members negatively judge ethnic concentration, newcomers are expected to mix and interact with established members. Members of Brazilian origin are often judged by members of Portuguese and other backgrounds to only participate with each other rather than mixing. Furthermore, reasons for joining the club are mostly culturally driven: hanging out with 'people like me' and consuming Portuguese or Brazilian drinks and foods.

This perceived preference for participating in and among co-ethnics opposes the 'post-multicultural mindset' that prescribes interethnic interaction and openness towards others. This tension is in line with what Wessendorf (2013) calls the ethos of mixing: accepting each other's differences and the expectation of mixing in public and associational spaces. Even though cultural maintenance is supported (society wide and at the club), there is a certain limit to being culturally different and traditions have to be in line with the restrictions of the hegemonic power (Dandy, 2009; Knijnik & Spaaij, 2017). Dandy argues that the dominant group members have a certain "desire to place limits on the extent and nature of that 'cultural content'" (2009: 231). Group dynamics between 'us' and 'them', settled and newcomers, and who decides what kind of (culturally driven) behavior is accepted or not, is reflected in broader Dutch society; members of the cultural majority decide how cultural assimilation should take place and set limits on the extent of acceptable difference.

The 'recognizable multicultural culture' the club aim for, is not based on an actual shared multicultural culture, as in an all-surpassing culture where all cultures are 'fused' together. It is rather based on the social acceptance of the *lack* of similarities and the recognition of each other's separate grouping behaviour and thereby on boundary making practices, with the exception of relatively trivial similarities such as music, food, and love for playing and watching soccer games. The soccer club therefore simultaneously functions as a space for intercultural encounters and for practices of grouping behaviour based on a shared 'culture'. Living in conviviality and accepting differences is described as a strategy to "both engage with difference as well as avoid deeper contact" (Wessendorf, 2014: 392). Because extensive mixing does not take place, grouping practices take place and actors create the possibility to practice their own culture, in a legitimate multicultural environment.

Multiculturalism (as actual situation and as ideology) should not override ethnic concentration. The findings of this study resonate with international research on sport (and more broadly leisure) and ethnicity that emphasize the relevance of ethnic concentrated sport environments to help newcomers deal with migration related challenges (Stodolska, 2007;

Joseph, 2014). Also, participating in sports with other people with a shared background is an important factor on the positive experience of sport participation (Spaaij, 2013; Verweel et al., 2005). Therefore, I argue that the relevance of ethnic concentration should not be underestimated and overflown with idealistic multiculturalism.

The selection of one main research setting, Forte Portugal, as an ethnographic case study has its limitations. Concentrating on one site makes it possible for the researcher to establish enduring relationships with actors in the field and to make more solid arguments. However, over the past two decades research into transnationalism has argued for the need for more multi-sited research. Attitudes towards multiculturalism are context-depended and to gain a fuller understanding of these attitudes, different sporting contexts and non-sport contexts are crucial.

Despite the context specific-characteristics and limitations of this research, it provides insight into peoples' sense making of diversity and how macro-level concepts, such as post-multiculturalism, are lived and given meaning on the ground. It shows that sport environments function as a lens to investigate wider societal issues and simultaneously create spaces for interethnic and intra-ethnic encounters that are unlikely to take place in other contexts. Whereas outside Forte Portugal, Portuguese and Brazilian (post)migrants would organize themselves based on social demographic or religious characteristics, at Forte Portugal these factors are neglected.

This study was undertaken in a period of societal change. There is both the anxiety around 'Dutch identity' fed by the immigration crisis last year, which European countries are still dealing with and the growing recognition given to ethnic minorities and its potential value for society. Post-multiculturalism as a political and public discourse is taking shape, and just as other forms of multiculturalism, it should be studied from a lived, on the ground perspective to understand how post-multiculturalism affects local experiences of (ethnic) diversity and continues to take shape in everyday life. The opposite should also be studied – how local agency influences post-multiculturalism on a structural level.

As the Netherlands, like other Western nation-states, become more multicultural, cultural diversity will become a prominent topic in politics, policy and everyday language. This will likely leads to intensification of the recognition of the needs of people of diverse ethnic backgrounds (see Taylor, 2001). Forte Portugal exemplifies how sport clubs can provide a space for simultaneous promotion of multiculturalism and interethnic encounters and ethnic concentration.

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