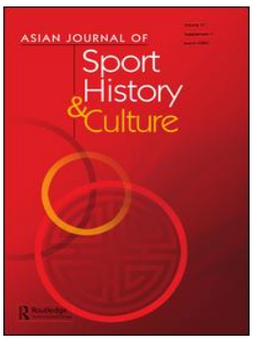

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Who May Represent the Country? Football, Citizenship, Migration, and National Identity at the FIFA World Cup

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ABSTRACT

The terms 'citizenship', 'nation', and 'nationality' contain different, albeit overlapping, meanings of belonging and identity. The history of the FIFA (Fédération Internationale de Football Association) World Cup provides excellent examples and cases to unveil these meanings in different historical contexts. Three overlapping categories of historical realities are proposed to understand the historical complexities of migration, citizenship and national identity from a historical sports perspective. The first category considers diaspora teams, using the examples of Italy in 1934 and Morocco in 2018. The second category examines teams from expanding and dissolving states, exemplified by Germany in 1938 and Yugoslavia in 1990. The third category explores colonial and post-colonial realities, illustrated by Portugal in 1966 and France in 2018. The relationship among national belonging, citizenship, and migration challenges the self-evident notions of membership and belonging. The historical concepts of *ius sanguinis* (blood ties) and *ius soli* (territorial birthright) are well-known markers and symbols of national belonging and citizenship. In nation states, the feeling of belonging is created by membership in an 'imagined community', which is often self-evidently bound by these markers. The proposed historical categories partly legitimize and pave the way for diaspora and post-colonial football players who will become more visible in national teams at the World Cup in the future.

KEYWORDS

FIFA World Cup; citizenship; migration; nationality; colonial; post-colonial

The Brazilian striker Diego Costa was born in Lagarto, Brazil in 1988. His father named him after Argentine footballer Diego Maradona, despite the rivalry between Brazil and Argentina. In March 2013, Costa played two *friendly* matches for the Brazilian national team. In September of the same year, however, he declared that he wished to play for the Spanish national team. Therefore, the Royal Spanish Football Federation submitted an official request to FIFA (Fédération Internationale de Football Association), asking permission to call up Costa for the Spanish team. He

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was eligible to play for Spain because he had worked and lived in Spain for more than five years and had thus been granted Spanish citizenship.

Following the news, Scolari, the coach of the Brazilian national team, commented: 'A Brazilian player who refuses to wear the shirt of the Brazilian national team and compete in a World Cup in your country is automatically withdrawn. He is turning his back on a dream of millions, to represent our national team, the five-time world champions, in Brazil'.[1] The Brazilian football federation even demanded Costa be stripped of his Brazilian citizenship.[2] In addition, the magazine *Business Insider* called him 'the most hated man at the World Cup', disliked by Brazilian as well as some Spanish fans.[3] Meanwhile, Diego Costa himself declared: 'I hope people understand and respect my decision because it has been very difficult. It was very difficult to choose between the country where you were born and the country that has given you everything'.[4]

Costa's case is by no means unique. In a recent study, van Campenhout, van Sterkenburg, and Oonk based their research on 10,137 observations of football players' biographical data, including the country they represented, their date and place of birth, and additional information on the nationality of their (grand)father and (grand)mother, to determine whether footballers were eligible to acquire citizenship in another country.[5] The study indicated that the percentage of foreign-born players at all FIFA (men's) World Cups between 1930 (the date of the first official FIFA-organized World Cup) and 2018 remained relatively stable at between 8 and 12 per cent.[6] In other words, contrary to the general belief held by the media and in academic debates, there has been no substantial increase in the number of foreign-born players at the World Cup over the last two decades.[7] In another study, the same authors selected cases related to their migration regimes, in which they distinguished between 'countries of immigration' (Belgium, England, France, Germany, the Netherlands, Sweden, and Switzerland), 'latecomers to immigration' (Italy, South Korea, and Spain), 'nations of immigrants' (United States), and 'former countries of immigration' (Argentina, Brazil, Mexico, and Uruguay). The analysis indicated that, from an immigration perspective, the World Cup has become more migratory in terms of volume and diversity based on a selection of countries.[8]

A foreign-born approach to migrant football players, however, overlooks the changing international order and colonial relationships, that is, expanding and dissolving states. Moreover, it tends to shy away from citizenship complexities, including the importance of diaspora players, who remain foreign-born but represent the country of their (grand)parents. Therefore, there is a need to look beyond the numbers and to categorize the historical contexts of changing allegiances, i.e. when a player represents a country in which he was not born during the FIFA World Cup, and contextualize legal and emotional notions of belonging in terms of 'citizenship', 'nation', and 'nationality'. Global migration patterns and colonial and post-colonial notions of (national) identities are a promising way to contextualize debates on citizenship and national identity from the perspective of football players and the audience as well as from the public debate represented in the media.

Towards a Contextual Categorization of National Identity at The World Cup

Three categories (at times overlapping) are proposed to explore the complexities of migration, citizenship, nation, and nationality from a contextual historical perspective in World Cup football. The proposed categories demonstrate that the popular usage of 'foreign-born' as an equivalent of 'migrant' has become blurred, albeit in different forms, contexts, and categories. Moreover, they often become part of the homogenizing project of states through the imagined national identity and unity of football teams. The concepts of 'citizenship', 'nation', and 'nationality' contain different, albeit overlapping, meanings. Citizenship refers to the formal membership of a state, whereas nationhood conveys membership in a community or 'nation'. Nationality, however, can mean both; sometimes it refers to 'citizenship', and in other cases, it means 'nationhood'. From an historical and empirical angle, the proposed categorization supports that full overlap between citizenry and nationhood is not a historical reality.[9] Nevertheless, states have used their capacities to 'build the nation' in developing a culturally homogenized country and media, rulers and governments, and citizens and players themselves reflect on this during the World Cup.[10]

The first category is labelled as 'diaspora teams'. In this category the examples of Italy at the World Cup in 1934 and Morocco at the World Cup in 2018 are emphasized. This category highlights how states have used the concepts of *jus sanguinis* or ethnic citizenship, based on descent, to attract foreign-born players to their teams. Usually, state representatives or national sports federations are actively involved. The second category discusses two cases of expanding and dissolving states, as exemplified by Germany in 1938 and Yugoslavia in 1990. States are not fixed and stable entities; borders may change, and states can dissolve. In these cases, sports federations, states, and individual players need to decide upon and come to terms with new realities. The third category uses colonial and post-colonial realities to reflect on colonial and post-colonial representation. By taking the examples of Portugal at the World Cup in 1966 and France at the World Cup in 2018 it is argued that diaspora and post-colonial athletes will become more prevalent in national teams at the World Cup.

What these three categories have in common is that they present concrete examples based on specific cases of the blurred ethnic, diasporic, national, and (post) colonial notions of belonging in the context of World Cup football. The historical concepts of *jus sanguinis* (blood ties) *and jus soli* (territorial birth right) are well-known markers and symbols of national belonging and citizenship. Understanding the issues of citizenship and the representation of national teams requires taking a momentary step back. Like most people, football players acquire citizenship by birth (descent and/or territory). At the same time, it is important to show how state representatives and the media include (or exclude) players who represent their country, such as in the case of Costa.

Currently, most people acquire citizenship as a legal status in three ways: The first is the principle of *jus soli* (literally, the right of soil), which grants citizenship on the basis of birth within a state's territory, such as in the United States of America and Canada. The second is the principle of *jus sanguinis* (literally, the right of blood), which grants citizenship based on the nationality of one of the (grand)parents. For a long time,

children born outside of Germany with at least one German (grand)parent were eligible for German citizenship, whereas children born in Germany from migrant parents could not become German citizens. This changed in 1999, and the law was then amended in 2004.[11] Recently, these two ways of acquiring citizenship as a legal status have merged in many countries that allow for *jus soli* as well as *jus sanguinis* conditions of citizenship.[12] The third, and more recent, means is seen in the practice of states granting citizenship on the basis of 'genuine connection' and 'real effective link membership' for people who have migrated to their new countries, termed *jus nexi* or the 'stakeholder principle'.[13] This 'permanent interest in membership'[14] is often preceded by specific conditions, such as a minimum number of years spent residing in a country, an income criterion, and/or proof of language proficiency. In addition, citizenship may also occur through marriage to a citizen of another country.[15]

From a historical perspective, the emergence of a legal status of citizenship in relation to blurred notions of ethnic, diasporic, national, and (post) colonial notions of *belonging* is complex. This may be best described in Brubaker's remarkable and ground-breaking study.[16] Brubaker points out that the two main concepts determining French and German national self-understanding are *civic* versus *ethnic* approaches to membership of a nation in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. The French promoted an *ius soli* (or birthright/civic) approach towards citizenship, whereas Germany favoured an *ius sanguinis* (or blood/ethnic approach). Recently, the so-called 'stakeholder principle' (or *jus nexi*) was added to both the French and German traditions. This principle is proposed as an alternative (or a supplement) to birthright citizenship. Individuals who have a 'real and effective link'[17] to the political community or a 'permanent interest in membership'[18] should be entitled to claim citizenship. This relatively new criterion aims at securing citizenship for those who are truly members of the political community, in the sense that their life prospects depend on the country's laws and policy choices. This often applies to migrants who work and live in their new countries for a minimum number of years (often five to seven). They are regarded as new members of society who have acquired skills (they work and pay taxes) and can become politically active and thus *contribute* to the state. Elsewhere, these various overlapping categories are labelled as 'thick citizenship' in cases where *ius soli*, *ius sanghuinus* and *ius nexis* overlap and 'thin citizenship' when this is not the case.[19]

Since the 1990s, historians, anthropologists, and sociologists have carried on a fascinating discourse in an attempt to understand the process of 'nation building' and the origins of the 'nation state'. The debate typically starts from the position that the 'nation' and the 'state' usually do not coincide. In Europe, two parallel developments emerged. The French initiated a process in which peasants were converted to Frenchmen.[20] At the same time, they also tended to include migrants and colonial subjects as citizens.[21] The Germans, however, focussed on ethnic citizenship and demanded a German State encompassing all Germans.[22] Both developments were a response to the Peace of Westphalia in 1648 and reflect Europe's effort to overcome the feudal principalities and absolute monarchies in favour of territorial states.

Ernest Gellner and Benedict Anderson developed two contrasting theories to understand the emerging 'nation states' in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries.

According to Gellner, nationalism is a necessary consequence of Europe's transformation from an agrarian economy to an industrial capitalist society. This shift to an industrial economy demanded larger cultural and political unification of people, a process that included the acquisition of common languages and traditions as well as knowledge beyond the pre-industrial society in order to adapt to larger production and consumption volumes.[23] Benedict Anderson identifies the invention of print, the demise of religion, and the weakening of dynastic power as the key social and historical causes that explain the emergence of larger nation states. The invention of print created the possibilities for states to introduce a unifying language through their legal and educational systems. This enabled larger 'imagined communities' to conceive of themselves as communities, despite the fact that they lacked face-to-face contact. The idea of shared nationhood, according to Anderson, became an alternative justification of political power.[24]

Rulers, players, and the media negotiate the terms of belonging and identity. Common concepts within this discourse include 'the imagined community', 'banal nationality', and 'invented traditions'. However, no matter how 'banal' or 'invented' that identity may be, it is at the same time so powerful and real that some opinion leaders have argued that international football matches sometimes involve a 'war minus the shooting'.[25] In the words of Calhoun, who phrased it differently: 'Nationalism gives shape to soccer loyalties and the Olympic Games, as well as to wars and economic competition'.[26] Therefore, the historical debates about citizenship, belonging, and identity and the emergence of the nation-state gather new significance and relevance in the context of (migrant) players at the FIFA World Cup.

FIFA Regulations Related to Eligibility Rules

FIFA was founded in 1904 with the main aim of organizing international football matches between countries. At that time, FIFA was instrumental in standardizing and globalizing the rules of the game. FIFA organized its first World Cup in Uruguay in 1930, though its regulations did not yet include rules regarding national eligibility. This indicates that regulations on nationality swapping were not yet considered a priority in international matches. Interestingly, it was legally and morally acceptable for the Argentine-born Italian Luis Monti to play the final between Argentina and Uruguay for Argentina and then, four years later, to play for Italy in the World Cup final.[27]

At the 33rd FIFA Congress in Santiago, Chile in 1962, FIFA attempted to end the era of unregulated nationality swapping. This was mainly the result of the case of the famous, world-leading player Alfredo di Stefano, who played six times with the Argentine national team and 31 times with the Spanish national team. Di Stefano also played four times for Colombia; however, the Colombian team at the time was not recognized by FIFA as the league had broken transfer rules in signing players while they were still under contract.[28] Nevertheless, his case encouraged FIFA to formulate rules and regulations regarding nationality swapping. The 1962 provisions included the following: (1) a player must be a naturalized citizen, according to the relevant country's laws, to be eligible to represent the country; (2) if a player has been included on a national team, he is ineligible to represent another country; and

(3) the only exceptions to these rules concern players whose nationality is affected by independence being given to a region or part of a country being ceded to another.[29]

These rules were amended and evolved in 2004 to address additional considerations. Players may only represent one Association in an official competition of any category and therefore may play an international match with another Association. If a player has more than one nationality, or if a player acquires a new nationality, a player may only once request a change of the Association for which he is eligible to play international matches and only if he has not played at the 'A' international level for his Association. In addition, a player who has already acquired eligibility to play for one Association but has another nationality imposed upon him by a government authority is also entitled to change associations. This provision is not subject to any age limits. [30]

This signifies that FIFA leaves the question of naturalization to its member nations. Nevertheless, once a player has participated in a competitive match as defined for one national team, he is not free to play for another national side in the absence of the special circumstances set forth in Section 3, which was designed to cover situations like the division of the former Soviet Union, Yugoslavia, and Czechoslovakia.[31] Despite these additional rulings, football players' connection with the national team they represent seems to be increasingly based on great-grandparental heritage, the player's loyalty to a football club in a national league (residency), or through marriage rather than the player's place of birth.[32]

Diasporic Teams: Italy in 1934 and Morocco in 2018

The word 'diaspora' is derived from the Greek verb *speiro* (to sow) and the preposition *dia* (over). Until the 1990s, it was generally used to refer to the often traumatic and collective dispersal of Jews, Armenians, and Africans around the globe and a heart-aching longing to return *home*. Since the 1990s, the word 'diaspora' has applied to almost any form of migration in which the transnational connection, including the 'myth of return', is still active.[33] The modern usage of the word 'diaspora' describes practically any population considered to be 'deterritorialized' or 'transnational' whose cultural origins are said to have arisen in a nation other than the one in which they currently reside and whose social, economic, and political networks cross nation-state borders and, indeed, span the entire globe.[34]

Diasporic national football teams are teams in which the mother country plays an active role in attracting overseas football players who are often born and raised in a foreign country but through (one of) their parents' descent still have ethnic or kinship connections with the motherland. These players are offered the opportunity to represent their mother countries, whereas they also might be eligible to play for their countries of birth. More often than not, they refer to themselves as existing 'in between' two worlds, as in the case of Moroccan players in the Netherlands who are referred to as hyphenated members of the community, i.e. 'Moroccan-Dutch' players. In this section, two examples of diasporic football teams in the history of the World Cup are presented: the Italian team of 1934 and the Moroccan team of 2018. In both cases, the mother country played an active role in recruiting players from its diaspora. During the second World Cup in 1934, the Italian team played with five

players born not in Italy but in Argentina and Brazil.[35] These players were the children of Italian migrants who left Italy and settled in South America. It was the Prime Minister of Italy and leader of the National Fascist Party, Benito Mussolini, who encouraged these players to defend the honour of the Italian nation even if they could have opted to play for Argentina or Brazil.[36] They were also referred to as 'oriundi' ('imported Italians') or, in a more familiar way, as 'diaspora Italians'.[37] One of those players, Luis Monti, played for Argentina in the 1930 final before playing for Italy in the 1934 final, which was allowed according to the rules at the time.[38]

These 'oriundi' were typical examples of the Italian diaspora—they spoke Italian and generally had two parents who were born in Italy. Initially, there was little public debate in Italy regarding these diaspora Italians, who were seen as 'our best, dearest flourishing youth, that knew how to hold the tricolour high abroad, in the name of Italy and Il Duce' (the Leader).[39] All of this changed after the 1936 Olympic football tournament, in which Italy was represented by amateur football players who had all been born in Italy and comprised a team that became Olympic champions. Thus, after 1936, the question arose as to whether Italy actually needed the so-called *oriundi* on its national team.[40] At the same time, debate emerged regarding whether Italian-born Jewish and Roma people, who had generally lived in Italy for many generations, were truly 'genuine' Italians. In other words, questions began to arise regarding who constituted the 'we' in the phrase 'we are Italians' and whether Jews and Roma, born and bred in Italy, should truly be considered 'real' Italians. It soon transpired that a large proportion of the Italian population did not think so, and, in this case, ethnic descent gained favour over place of birth.

The debate in Italy reflected the institutional opposition of the 1930 League of Nations' 'Convention on Certain Questions Relating to the Conflict of Nationality Laws'.[41] This convention followed the American historian and statesman George Bancroft's well-known hostile position towards dual citizenship, which expressed that one should 'as soon tolerate a man with two wives as a man with two countries'.[42] This debate continued into the twentieth and twenty-first centuries.

By 2018, most states around the world had accepted dual citizenship in one form or another.[43] However, the questions relating to loyalty and practicality that dual citizens may experience, such as military service, political participation in two countries, and taxation requirements, seem to outweigh the advantages that dual citizenship and diaspora politics entail, including influencing host-state politics, increased remittances, investments, and knowledge transfer.[44] For sports, this means that migrant-sending countries may profit from their talents in diaspora and from the talent development institutions in the host countries that these talents enjoy.

A prime example of a migrant-sending country that profited from development institutions in the host countries is Morocco and its football team at the 2018 World Cup. The Moroccan football federation began to actively reach out towards its European diaspora in 2014 in a campaign headlined 'Bring back talents belonging to the soil'.[45] The national coach and his assistants actively approached successful Moroccan players who played in the highest ranks of the Western European competitions. These players held citizenship for their country of birth (France, Belgium, the Netherlands) and their parents' country of origin (Morocco). They were requested to play for the Moroccan national team instead of the national team of the

host country. More often than not, the coaches of the host countries approached players with the same request. In the case of the Dutch-Morrocan talent Mohamed Ihattaren, Moroccan officials paid for the funeral of his father, including the return of his body to Morocco, in order to convince him to play for Morocco. Dutch national coach Ronald Koeman even suggested that the Moroccan officials might be willing to pay him welcoming money if he decided to play for Morocco.[46] Nevertheless, Ihattaren ultimately chose to play for the Netherlands. However, another talent, Hakim Ziyech, chose to play for Morocco.[47] These examples demonstrate how players are put into positions of having to choose between two countries as well as that coaches and other officials are actively involved in attracting talents to choose their side. The Moroccan campaign eventually resulted in Morocco's qualification for the World Cup in 2018, with a team in which 17 out of 23 players were foreign-born. Eight out of 23 players were born and raised in France, five were born in the Netherlands, two were born in Spain, and the final two players in the selection were born in Canada and Belgium. Only six players were born in Morocco, of which three were eligible to play for another country. Twenty out of 23 players had dual citizenship and could have played for another country.[48]

Due to FIFA's rules (see above), all of these players were required to choose one country to represent and were not allowed to switch allegiances. This often meant that they were forced to choose between the country of their (grand)parents' origin and the country in which they were born. These choices often involved issues of loyalty and commitment but also opportunities for playing time and future selection:

> Some players chose Morocco over their European homeland only after much agonising. Southampton's Paris-born midfielder Sofiane Boufal compared it with 'choosing between my mother and father'. Initially, he publicly hesitated to commit to Morocco. 'Les Bleus [the French national team] is one of my objectives', he said in 2015. That earned him abuse in Morocco. In 2016, he finally debuted for the Atlas Lions. Still, he says, 'I won't forget what France gave me. It helped me grow up, it welcomed my parents'.[49]

The composition of the Moroccan selection involved a diversity of languages, such as Arabic, Spanish, French, and Dutch. Though no one had been born in an English-speaking country, English was used by the French, Spanish, Belgian, and Dutch Moroccans who did not speak Arabic. Therefore, the team had no dominant culture or language group, and everyone was a minority. At the same time, the team represented Morocco and the Moroccan diaspora in Europe. Financial Times correspondent Simon Kuper labelled this team a 'team of Europeans', despite the fact that its official nickname was 'the Lions of the Atlas'.[50]

In the case of Morocco, the Moroccan diaspora in France and the Netherlands has profited from a more modern and advanced football infrastructure in terms of scouting young talents, youth football programmes, and training facilities as compared to those in Morocco. Thus, it is unsurprising that most football players who represented Morocco in 2018 were foreign-born and learned the tricks of the game in a foreign country.[51] In the case of Italy, it is not clear whether there was a decisive difference between sports infrastructures in the 1930s, and it is more plausible that they simply wished to attract players from a larger talent pool.[52] Ultimately, native-born Italians began to protest against the principle of importing players and wished to favour native-

born Italians.[53] As yet, this debate has not emerged to the same extent in Morocco, but it is reasonable to assume, given the opportunistic character of the sports industry, that if Morocco's team performance deteriorates, the public request for native-born players may rise, as in Italy in the 1930s.

Within diaspora literature, the myth of returning to one's homeland is grounded in a strong ethnic consciousness of migrants abroad, which may have prevented them from assimilating into local society and enticed them to continue speaking their mother tongue at home. Usually, there is a sense of empathy and solidarity with similar groups elsewhere in the world and/or with events and groups in one's homeland. This applies to the Italian diaspora in Argentina but not so much to the Moroccan diaspora team. Nevertheless, English became the colloquial language spoken amongst the team as most team members did not speak Arabic. At the same time, however, identification with this team within the Moroccan diaspora is very strong.

Expanding and Dissolving States: Germany in 1938 and Yugoslavia in 1990

The outcome of wars in which nationalistic sentiments prevail are key examples in which the rhetoric of unity, uniformity, membership, inclusion, exclusion, etc., shapes the debate of 'national identity' and what it is to be patriotic. Representing the (new) national football team, and thus switching nationality, after such wars exemplifies this from the perspective of both the state as well as the player. Players wish to perform at the highest possible level, including the World Cup and state, and the national Football Federation wishes to perform with the best possible team. In fact, this means that two principles of belonging are related, overlap, and, at the same time, are in conflict with each other. The first principle is citizenship, defined as the formal membership of a state. The second is 'nationhood', defined as the membership of a 'nation' or a cultural/ethnic group, delineated as a cultural and ethnic homogeneous group of people who share a common language, religion, history, and values. These two principles overlap in the term 'nationality', which sometimes may refer to citizenship and sometimes to membership of a group.[54] Therefore, expanding and dissolving states are key examples to elucidate this conflict and its consequence in the context of football and national identity.

This section presents two cases of nationality shifts in national football teams resulting from an expanding state (Nazi-Germany) and a disappearing, or dissolving, state (former Yugoslavia). In Nazi-Germany, leadership claimed that Germans and Austrians belonged to a similar 'nation' or cultural/ethnic group in terms of a shared common language, religion, history, and values. In the case of Yugoslavia, it was claimed that Yugoslavia was never a nation-state and that the differences between the regions and groups were more important than the unifying principles. In both cases, football players could no longer play for their national teams (Austria and Yugoslavia) and needed to negotiate new realities. Austrian national football players became eligible to play for Germany in the World Cup of 1938. Players of the national team of former Yugoslavia could eventually choose to represent new countries, such as Croatia, Bosnia, or Serbia, or, at times, to play for countries to which they fled and by which they were

adopted (for example, Switzerland). The borders between Germany and Austria were restored after the Second World War. Yugoslavia, however, ceased to exist, which meant that children of parents of former Yugoslavian descent could often choose to play for their country of birth or the newly emerged countries.

By 1938, Austria had been excluded from internal German affairs for more than fifty years since the Peace of Prague agreement that concluded the Austro-Prussian War of 1866. The Austro-Hungarian Empire split in 1918, and that year, German Austria was declared a republic. Nevertheless, many people in Austria (and Germany), especially in the border provinces of Tyrol and Salzburg, were in favour of unification with the German (i.e. Weimar) Republic.[55] The Treaty of Versailles and the Treaty of Saint-Germain (both signed in 1919), however, explicitly prohibited the political inclusion of Austria in the German state. European countries including Italy, France, and the United Kingdom opposed Germany's so called 'Anschluss' and 'Heim ins Reich' aspirations. Heim ins Reich was a political slogan of the German National Socialists. The slogan meant that ethnic Germans should live in Germany, so areas with Germans should join Germany (such as Austria and Sudetenland) or Germans from other countries should come to Germany (such as Baltic Germans or Germans from the Balkans). Literally, it meant that every German-speaking person's home should be in the German Empire.[56]

Meanwhile, the two different states developed separately, including in the context of football. In the 1920s and '30 s, Germany and Austria's national football teams developed in two separate ways. The Austrian team became known as the *Wunderteam*, beating Scotland 5-0 and demolishing Germany 6-0 in the early 1930s. In those days, Vienna was a synonym for idealized virtues and arts like ballet and music. The Austrian football team was creative, flexible, and organic, whereas the style of football played by the German team was viewed as an army-like machine.[57]

On March 12, 1938, German troops occupied Austria, the reason for which, according to Hitler, was because the head of the Austrian government, Arthur Seyss-Inquart, had asked him to 'take the country back to the Reich'. One month later, a propaganda football match between Austria and Germany was scheduled to support and emphasize the long friendship between the nations. The match was supposed to end in a draw. Austria was called the 'Ostmark team' as a reference to the coinage of the country. Matthias Sindelar was the most talented and popular player. He was one of the few who did not eventually play for Germany after the Anschluss:

> The stadium was decorated all over with swastika flags, and all available prominent party members were present. Certain information indicates that the game was supposed to end in a tie, but the team of the Ostmark, wearing red-white-red uniforms at Matthias Sindelar's request, won 2-0. After the second goal, Sindelar ran to the stand where all the Nazi big shots were sitting and performed a dance of joy.[58]

Both Austria and Germany had qualified for the World Cup in 1938 in France. After the Anschluss, however, the Austrian FA decided to withdraw from the tournament and to dissolve. Furthermore, Hitler— who had no particular interest in football—ordered that the new German team should consist of players from both the German and former Austrian teams in a ratio of 5:6 or 6:5.[59] This meant that five or six players fielded should come from the former Austrian team. By then, it was clear

to the manager, Sepp Herberger, that the two camps hated each other.[60] Matthias Sindelar announced that he was not available for the 1938 World Cup due to an injury, and he was the only Austrian who refused to play for the German team. He and his girlfriend were found dead at their apartment in Vienna in 1939; it remains unclear whether the Nazis ordered their death.[61] Overall, nine out of 23 players representing Germany at the 1938 World Cup had previously played for Austria.[62] Many players ended their careers in the early 1940s. Others had to serve in the army and did not survive the Second World War. Some were lucky, like Wilhelm Hahnemann, who played for Austria in 1936 and for Germany between 1938 and 1941 and was then selected for the Austrian team in 1949.[63]

Nazi Germany represents a historic example of ethnic citizenship and occupation creating a new national football team. The former country of Yugoslavia offers an even more complex exemplar. It is sometimes argued that Yugoslavia existed as a country twice but fell apart both times, mostly due to ethnic differences and political discord amongst its populations.[64] The first time the country came into being was in 1918 as Serbia, Croatia, and Slovenia joined forces and established the 'Kingdom of Serbs, Croats, and Slovenes', which was renamed the Kingdom of Yugoslavia in 1929. The Kingdom did not exist for long before it was attacked by both Nazi Germany and fascist Italy in 1941. The post-war development of Yugoslavia as a socialist state under communist ruler Tito is viewed as the 'second' Yugoslavia. In these early years, Tito implemented several economic policies and established a constitutional principle that was designed to create absolute equality among all peoples and republics within Yugoslavia.[65] As a result, Slovenia and Croatia declared their independence in 1991, while Bosnia and Herzegovina declared independence in 1992. The republics of Serbia and Montenegro established a federation together in 1992 that became known, until 2003, as the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia.

At the 1990 World Cup, all the players who represented Yugoslavia were born in the country. Most players (seven out 21) were born in what became Croatia. This relation between birth and representation would soon weaken. Due to the 1991 war, the Yugoslav team was eventually banned from the 1992 European Championship and 1994 World Cup. In 1998, however, Croatia and the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia were both represented. Croatia recruited two players who were born in Germany (Vladimir Vasilj and Robert Prosinečki). In 2002, they enticed and recruited a further four German-born players and two Austrian-born players, although they became renowned for the one player that they were unable to engage, Zlatan Ibrahimović, who would play his first match for Sweden in 2001. Ibrahimović was born in 1981 in Malmö, Sweden as the child of an Albanian and Croatian mother and a Bosnian father; therefore, he could have represented the national teams of Croatia, Albania, or Bosnia and Herzegovina due to his parents' heritage. Overall, 50 per cent of the players of Yugoslavian descent, like Ibrahimović, chose to represent their country of birth and not the newly created countries in former Yugoslavia.[66] In Ibrahimović's case, choosing Sweden helped him avoid a difficult choice between his mother's countries (Albania, Croatia) and that of his father (Bosnia). Some countries were flexible in accepting (children of) Yugoslavian refugees. For example, in 2010, Switzerland selected four players who could have also played for Kosovo, Albania, or Serbia.

The cases of Germany and Yugoslavia demonstrate that borders are flexible and not fixed. The case of Germany showed that most players, with the exception of Sindelar, played for the new expanded state. In fact, it had become part of a large unification project which established that at least five players from former Austria should be fielded in a national match. In this rather extreme case, the state was heavily involved in composing the new national team. There is partial physical evidence regarding whether players were forced to play for the new team or refused to do so, and when they did refuse, as in the case of Sindelar, it is unclear whether they refused for political or other reasons. In the case of Yugoslavia, new emerging ethnic states like Croatia and Bosnia had limited success in attracting foreign-born ethnic football players to play for their national teams. There was a strong tendency for players with former Yugoslavian heritage to choose their country of birth. In some cases, such as that of Zlatan Ibrahimović, this was partly due to the fact that a player did not what to choose between his mother's and his father's countries. Therefore, the German (expanding) state and Yugoslavian (dissolving) state provide us with a continuum of examples from the history of World Cup player recruitment in which players and states responded to ethnic, civic, and national identities.

Colonial States and Post-Colonial Realities: Portugal in 1966 and France in 2018

Whereas German nationalists demanded a strong German State encompassing all ethnic Germans in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, the annexation of colonies by European countries did not lead to the extension of full citizenship to non-European populations. Nevertheless, empires were not neatly divided between the metropole and the colony. In France, for example, inhabitants of old colonies such as Martinique and Reunion had been considered French citizens since 1848, including freed slaves. The majority of the inhabitants of Northern African colonies like Algeria, however, were considered to be 'subjects'.[67] The opportunities afforded by colonialism were creatively exploited by colonial football talents as well as by the mother countries. Talented players in the colonial periphery strived to play football at the centre of the empire, whereas the authorities of the empires included these talents on their national teams to improve their chances at the World Cup. On the one hand, this reflected imperial integration, pride, and territorial unity, while on the other, it provoked racial stereotypes and debates over 'national belonging'.[68] Portugal offers an example of players from a colony being incorporated into the national team of the mother country during the colonial era, whereas France offers an example where (children of) colonial migrants emerged in the French national team and therefore became a visible part of the French identity.

In the 1950s, the Portuguese dictator António de Oliveira Salazar wanted to show that the civilization missions in the colonies were a success, as demonstrated by the introduction of colonial football talents into the national league and team.[69] At that time, Portugal lost 5-1 to arch-rival Spain and 9-1 to Austria. In Salazar's eyes, drastic changes were necessary, and incorporating colonial talent into the national

team was a successful formula for him to bind the nation by incorporating colonial talent and increasing the chances of winning.

Ultimately, four players from Mozambique were selected to play for Portugal at the World Cup in 1966. The best-known player was Eusébio da Silva Ferreira, also known as 'Eusébio', the 'Black Panther', or 'Eusébio, the black pearl' (Eusebio 1967).[70] He became the top scorer of that tournament, and Portugal eventually finished third. After Portugal's success during the 1966 World Cup, Eusébio received a lucrative offer from a top Italian club, but the Portuguese dictator declared Eusébio a 'national treasure' that could not be sold. Eusébio himself would later declare that he was the *de facto* slave of Salazar and was completely dependent on him for his passport and travels.[71] This reveals another exceptional perspective on the relation among state, citizenship, and nationality.

Another team that took advantage of (former) colonial relations was the French national team. The French squads of the World Champions of 1998 and 2018 are considered to be among the most diverse teams to play in the World Cup. In both years, more than 50 percent of the players had at least one parent who was not born in France. At the same time, however, only two players each year were foreign-born. These teams reflected colonial France and the France of labour migration. France's 'assimilation policies' practiced in its colonies in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries are well known. In contrast with British imperial policy, France assured its subjects that, by adopting the French language and culture, they could eventually become French citizens. Colonies such as Senegal, Morocco, and Algiers, where Africans were afforded the rights of French citizens, were examples of these developments. Some scholars have described this practice as 'Greater France',[72] whereas others have interpreted it as France's practice of 'expropriating African footballers'.[73]

Migration, diversity, and national identity became the heart of the public debate and popular culture, as exemplified in the documentary 'Les Blues' (in 2010). 'Black, blanc, beur' ('black, white, Arab') was a major theme in the film and became the slogan for the national team, which was not just 'diverse' but, particularly post-colonial.[74] This is especially evident in the case of Christian Karembeu. Born in New Caledonia (in Melanesia) in 1970, Karembeu arrived in France at the age of 12 and eventually played for the French team in 1992, going on to become a world champion in 1998. Meanwhile, French novelist Didier Daeninckx discovered that Karembeu's paternal great grandfather was photographed at the 1931 Paris Colonial Exhibition as part of the human zoo that celebrated the French Empire.[75] Contrastingly, the Karembeu of the colonial era had been exhibited to highlight the prestige of the empire, whereas the post-colonial Karembeu was despised by French nationalists like Jean-Marie Le Pen, the right-wing politician who served as President of the National Front from 1972 to 2011. Le Pen suggested that Karembeu and other French players of colour did not sing the national anthem as a sign of their lack of loyalty and because they did not know the words. Karembeu, however, would later explain that he would not sing the anthem because 'I know the history of my people', referring to the 1931 exhibition and the armed uprising against the French in the 1970s.[76] In 2010, Jean-Marie Le Pen's daughter, Marine Le Pen, assumed leadership of her father's right-wing party and also spoke out about the French selection after

the dramatic world cup of that year. She argued that France's poor performance in the competition was the consequence of diversity. Former player and national team coach Laurent Blanc came under fire in 2011 after his statements were leaked suggesting possible consideration of the idea to set a 'non-white players quota' for the French team. Such a quota would ensure that the share of 'white French' would, in any case, remain represented in the French selection.[77]

In 2018, a popular South African comedian on American television, Trevor Noah, mused whether the French team, which, at the time, was the World Champion, was 'really' a French team. He pushed the idea of identification in yet another direction. In the well-known US series, The Daily Show, he congratulated the *African* team on winning the world championship, cheering in the studio, 'Africa has won, Africa is world champion. I know that France has won, but I also recognize my African brother in the French team'.[78] He explained that the African background of the players on the French national team made it possible for many African fans to identify with France. His performance was strongly criticized by the French ambassador to the United States, Gérard Araud. According to Araud, Noah had deprived the French team of French identity by referring to their African descent. In his letter, the ambassador emphasized that the rich and varied background of the French team reflects the diversity of France, to which Noah replied, 'I don't want to be cheeky, but these people are not randomly selected. It seems more like a reflection of the colonial past of France'.[79]

The Portuguese and French cases offer two different incidences of incorporating (descendants of) colonial subjects in the national team. In the case of Portugal, it became clear that the Portuguese dictator Salazar allowed colonial football talent in the national team to strengthen it and to emphasize the civilization mission of the Portuguese. The players, most notably Eusebia, were seen by Salazar as a 'national treasure', whereas Eusebio himself emphasized the fact that he was entirely dependent on Salazar in respect to his travels and passport. The case of France showed that the multicultural teams of 1998 and 2018 were welcomed and celebrated as a 'unity in diversity', but there were sentiments from right-wing leaders as well, who wished to promote an all-white national team. At the same time, some football lovers from African countries could easily identify with the French team due to the African heritage of many of the players.

The Future of the World Cup

The relation between national belonging, citizenship, and migration is multifaceted. Sport and the history of sport present a unique mirror to unravel some of the complexities of this relation. The history of the World Cup between 1930 and 2018 and its changing institutional settings has proved to be a good starting point. First, the formal state rules of belonging in terms of *jus soli* or *jus sanguinis* overlap in a complex way with FIFA's changing rules. Second, the more accepted, foreign-born approach of counting the representation of migrants overlooks the importance of classification in terms of 'colonial', 'post-colonial', and diaspora players in the face of a changing international order and colonial relationships, for example, expanding and

dissolving states. These qualifications do sometimes overlap. Moroccan players in France belong to the colonial diaspora, whereas Moroccan players in the Netherlands are part of the labour diaspora.

Nevertheless, the proposed categorization in three overlapping historical realities may help us to understand the historical complexities of migration, citizenship, and national identity from a historical contextual perspective. Diaspora teams, expanding and dissolving states, and colonial and post-colonial realities all illustrate the complexities of 'national belonging' and 'national identity' from a historical and sports (football) perspective. In the near future, two interrelated developments that will change the face of national representation at the World Cup are expected.

First, countries like Spain, France, Italy, the United Kingdom, and Germany will become increasingly flexible towards *jus nexi* players, as in the example of Spain and Diego Costa. As the best and brightest young players are now selected during the top five European competitions, these countries will profit from an influx of foreign talent incorporated (or 'nationalized') into their national teams. The host of the 2022 World Cup, Qatar, is capitalizing on the same principle. It has established the controversial 'Aspire Academy', among other initiatives, to attract young African football players. These players will—after having earned a contract for five years—be eligible to play for Qatar, just as Costa was eligible to play for Spain, although the battle with FIFA on this issue continues.[80]

Second, coaches will increasingly seek talent using players' *jus sanguinis* and *jus soli* connections, as seen in the Moroccan football federation's strategy. In doing so, they increase their talent pool, which, in turn, profits from the better training and educational institutions at the centre. This will ensure that Morocco becomes a stronger team, especially in relation to other teams in Africa that will not attract football players from its diaspora. However, this increased strength will be ineffective against the power of the European national teams. Most diaspora players and descendants of colonial migrants—if pushed to make a choice between their country of birth and the country of their parents—will inevitably choose the country with the highest ranking unless they expect not to be selected for that team.[81]

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