Choosing sides

CITIZENSHIP OPTIONS AND NATIONAL ELIGIBILITY CRITERIA FOR FOOTBALL PLAYERS OF YUGOSLAV DESCENT

Bregje de Jong – 509310 – 509310bj@student.eur.nl

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Erasmus School of History, Culture and Communication – Erasmus University Rotterdam

Supervisor: Prof. Dr. G. Oonk

Second reader: Dr. C.L.A. Willemse

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Bregje de Jong

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List of Abbreviations

EU	European Union
FIFA	International Federation of Association Football
FRY	Federal Republic of Yugoslavia
FYROM	Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia
IOC	International Olympic Committee
NATO	North Atlantic Treaty Organisation
SFRY	Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia
TPS	Temporary Protection Status
UEFA	Union of European Football Associations
UN	United Nations
USSR	Union of Soviet Socialist Republics

1. Introduction

1.1. Presentation and relevance of topic

In 2016, Zlatan Ibrahimović played his last game for the Swedish national football team. After 116 caps and 62 goals for Sweden, Ibrahimović's international football career found its end during the European Championships of 2016.[1] Throughout 15 years of playing for the Swedish national team, Ibrahimović grew out to be one of the country's biggest icons. He became the team captain and was proclaimed Swedish Footballer of the Year ten years in a row.[2] Having starred in several commercials by the Swedish automobile manufacturer Volvo Cars,[3] there is no denying that Zlatan Ibrahimović has become a well-known Swedish personality, celebrity, and citizen.[4]

The latter is not as obvious as it may seem. Ibrahimović was born in 1981, in Malmö, Sweden, as a child of an Albanian and Croatian mother and a Bosnian father. His parents were immigrants from former Yugoslavia who worked hard to make ends meet in the immigrant area Rosengård.[5] In his autobiography, Ibrahimović explains that the immigrants in this area felt as if they did not fit into Swedish society, because they were living on a literal and figurative edge of the city of Malmö.[6] Nevertheless, Ibrahimović has turned into a Swedish icon and he has had a very successful career as a Swedish international football player. Despite this, he would have also been able to represent the national teams of either Albania, Bosnia and Herzegovina or even Croatia, because of his parents' backgrounds. What reason(s) did Ibrahimović have for choosing the Swedish national team over one of the national teams of the countries in which his parents were born?

The Yugoslav diaspora is widespread throughout Europe and overseas which is mainly due to three long waves of international migration from the Yugoslav region: "international migration from the Yugoslav region before the Second World War; labour migration from socialist Yugoslavia between 1945 and 1990; and the forced population displacements

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[1] Amy Lawrence, "Zlatan Ibrahimović bows out as Sweden are ushered to exit by Belgium," *The Guardian,* June 22, 2016, https://www.theguardian.com/football/2016/jun/22/sweden-belgium-euro-2016-match-report.

[2] Thomas Bristow, "Zlatan Ibrahimovic's 10-year Swedish player of the year trophy record is ended… by a former Wigan flop!" *Mirror,* November 21, 2017, https://www.mirror.co.uk/sport/football/news/zlatan-ibrahimovics-10-year-swedish-11556996.

[3] "Made by Sweden feat. Zlatan. Volvo Cars," Forsman & Bodenfors, accessed February 19, 2019, https://forsman.co/work/volvo/made-by-sweden.

[4] Rolien Créton, "Afscheid Zlatan valt Zweden zwaar," *NOS,* June 23, 2016, https://nos.nl/artikel/2112979-afscheid-zlatan-valt-zweden-zwaar.html.

[5] Kevin Baxter, "How a difficult childhood helped create Zlatan Ibrahimovićć the soccer god," *Los Angeles Times,* April 8, 2018, https://www.latimes.com/sports/soccer/la-sp-galaxy-ibrahimovic-20180407-story.html.

[6] Zlatan Ibrahimović and David Lagercrantz, *Ik, Zlatan.* (Amsterdam: Ambo|Anthos uitgevers, 2012), 23.

following ethno-national clashes in the post-cold war era and the break out of civil war in 1991."[7] With the settlement of migrants and refugees in different countries, the notion of citizenship arises. There are several legal ways in which people can obtain citizenship which vary per country. Those legal ways are generally based on birth right (*ius soli*) and parentage (*ius sanguinis*), which makes it close to impossible for immigrants or refugees to obtain citizenship in the 'new' country this way.[8] If immigrants wish to obtain citizenship, they could, for example, try on the basis of a certain period of residency (*ius nexi*) which could result in a legal process of naturalisation.[9]

The offspring of migrants and refugees, however, often have the possibility of obtaining or possessing citizenship in more than one country, based on birth right and descent – provided they are born in the 'new' country of residence. This means that those children may find themselves in a position in which they can hold dual or plural citizenship, namely of the country in which they were born themselves as well as of their parents' country of origin. Yet, the rules and regulations on the possession of dual citizenship vary per country. Some states allow their subjects to hold dual citizenship whilst other states make citizens choose between two – or more – different nationalities.[10]

What is specifically notable about the case of former Yugoslavia is that the country that was deserted by many migrants and refugees has never been the same again after the Yugoslav wars of dissolution. Commencing in 1991, several republics of Yugoslavia declared their independence to the federal state. As a result, Yugoslavia disintegrated, and the former republics emerged as independent countries. As for the matter of citizenship, complications have risen for migrants and refugees from the Yugoslav area as well as for their descendants. In the past, one might have been considered to have a 'Yugoslav' background, whereas it is nowadays concretely specified into, for example Serbian, Slovenian or Croatian. Therefore, the emergence of post-Yugoslav states means that descendants of Yugoslav people could have more than one citizenship option if, for instance, both parents come from different parts of former Yugoslavia.

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[7] Carl-Ulrik Schierup, "Former Yugoslavia: Long Waves of International Migration," in *The Cambridge Survey of World Migration*, ed. Robin Cohen (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995), 285.

[8] Ayelet Shachar, "Citizenship," in *The Oxford Handbook of Comparative Constitutional Law*, eds. Michel Rosenfeld and Adrás Sajó (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2018), 5-8.

[9] Ayelet Shachar, "Earned Citizenship: Property Lessons for Immigration Reform," *Yale Journal of Law and the Humanities* 23 (2011), 116.

[10] Frederick Cooper, *Citizenship, inequality and difference.* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2018), 10.

This research aims at explaining the citizenship choices that children of migrants and refugees of former Yugoslavia make, but from the perspective of professional football players. Football players – such as Zlatan Ibrahimović – who make it to the national squad and who have multiple citizenship options, must consider those options and make a lasting and irreversible football nationality decision at one point in their career.[11] The decision is irreversible because the International Federation of Association Football (FIFA) has formulated a rule that restrains football players from switching national teams.[12] FIFA is the governing body of football worldwide and the organisation is responsible for the biggest international football tournament, the FIFA World Cup.[13] FIFA was founded in 1904 and the first World Cup took place in 1930.[14] The tournament now takes place every four years and different cities have been hosting the competition in which 32 national teams have participated each edition since 1998.[15] As the organisation as well as interest towards international football tournaments was growing during the course of the past century, FIFA had to sharpen its rules and regulations in order to establish and maintain a fair international football climate. The specific rule that is important for this thesis, is as follows: "If a player has more than one nationality, or if a player acquires a new nationality, or if a player is eligible to play for several representative teams due to nationality, he may, only once, request to change the association for which he is eligible to play international matches to the association of another country of which he holds nationality [....]."[16] Considering this, a player is allowed to change associations as long as the player has not yet played an official match for his current association.[17] In other words, the decision is permanent because players cannot switch national teams after they have been awarded a cap and therefore have made their official appearance in one certain team. This, however, does not count towards official matches played with the under-21 teams, provided the player already held dual citizenship.[18]

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[11] Citizenship in this case, is the civic form of legal membership of a state as opposed to, for instance, ethnic citizenship which points towards membership of a particular ethnic group. From: Redie Bereketeab, "The Ethnic and Civic Foundations of Citizenship and Identity in the Horn of Africa," *Studies in Ethnicity and Nationalism* 11, no. 1 (2011). The focus on civic citizenship is explained further in the second chapter of this thesis.

[12] Branko Milanović, "Globalization and goals: does soccer show the way?" *Review of International Political Economy* 12, no. 5 (2005).

[13] "Who We Are," FIFA, accessed November 24, 2018, https://www.fifa.com/about-fifa/who-we-are/.

[14] "History of FIFA – The first FIFA World Cup™," FIFA, accessed February 13, 2019, https://www.fifa.com/about-fifa/who-we-are/history/first-fifa-world-cup.html#.

[15] FIFA, "Who We Are."

[16] "FIFA Statutes: August 2018 edition," FIFA, accessed February 18, 2019, https://resources.fifa.com/image/upload/the-fifa-statutes-2018.pdf?cloudid=whhncbdzio03cuhmwfxa.

[17] Ibid.

[18] Jack Bell, "Rules Change May Allow German to Play for U.S.," *The New York Times*, June 16, 2009, https://www.nytimes.com/2009/06/16/sports/soccer/16goal.html.

This irreversibility makes football players an interesting case as opposed to sportsmen- and women that for example participate in the Olympic Games. Those sportsmen- and women are – under certain circumstances – able to change national sports associations, a phenomenon that has received attention by many scholars.[19] For football players, on the other hand, it is not an option to switch national associations and despite this permanent nature of the national team choice and the fact that football players must choose sides if they want to participate in the highest possible level, the topic has not received a considerable amount of scholarly attention. Nonetheless, as football nationality choices of professional footballers are often in the media's spotlight and are likely to receive ample publicity, it is possible to dive into these high-profile decisions. This could namely result in the publication of nationality choices through interviews held for the benefit of news articles or television.

1.2. Research question

Zlatan Ibrahimović has successfully been a part of the Swedish national team during a period of 15 years.[20] Other football players of Yugoslav descent have chosen to represent a post-Yugoslav country, even though they were born, raised and educated in other countries.[21] Examples are Aleksandar Prijović, Miloš Veljković, and Ivan Rakitić: all born and raised in Switzerland, but the first two chose to represent Serbia and the latter joined the Croatian national team. The question is if football players are eligible to choose more than one country – which, in this thesis' case, they do – which decision they would make and why. Football players of Yugoslav descent are the main actors in this research and the focus is on the accountability of their football nationality choices. Accordingly, the following research question has been formulated: *Which guiding factors explain football nationality choices of football players of Yugoslav descent, 1992-2018?*

Multiple aspects of this research question need clarification. What is football nationality? How is Yugoslav descent defined? Why is the timeframe set from 1992 until 2018? What is meant by guiding factors?

Firstly, football nationality is the nation a football player represents. This means that a football player is a member of the country's national team as well as a legal citizen of the

[19] Ayelet Shachar, "Picking Winners: Olympic Citizenship and the Global Race for Talent," *Immigration and Nationality Law Review* 32 (2011), 550-551.

[20] Lawrence, "Zlatan."

[21] Lorenzo Piccoli and Jelena Džankić, "Square pass(ports): football and citizenship in the 2018 World Cup," *GLOBALCIT*, July 12, 2018, http://globalcit.eu/square-passports-football-and-citizenship-in-the-2018-world-cup/.

political community. In this thesis, football players are of Yugoslav descent, which means that they have roots in post-Yugoslav countries. Due to their parents' migration or refuge abroad, the players were born in a 'new' country which provides them with several citizenship options. Next to that, based on the national eligibility criteria formulated by FIFA, football players of Yugoslav descent could have even more options in their football nationality choice. FIFA's rules and regulations namely, allow players to represent not only the country in which they were born, but also the countries in which their parents or grandparents were born.[22] Descent is therefore traced back to grandparents.

The above-mentioned three long waves of international migration from the Yugoslav region already commenced before the Second World War but what is more relevant is the disintegration of the Yugoslav state that started in 1991.[23] The dissolution can be considered a turning point in Yugoslav and European history, because the country changed for good. Different republics started declaring their independence from the Yugoslav federal regime in 1991 which consequently brought about more social and political unrest in certain areas.[24] The 1990 FIFA World Cup was the last big tournament in which former Yugoslavia as a country participated. After the disintegration of the state, other national teams started developing separately from Yugoslavia such as Croatia and Slovenia and the national football associations became members of the international football federations individually.[25] In 1992, the UEFA European Championships took place in Sweden. The Union of European Football Associations (UEFA) is responsible for organising the UEFA Champions League, the biggest international tournament for clubs in and around Europe, but also the UEFA Euro, the European Championships.[26] The Yugoslav national team still consisted of Bosnian, Croatian, Montenegrin, Serbian and Slovenian players during the qualification matches for the 1992 UEFA Euro.[27] The qualifications went well for the Yugoslav team and it would have participated in the 1992 European championships, had it not been for an imposed ban from that tournament by FIFA and the United Nations (UN) as a part of sanctions against the Belgrade

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[22] Michael Holmes and David Storey, "Transferring national allegiance: cultural affinity or flag of convenience?" *Sport in Society* 14, no. 2 (March 2011), 255.

[23] "Burgeroorlog en uiteenvallen Joegoslavië," NOS, last modified May 26, 2011, https://nos.nl/video/243531-burgeroorlog-en-uiteenvallen-joegoslavie.html.

[24] Ibid.

[25] "Croatia keeping up appearances," UEFA, last modified July 11, 2018, https://www.uefa.com/insideuefa/member-associations/association=cro/index.html.

[26] "About," UEFA, last modified April 19, 2018, https://www.uefa.com/insideuefa/about-uefa/.

[27] Onur Bilgic, "How history defeated a great era of Yugoslav national team talent," *These Football Times,* October 12, 2017, https://thesefootballtimes.co/2017/10/12/how-history-defeated-a-great-era-of-yugoslav-national-team-talent/.

government war acts that had been going on in the Yugoslav wars.[28] The Yugoslav country – and with that, its national team – started falling apart in 1991. The 1992 UEFA Euro was the first tournament in which the Yugoslav team no longer consisted of players from the entire Yugoslav region. The team could not participate, and it was broken up, which hence meant that football players could no longer represent the national team of Yugoslavia. Should those players have chosen to represent other teams however, because of their potential citizenship options, they are likely to have participated in those big tournaments, starting in 1992. The ending point of 2018 is chosen in this thesis because this is the year in which the FIFA World Cup in Russia took place. This will provide the most recent data. Hence the timeframe contains the following relevant tournaments:

- UEFA European Championships 1992, 1996, 2000, 2004, 2008, 2012 and 2016;
- FIFA World Championships 1994, 1998, 2002, 2006, 2010, 2014 and 2018.

Using these UEFA and FIFA tournaments as focal points, information about the participation of teams and their players can be provided. This way, it can be ascertained that football players have indeed represented a national team and played official matches.

The guiding factors that determine the football nationality choices of football players of Yugoslav descent may vary. A guiding factor is the main reason a football player mentions which made him choose one national team over another. Examples of these factors are: financial incentives, chances of playtime, chances of team success and a feeling of belonging or pride. These factors are categorised and thoroughly discussed in the theoretical – second – chapter of this thesis.

When coming back to the case of Zlatan Ibrahimović, not many explanations have been given by the football player himself and hence, it remains somewhat unclear why he has chosen to represent Sweden whilst he could have also represented Bosnia and Herzegovina, Albania, and Croatia. In his biographical book, he does not specifically explain why he chose Sweden over the other two options. He mentions, however, that at the beginning of his international career for Sweden: "I wanted to be loved. I wanted to be a part of it […]."[29] About his background, Ibrahimović explains the following on his social media account: "I came from this place people call 'ghetto Rosengård', conquered Sweden and made it my country. My way. I

[28] Paul Lewis, "U.N. votes 13-0 for embargo on trade with Yugoslavia; air travel and oil curbel," *The New York Times*, May 31, 1992, https://www.nytimes.com/1992/05/31/world/un-votes-13-0-for-embargo-on-trade-with-yugoslavia-air-travel-and-oil-curbed.html.

[29] Freely translated from Ibrahimović and Lagercrantz, *Ik, Zlatan*, 91.

am Sweden."[30] Growing up, Ibrahimović appears not to have felt at home in Sweden, but throughout the course of his life he turned this around and now, he does feel Swedish. Besides that, it has been argued that his parents' relationship has had an influence on Ibrahimović's national team choice. His parents allegedly did not have a peaceful relationship and split up when Ibrahimović was two years old, which led to Ibrahimović joining the Swedish team because he did not want to choose between either of his parents' native countries.[31] Despite this, others argue that Ibrahimović has in fact opted to play for Croatia as well as Bosnia and Herzegovina on the eve of his international career. Croatia, however, was not an option since a "Swedish born child of Bosnian-Muslim and Croatian-Catholic with some Albanian blood did not fit in with Franjo Tuđman's vision of a pure Croatian race."[32] Tuđman was Croatia's president during and after Croatia's independence declaration to former Yugoslavia. This shows the political side of Croatian nationalism that allegedly affected athletes. In addition to that, after Ibrahimović's parents divorced, he lived with his Bosnian father which caused for him to focus on representing Bosnia and Herzegovina. This however, resulted in the Bosnian national team director explaining that Ibrahimović was not talented enough.[33] The rest is history: Ibrahimović made his Swedish debut in 2001 and is now considered one of Sweden's best football players of all time.

With the aim of finding an answer to the research question, this thesis assesses several themes in different chapters. In the chapter hereafter, the academic debates and theory around the notion of citizenship are explained in order to make the concept comprehensible for this thesis. In the third chapter, the international world of football is scrutinised. FIFA and UEFA as the major associations have shaped this world and it is important to zoom in on the way in which they approach citizenship and national representation in European and world championships. In the fourth chapter, relevant historical background is provided about former Yugoslavia and the wars which caused for the country's dissolution. With that, the different new states and their citizenship regulations are illustrated. In addition, the different waves of migration and refuge will be highlighted. In the fifth chapter of this thesis, the different football nationality choices of 53 professional football players of Yugoslav descent are elaborated on.

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[30] Zlatan Ibrahimović (@iamzlatanibrahimovic), "I came from this place people call "ghetto Rosengård", conquered Sweden," Instagram photo, June 23, 2016, https://www.instagram.com/p/BG_fBHfR05-/.

[31] Subhajit Sengupta, "5 football stars who could have represented 3 countries in international football," *Sportskeeda*, accessed on April 19, 2019, https://www.sportskeeda.com/football/5-players-who-could-have-represented-3-countries-international-football.

[32] Alan Moore, "Bosnian Golden Boy – Zlatan Ibrahimovic," June 12, 2016, http://backpagefootball.com/bosnian-golden-boy-zlatan-ibrahimovic/108700/.

[33] Ibid.

These cases – as hereafter referred to – have been analysed in-depth and hence, the chapter assesses the outcomes of the football nationality choices. A database has been created with the aim of providing a structured overview of the factors that explain the football nationality choices of the players. Through this database, the main guiding factors have been distinguished as well as certain patterns in football nationality choices. In the sixth and final chapter of this thesis, a reflection on this thesis' findings is provided and an answer to the central question is formulated.

1.3. Sources, research method and case selection

Many different primary sources have been used in this research. Firstly, in order to create an overview of the different cases, the websites of both FIFA and UEFA have been used. These websites contain information about the different European and world championships and the players that participated. An example is the page *History Euro '92* by UEFA, which lists the matches that were played, the teams and players that participated.[34] With such sources, the case selection has been made. This case selection was finalised through biographical resources such as Wikipedia, newspapers, articles and, for example, interviews.

The different cases this thesis focusses on, are outlined in Appendix 1. The football players have been selected on the basis of being of Yugoslav descent and born in non-Yugoslav countries. The table shows when and where the players were born, which citizenship or national eligibility options they were given through parentage and finally, which national team they play – or have played – for and when they have made their first official appearance in that team. The players are listed in chronological order, on the basis of their date of birth.

The 53 cases are analysed using qualitative methods of in-depth research. Different kinds of literature, visual and oral sources, online platforms, video clips and other media sources have been used to achieve this thesis' goal.

An example is the source *The Players' Tribune. The Players' Tribune* is an online platform that aims at telling athletes' stories in their own words, for example in clips and short written stories.[35] Moreover, interviews with football players are executed by a broad array of media, many of which are accessible online. An example is the interview *Granit Xhaka: Basel,*

[34] "History – EURO '92," UEFA, accessed February 25, 2019, https://www.uefa.com/uefaeuro/season=1992/index.html.

[35] "About," The Players' Tribune, last modified November 7, 2014, https://www.theplayerstribune.com/en-us/about.

bloodlines and the Balkans, which was executed by Arsenal.[36] Personal stories of football players are also told in books, such as the book *Ik, Zlatan* (I, Zlatan), which tells Zlatan Ibrahimović' life story.[37] Such sources provide understanding about footballers' decisions on which nation to represent.

The biggest challenge that was encountered in this thesis, is the way in which information is provided about football players' decisions. More information was available about well-known players than about those who are known by fewer people. Next to that, most professional football players nowadays, have received or followed media training which could result in them speaking politically correct instead of revealing their true motives. Taking this into account, this research has focussed on reasons and motives that football players themselves mention, as it is highly unlikely that true motives are brought to light.

[36] "Granit Xhaka: Basel, bloodlines and the Balkans," Arsenal, last modified March 7, 2017, https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=ovAFv1z2E1o.

[37] Ibrahimović and Lagercrantz, *Ik, Zlatan.*

2. Academic debate and theoretical concepts

The main aim of this chapter is to establish an outline of the academic debate on citizenship. It provides an overview of academic writings on citizenship, after which will be explained how and why some parts of this academic debate are used within this thesis' framework.

2.1. The notion of citizenship

Citizenship is often considered to be a status of membership within a self-governing political community,[38] which makes it associated with political relations. Political relations enclose a political regime on one hand and 'subjects' on the other and these relations are dependent of the scope and shape of the political community.[39] This thesis will focus completely on countries as political communities, because the choices made by the football players concern state-citizenship which is also referred to as civic citizenship. If football players wish to represent a certain country, they will have to meet the requirements and conditions of this country's citizenship and, with that, a spot in its national football team can be gained. Civic citizenship hence consists of a bundle of rights and obligations from the individual towards the country as political entity whilst the state on the other hand, can provide its citizens with chances and possibilities.[40] Other forms of citizenship such as ethnic citizenship, do not consider citizenship to be a legal membership of a multi-ethnic state per se. Ethnic citizenship is often defined as the membership of an ethnic homogenous society or group.[41]

There are three ways in which citizenship can be obtained. Firstly, citizenship is assigned on the basis of the location of birth, which is referred to as the *ius soli* principle. *Ius soli* is a territorial understanding of the membership of a political community. Anyone that is born within territorial boundaries of a certain political community is automatically assigned citizenship of this community. This also applies to children born to non-citizen parents of this territory. Therefore, the children are given a fresh start through full and equal membership.[42]

The second way in which people are provided citizenship, is on the basis of parentage and descent. This principle based on to whom people are born, is referred to as *ius sanguinis:* "the children of present members of the polity, irrespective of the place of birth, are automatically

[38] Rainer Bauböck, *Migration and Citizenship. Legal Status, Rights and Political Participation.* (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 2006), 15.
[39] Shachar, "Citizenship," 3.
[40] Cooper, *Citizenship,* 5.
[41] Bereketeab, "The Ethnic and Civic Foundations of Citizenship," 63.
[42] Shachar, "Citizenship," 5.

defined as citizens of their parents' political community."[43] This principle is associated with civil law jurisdictions which are practised in a sheer number of countries which makes it the leading membership transmission principle globally.[44] It is important to note however, that each country has distinct rules and procedures.[45]

Even though location of birth and parentage have indeed shown to be leading in obtaining citizenship, a third way of obtaining citizenship has evolved as well, namely the acquirement of citizenship post-birth. Due to the ever-rising events of international migration, the post-birth acquirement of citizenship has become unavoidable.[46] Approximately three per cent of the world's population has been able to acquire a different citizenship after their birth.[47] This is referred to as a relational approach to membership because it is not based on a legal connection to a place or a parent.[48] Acquisition of citizenship post-birth is generally based on a genuine connection to a country that has been developed and is therefore seen as "the social fact of membership."[49] Political scientist Ayelet Shachar argues that the two basic legal ways of obtaining citizenship, *ius soli* and *ius sanguinis*, can provide certain people with a privilege that others do not have.[50] Some people, immigrants for instance, are not provided with membership to a community on the basis of birth on the territory or birth to a citizen parent and are therefore excluded from the recognised circle of political members. This exclusion encompasses not having access to basic security and opportunities that are associated with full and legal membership.[51] Shachar therefore argues that getting access and obtaining citizenship post-birth should also be possible and she refers to it as the *ius nexi* principle. *Ius nexi* is based on the

[43] Ibid., 7.
[44] Ibid., 8.
[45] Philosopher and political scientist Joseph Carens once compared citizenship to medieval feudal status. He argued that "citizenship in the modern world is a lot like feudal status in the medieval world. It is assigned at birth; for the most part it is not subject to change by the individual's will and efforts; and it has a major impact upon that person's life chances." From: Joseph Carens, *Migration and Morality. A Liberal Egalitarian Perspective*, in B. Barry & R. E. Goodin (eds.), *Free Movement. Ethical Issues in the transnational migration of people and of money*, 25-47 (Pennsylvania: The Pennsylvania State University Press, 1992), quoted in Rainer Bauböck, *Migration and Citizenship. Legal Status, Rights and Political Participation.* (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 2006), 16. Here, citizenship is compared to the status that people received at birth in medieval times. This feudal status was almost impossible to change throughout people's living days which did not leave a lot of room for individual choice, let alone consent.
[46] Kristian Stokke, "Politics of Citizenship: Towards an analytical framework," *Norsk Geografisk Tidsskrift – Norwegian Journal of Geography* 71, no. 4 (2017), 195.
[47] Shachar, "Citizenship," 4.
[48] Linda Bosniak, John Echeverri-Gent, Terri E. Givens and Jane Junn, "Review: Citizenship in an Unequal World: A Discussion of 'The Birthright Lottery: Citizenship and Global Inequality," *Perspectives on Politics* 9, no. 3 (September 2011), 623.
[49] Stokke, "Politics of Citizenship," 195.
[50] Shachar, "Earned Citizenship," 115.
[51] Ibid.

circumstance that one is linked or connected to a country.[52] If a migrant or refugee first arrives in a country, he or she might seek for security under the existing rule of law. It is argued however, that after a period of time, a person might become 'rooted' within the political community and society.[53] This person will then have resided in the country for some time, he or she will have gotten used to the country's culture and habits, is often employed, pays taxes but is still excluded from actual membership. If membership is provided then, it could be based on the person's attachment to the nation. The *ius nexi* principle "views every long-term resident as a citizen-in-the-making" and encourages people to show their willingness to become a full member of the community.[54] A prerequisite is physical presence on the territory. These aspects of the *ius nexi* principle coincide with the procedure of naturalisation, which generally requires a newcomer to reside in the country at least five years before being able to apply for citizenship.[55]

Ius soli, *ius sanguinis* and *ius nexi* are all aspects of citizenship. The first two are the legal ways of obtaining citizenship based on territory and bloodlines. The latter is rather based on a normative approach that looks at the way in which immigrants can get connected to the country of residence and can be naturalised on the basis of 'rootedness' within a country. Figure 1 below shows an example of a combination of *ius soli* and *ius sanguinis.* In this figure, the father is Australian, and the mother is from Austria. In this occasion, the child is born in Germany, which results in the child automatically getting assigned German citizenship on the basis of *ius soli* and – potentially – Australian and Austrian citizenship on the basis of *ius sanguinis.*

***Figure 1** – Ius soli and ius sanguinis combined*

[52] Ibid., 116.
[53] Ibid.
[54] Ibid., 140.
[55] Ibid.

In figure 2 below, the situation is expanded because the child decides to opt for American citizenship on a later point in life or, for instance, enters matrimony with an American. The aspect of *ius nexi* gets involved, resulting in the person having the possibility of holding German, Australian, Austrian, and American citizenship.

Figure 2 *– Ius soli, ius sanguinis and ius nexi combined*

As shown in the figures above, dual or plural citizenship can emerge when *ius soli*, *ius sanguinis* and *ius nexi* occur combined. Plural citizenship is the holding of nationality in more than one state by individuals.[56] Plural citizenship comes about when individuals naturalise in one country and do not get 'released' by their birth country. Moreover, plural citizenship could also occur when a person is naturalised and at the same time, maintain citizenship in his or her country of origin for the sake of security and protection.[57]

The way in which states manage plural citizenship differs in various countries: "Today, approximately half the world's countries permit their citizens to hold dual nationality, either by birth or naturalization."[58] Some governments reserve the right to revoke citizenship at all times, whether it is the citizen's birth right or whether he, she or it was naturalised.[59] Dual citizenship has been argued to be a source of inequality, because dual citizens have rights in more than one state, which provides them with more rights than mononationals. Another objection against dual citizenship is that it can undermine the solidarities necessary to support a liberal state. American legal scholar Peter Spiro, however, argues that it should become a human right to acquire and maintain plural citizenship.[60] He defends his point by indicating that regimes that

[56] Peter J. Spiro, "Dual Nationality and the Meaning of Citizenship," *Immigration and Nationality Law Review* 18 (1997), 497.
[57] Ibid., 498.
[58] Cooper, *Citizenship*, 10.
[59] Peter J. Spiro, "Dual citizenship as human right," *International Journal of Constitutional Law* 8, no. 1 (January 2010).
[60] Ibid.

suppress plural citizenship – and therefore make their citizens choose one citizenship – only create incentives for individuals to select the citizenship with the greatest personal importance.[61] Next to that, plural citizenship that is acquired at birth combined with a mixed-status parentage can result in the child to identify with both of his or her parents' nationalities.[62] The possibility for the child to maintain each connection contributes to the autonomy of the individual. Should the child be imposed to make a decision however, it would be a choice between mother, father and potentially country of birth.

2.1.1. The meaning of citizenship for football players

Football players could be selected to play for a national team at a certain point in their career. When this happens and they are given the opportunity of participating in official international tournaments, the players are bound to follow the rules and regulations on national eligibility which are set by international football associations. All sportsmen- and women must follow rules and regulations on national eligibility that coincide with participating at an international level. Those who want to participate in the Olympic Games for instance, have to follow the regulations formulated by The International Olympic Committee (IOC). The IOC is an international non-profit organisation that is responsible for the organisation of the Olympic Summer and Winter Games.[63] In its national eligibility regulations, the IOC states that the nation an athlete represents "is dependent on his or her citizenship status."[64] An athlete has to have citizenship of the country he or she wants to represent during the Olympics.[65] However, should an athlete want to participate in the Olympic Games for a different nation, which is formally possible, he or she has to endure a three-year waiting period. In spite of this, the IOC does have the authority to exempt athletes from this waiting period if the countries involved grant permission for the nationality swap.[66] With that, the process of naturalisation could be fast forwarded. Nationality choices for Olympic athletes are hence not of an irreversible nature and in practice, an Olympian could represent a different country every four years.[67] An example of an athlete that has represented two different nations in several Olympic tournaments is speed

[61] Ibid., 127.
[62] Ibid., 123.
[63] "Who we are," International Olympic Committee, accessed February 24, 2019, https://www.olympic.org/about-ioc-olympic-movement.
[64] Jansen, Oonk and Engbersen, "Nationality Swapping," 525.
[65] Shachar, "Picking Winners," 549.
[66] Ibid., 550.
[67] Ibid., 550-551.

skater Bart Veldkamp. Veldkamp was born and raised in the Netherlands and represented the Dutch at the Winter Olympics of 1992 and 1994, but skated for Belgium at the 1998, 2002 and 2006 Winter Olympics.[68] Veldkamp chose to join the Belgian team because he would have less national competition there than he had always faced in the Netherlands which would increase his chances of qualifying and succeeding at the highest level.[69]

When it comes to national eligibility rules for football players, FIFA is the main regulator.[70] FIFA's regulations are rather different than the IOC's rules. Before anything else, it is important to highlight that football players can only represent one national team throughout their entire career. After a player has played an official match for any national team, he or she is not allowed to switch national associations. This makes the choice on national teams permanent. This choice might even be very problematic and difficult for players, because FIFA enables them to represent either the country in which they were born, the country in which one of their parents was born or the country in which their grandparents were born.[71] In order to be selected for the national team then, a player does need to be a legal citizen of the country.[72]

Firstly, a player may represent his own country of birth. This correlates with the *ius soli* principle, which is therefore relevant for this thesis. The football players in this thesis are mostly children of migrants or refugees, which means that their parents were not born in the country of 'residence'. The children themselves on the contrary, were born there. This immediately provides them with the birth right based citizenship, which is effective in a large number of nations in the world.

Secondly, football players are allowed to represent the nation in which their parents or grandparents were born.[73] This corresponds with the principle of *ius sanguinis.* According to this principle of *ius sanguinis,* children are automatically assigned citizenship of their parents' political community. If these children were born in different countries themselves, a combination of *ius soli* and *ius sanguinis* could provide them with dual or plural citizenship – on the condition that this is legally allowed by the two or more countries in question.[74] If the countries in question do not allow their citizens to hold plural citizenship, a player is obliged to apply for citizenship of the country he wants to represent, because he has to be a legal citizen

[68] Maarten Scholten, "Die gouden medaille ga ik ein-de-lijk halen," *NRC,* February 24, 2014, https://www.nrc.nl/nieuws/2014/02/24/bart-veldkamp-a1502211.
[69] Ibid.
[70] Milanović, "Globalization and goals," 830.
[71] FIFA, "FIFA Statutes."
[72] Ibid.
[73] Ibid.
[74] Shachar, "Citizenship," 39.

of the country in order to be able to join its national team. Hence, citizenship of the countries of descent might not directly be assigned at birth but claiming it later in life is still an option for football players. Even more so, it is a prerequisite if a player wants to join the country's national team. This individual claims-making on citizenship is also referred to as claims-making from below, or bottom-up. The bottom-up approach of claims-making on citizenship is based on the participation and belonging of the individual within the political community, or in this case, country.[75] Football players might feel as if they 'belong' to the country and claim its citizenship on the basis on descent. Participation within that political community might not be present right away because the footballer may not reside in the country at the moment of claiming. A form of participation could arise after the footballer has obtained citizenship and plays for the national team.

Finally, FIFA also allows players to naturalise in order to obtain citizenship of a country they are not related to on the basis of parentage nor descent. As explained, approximately three per cent of the world's population has managed to acquire a 'new' citizenship during their lives.[76] This percentage involves all citizens in the world who have changed their nationality and it is likely that the percentage is higher in elite migration. Football migration can be considered a part of elite migration amongst which are highly skilled or talented migrants.[77] Should professional football players become naturalised, that decision would involve different incentives than 'normal' migration: naturalisation for football is about national representation, pride and a country's national flag. Moreover, these processes of naturalisation are observable because they receive attention in newspapers and other media. Naturalisation for international football has occurred the past, for example in the case of Diego da Silva Costa, also known as Diego Costa. Costa was born in Brazil to Brazilian parents but is currently playing for the Spanish national team.[78] Costa obtained Spanish citizenship in 2013 on the grounds of having been a resident in the country for over five years and having been under contract of the Spanish football club Atlético de Madrid. Next to being granted Spanish citizenship, Costa had only played two friendly matches for the Brazilian team, which, in FIFA terms, do not count as official caps.[79] This meant that FIFA allowed Costa to play for the Spanish national team. *Ius*

[75] Irene Bloemraad, "Theorising the power of citizenship as claims-making," *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies* 44, no. 1 (2018), 5.

[76] Shachar, "Citizenship," 4.

[77] John Gapper, "Elite migrant workers must be welcomed, not attacked," *Financial Times,* January 29, 2014, https://www.ft.com/content/62dce490-8815-11e3-a926-00144feab7de.

[78] "Diego Costa verkiest Spaans elftal boven team van Brazilië," VI, last modified October 29, 2013, https://www.vi.nl/nieuws/diego-costa-verkiest-spaans-elftal-boven-team-van-brazilie.

[79] Ibid.

nexi, whereby citizenship is based on a certain kind of connection to the country, was highly relevant for Costa. Based on his connection to and period of residence in Spain namely, he was able to obtain Spanish citizenship and consequently, make his debut for the Spanish national team in 2014.

In several other instances however, national associations have attempted to neglect the importance of the *ius nexi* principle. Various countries have shown to be more than willing to attract sports stars and look for flexibility in national legislation in order to facilitate legal processes.[80] In 2004, the state of Qatar attempted to use its wealth to attract talented youth players from abroad and – after a period of time – naturalise them with the aim of making them eligible to represent the country.[81] *Ius nexi* was hardly relevant in this case. The different citizenship regulations have always been open to manipulation, especially for professional sportsmen.[82] In the past, it has not appeared necessary to have a certain connection to or a certain residency period within in that country, because several countries – such as Qatar – have a tendency of attracting sports stars on purpose.

As a consequence, it has become more important to FIFA for players to have a connection to a country. The organisation wants to prevent players from representing a country to which they have no connection whatsoever. For that reason, FIFA requires football players to have lived on the territory of the relevant association for at least two to five years. This rule will be elaborated further in the third chapter about the international world of football.

The possibilities and constraints of plural citizenship are key in this thesis. Since the players of Yugoslav descent were born in a different country than their parents were, they could have been granted dual – or even plural – citizenship. In some cases, governments reserve the right to revoke citizenship at any time, whether obtained through birth right or naturalisation.[83] On the other hand, governments and national football associations of a certain country could also start approaching talented football players if they would be of this country's descent and therefore eligible to represent this country. In a way, national football associations – and governments with them – could start 'claiming' talented players on the basis of descent. If players have a nation's 'blood' and they appear to be promising assets to the national football team, citizenship as claims-making could also be performed top-down. In such a situation, a national regime makes claims on an individual, considers the individual to be a rightful citizen

[80] Holmes and Storey, "Transferring national allegiance," 255.
[81] Hall, "Fishing for All-stars," 195.
[82] Holmes and Storey, "Transferring national allegiance," 255.
[83] Cooper, *Citizenship,* 10.

of the political community and would hence be eager to provide this talented footballer with citizenship. This phenomenon involves making claims to rights and claims to belongings.[84] Countries could justify their actions by claiming that they demand something or someone – a football players in this case – that or who rightfully belongs to them on the basis of descent.

An important contribution to the debate of national eligibility criteria for football players of Yugoslav descent, is the case of former Yugoslavia. The disintegration of Yugoslavia and the emergence of post-Yugoslav nations have not only had citizenship consequences for the people living there, but also for emigrants and refugees. Scholars Shaw and Štiks explain that "the post-Yugoslav landscape offers a unique situation when it comes to citizenship."[85] The seven new states adopted different approaches to developing their citizenship regimes even though they had all been a republic within former Yugoslavia.[86] The states had been incorporated within the multinational federal state of Yugoslavia, which had a system of multi-level federal and republican citizenship.[87] The different republics within former Yugoslavia already had their own citizenship regimes which had been established in the late 1940s. After the disintegration, every state further developed its own citizenship regime and adapted these towards generally privileging the dominant ethnic group.[88] Each regime determined who was a 'citizen' and who was not.[89] Some people became stateless and human rights laws were violated which led to the interference of international organisations such as the United Nations.

In principle, the football players analysed in this thesis are eligible to claim citizenship in former Yugoslav countries on the basis of descent. However, this is complicated due to the division of Yugoslavia and the different ways of handling citizenship in the various countries. These different citizenship regimes in post-Yugoslav states will be explored further in chapter four.

2.2. Footballers' guiding factors defined

The factors that might motivate football players in making decisions on which national team to represent, could be endless. What influences or motivates players to make decisions could for

[84] Ibid., 58.
[85] Jo Shaw and Igor Štiks, "Citizenship in the new states of South Eastern Europe," *Citizenship Studies* 16, nos. 3-4 (June 2012), 309.
[86] Džankić, Kacarska, Pantić and Shaw, "The Governance of Citizenship Practices," 338.
[87] Ibid.
[88] Shaw and Štiks, "Citizenship in the new states," 310.
[89] Ibid.

example be financial incentives, chances of playtime, chances of team success, tactical preferences and a feeling of belonging or pride.

In order to create a structural overview of the different motives of the football players, the following list is made. Depending on the footballers' motives, they are placed into one – or more – of the six categories listed below, which consist of multiple guiding factors. It is however important to note that overlap between the categories or factors has occurred in a number of cases. Alongside this, difficulties have risen in prioritising which guiding factor explains a football nationality choice best: several cases have brought forward more than one guiding factor.

- Financial incentives
- The game
    - Chances of playtime
    - Chances of team success
    - Facilities and staff
    - Connection to coach
- Connection to country
    - Feeling of belonging/pride
    - 'Giving back' to a country
- Country practicalities
    - Prospects of residency
    - Citizenship practicalities
    - Distance
- Personal affairs
    - Family
    - Friends
    - Teammates
- Other
- No information available

Firstly, the category of financial incentives points towards all financial factors tied to choosing one national team over the other. These could for instance be the financial rewards a player foresees to be offered by a national association. Every national football union has a different

budget and it could well be that certain unions are willing to offer a player a high compensation if he joins that particular national team. Another example of a financial factor could potentially be a club salary which points towards the reward a player receives at a club. This club salary might be leading for him which could result in the player settling in the specific country and creating a desire to also represent its national team.

Secondly, for some players, the category of 'the game' could be most important. The first guiding factor in this category, is 'chances of playtime'. The chances of playtime are the number of matches – and may be even minutes within a match – a player foresees to receive if he decides to play for a specific team. Should the length of the expected playtime be higher in one team than in another, it is likely that a player would choose for the option with the least time spent bench warming. Next to that, the guiding factor of 'chances of team success' could also be relevant for players who have to make a football nationality choice. If a national team has performed well in the past by participating in big international tournaments and has for example reached high ranking in those tournaments, a player could be interested in joining such a well-performing and successful team. After all, most professional sportsmen strive to succeed at the highest level, which in football equals winning the FIFA World Cup. Furthermore, 'facilities and staff' could play a part in football players' national team choices. Football players could for instance be approached by the staff or prefer certain training facilities. Finally, a 'connection to the coach' can be of importance. If a player does not get along with his current coach or has a good connection to the coach of another national team, this could persuade him to choose one national team over the other.

Thirdly, since this thesis is about representing national teams, a 'connection to a country' is an important category as well. The guiding factor 'feeling of belonging or pride' could play a part in football players' decisions and this feeling of belonging cannot be separated from the concept of national identity. Individuals tend to seek for their identity within for example their families, communities and nations.[90] This is a matter of 'knowing who I am' and it could be a relevant factor in choices of football players for national teams. The rules and regulations of FIFA enable players to represent their country of birth or of family origin. This helps within situations of intermixture of civic and ethnic senses of national identity.[91] Football players of

[90] Walker Connor, *Ethnonationalism: The Quest for Understanding* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1994), quoted in Alex J. Bellamy, *The formation of Croatian National Identity. A centuries-old dream.* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2003), 9.

[91] David Storey, "National allegiance and sporting citizenship: identity choices of 'African' footballers," *Sport in Society* (2019), 3.

Yugoslav descent who were born and raised in non-Yugoslav countries are particularly unlikely to have one specific nation they identify with. They were born, raised, schooled and taught football within the system of a country. This positions them both socially and culturally in this country. On the other hand, the players could have received a Yugoslav upbringing at home which has made them feel connected to their families' native countries. On these grounds, the footballers might feel connected to several nations. Furthermore, 'giving back' to a country might be crucial for some players too. Players who were born and raised in a certain country and consequently went through their education there – in both school and sports – could have a sense of moral obligation to 'give back' to that country. This means that they wish to repay investments made by their country towards the player's sporting education, in a way, by choosing to represent its national team and contribute to national team successes.

In the fourth category: 'country practicalities', various practical considerations are listed. Firstly, prospects of residency could influence a player's national team choice. Should a player prefer to live in one country over the other – due to family closeness, the climate or for instance the food – this could influence his decision on which national team to represent. Furthermore, 'citizenship practicalities' are expected to play a part as well. If it seems difficult to acquire citizenship of a country, a player might decide not to represent that national team if, for instance, this happens on the eve of a big tournament. If a player wants to play at this tournament, citizenship for a specific country must be arranged or otherwise, he will not be eligible to play. Finally, the practical aspect of distance could for example explain an Australian born to choose his country of birth over a post-Yugoslav country which is easily a 20-hour travel. Distance might not be problematic for those already playing for a European club in a national competition, but it is likely that players who play in overseas competitions might not consider playing for a national team located in Europe, or vice versa.

The fifth category: 'personal affairs', cannot be neglected either. Family, friends or teammates could be crucial for football players to choose one team over another. It could be strongly encouraged by family or friends to choose one specific team or a player could be approached by a former teammate with whom he has always enjoyed playing.

Finally, two categories have been established in the case that a football player's main guiding factor does not fit in with any of the other categories. The category 'other' opens up to all remaining guiding factors mentioned by players with the aim of making an inventory of other possible guiding factors. The category 'no information available' is reserved for those cases on which no useful sources have been found.

3. International world of football

The aim of this chapter is to outline the scene of the international world of football which is globally dominated by the International Federation of Association Football (FIFA) and by the Union of European Football Associations (UEFA) on the European level. These two international organisations are key in this research since they have created, shaped and determined the international world of football. This chapter will therefore firstly provide a brief overview of the two international associations by zooming in on their history and relevant achievements. After that, the historical development of the relevant national eligibility regulations will be determined thoroughly.

3.1. FIFA

FIFA is the governing body of football worldwide.[92] The organisation was founded in 1904 in Paris with the aim of overseeing international football competitions between the associations of Belgium, Denmark, France, Germany, the Netherlands, Spain, Sweden and Switzerland.[93] A French initiative brought these national associations together, after which a transnational umbrella organisation was established.[94] FIFA's first statutes were laid down and based on the following principles: "the reciprocal and exclusive recognition of the national associations represented and attending; clubs and players were forbidden to play simultaneously for different national associations; recognition by the other associations of a player's suspension announced by an association; and the playing of matches according to the Laws of the Game of the Football Association."[95] Member associations paid annual fees and the organisation of an official international competition was already being considered, since FIFA was now the only actor entitled to organise such events. FIFA did decide that its statutes were only provisional with the aim of making acceptance of additional members less complicated.[96]

FIFA's governing body exists of three branches: the legislative branch embodied by the FIFA congress; the executive branch by the executive committee; and the administrative branch by the general secretariat.[97] Only in the congress all member associations of FIFA are

[92] "Who We Are," FIFA, accessed November 24, 2018, https://www.fifa.com/about-fifa/who-we-are/.
[93] "History of FIFA – Foundation," FIFA, accessed March 18, 2019, https://www.fifa.com/about-fifa/who-we-are/history/index.html.
[94] Ibid.
[95] Ibid.
[96] Ibid.
[97] Christopher John Boudreaux, Gokhan Karahan and Morris Coats, "Bend it like FIFA: corruption on and off the pitch," *Managerial Finance* 42, no. 9 (2016), 867.

represented. This congress elects the president who is a part of the executive committee together with vice-presidents and fifteen other members.[98] The general secretariat currently exists of 400 staff members and is, amongst other things, responsible for FIFA's finances, international relations and the organisation of several FIFA football competitions.

After one year, in 1905, the English Football Association (FA) joined FIFA, which gave the organisation the boost it needed, because it had only existed on paper in its first year.[99] The first international competitions organised by FIFA were on a basis of trial and error, but soon the association started impressing by its appearance, especially since its presidency was being assumed by Englishman Woolfall in 1906.[100] Because of his experience in the administrative board of the English FA, Woolfall was able to bring about progress in administration as well as the establishment of clear guidelines. The organisation had increased its popularity when the FA joined and the organisation even started to act intercontinentally after a few years when South Africa, Argentina, Chile and the United States of America joined: FIFA was now the leading international football organisation.[101]

During and due to the First World War, FIFA's development process experienced a major interruption. Notwithstanding this setback, the association was able to realise its goal of organising its first official world championship in 1930. From that point, the tournament would take place every four years.[102] Next to that, FIFA moved its headquarters to Zurich, Switzerland in 1932, even though the organisation had been founded in Paris some 30 years earlier. Many sports organisations are based in Switzerland, mainly because they followed the example of the International Olympic Committee (IOC), which moved to Swiss neutral territory during the First World War.[103] Another progress interruption occurred during the Second World War, but FIFA saw a steady growth in its members during the 1960s. Furthermore, the television transmission of the World Cup contributed to the tournament's worldwide expansion.[104] This, however, did not necessarily mean that FIFA also grew financially. The only income for the organisation were the profits of World Cups which therefore had to be spread out over four-

[98] Ibid.
[99] "History of FIFA – FIFA takes shape," FIFA, accessed March 18, 2019, https://www.fifa.com/about-fifa/who-we-are/history/fifa-takes-shape.html.
[100] Ibid.
[101] Ibid.
[102] "History of FIFA – More associations follow," FIFA, accessed March 19, 2019, https://www.fifa.com/about-fifa/who-we-are/history/more-associations-follow.html.
[103] Samuel Jaberg, "How Switzerland champions champions," *Swissinfo.ch*, January 25, 2010, https://www.swissinfo.ch/eng/how-switzerland-champions-champions/8149794.
[104] "History of FIFA – 50th Anniversary," FIFA, accessed March 19, 2019, https://www.fifa.com/about-fifa/who-we-are/history/50th-anniversary.html.

year periods. The organisation did neither receive any governmental subsidies nor other funding.[105] It was not until the 1970s that FIFA began to transform from an administration-oriented institution into a dynamic enterprise with the aim of seeing through new ideas.[106] The organisation increased the number of competing teams in the World Cup which allowed more confederations to participate and FIFA offices consequently became the hub of sporting diplomacy. The association turned into much more than just the organisation responsible for the organisation of the World Cup.[107] Nowadays, football has gained a status as the world's leading game which attracts other branches of society such as commerce and politics as well.[108] FIFA has grown to include over 200 member associations, which makes it one of the biggest sports federations in the world.[109] FIFA's World Cup still takes place every four years and different cities have been hosting the competition in which 32 national teams have participated each edition since 1998.[110] Even today, discussions on the number of teams allowed to participate are ongoing. FIFA is currently exploring whether the number of participating teams in the 2022 World Cup in Qatar can be increased from 32 to 48. The more matches are played, the higher FIFA's profits.[111]

3.2. UEFA

The establishment of an umbrella organisation for European football associations was a complicated process, as opposed to the establishment of FIFA. The attempts of several European associations to join forces and establish an umbrella federation for European football associations in the early 1950s had been difficult to realise due to FIFA's presence in the European continent.[112] It was not until 1953 that FIFA amended its statute and allowed the setting up of confederations because the organisation started to realise the importance of continental authorities which could supervise and direct the growth of football more locally.[113]

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[105] Ibid.
[106] "History of FIFA – A New Era," FIFA, accessed March 19, 2019, https://www.fifa.com/about-fifa/who-we-are/history/new-era.html.
[107] Ibid.
[108] "History of FIFA – Globalisation," FIFA, accessed March 19, 2019, https://www.fifa.com/about-fifa/who-we-are/history/globalisation.html.
[109] Ibid.
[110] FIFA, "Who We Are."
[111] "WK al in 2022 met 48 landen? 'Voor Afrika een goed idee," NOS, last modified March 13, 2019, https://nos.nl/artikel/2275758-wk-al-in-2022-met-48-landen-voor-afrika-een-goed-idee.html.
[112] Jürgen Mittag and Benjamin Legrand, "Towards Europeanization of football? Historical phases in the evolution of the UEFA European Football Championship," *Soccer & Society* 11, no. 6 (2010), 712.
[113] "The history of UEFA," UEFA, last modified March 23, 2019, https://www.uefa.com/insideuefa/about-uefa/history/.

As a result, UEFA was officially founded in June 1954 and was hierarchically placed under FIFA as a confederation. It started off as a humble organisation. During the 1960s, UEFA began investing in its member associations by introducing instruction courses for coaches and referees "as well as conferences for general secretaries and presidents of the national associations."[114] As the public appeal for football was increasing, UEFA kept on developing, for instance by making agreements with media and broadcasting organisations.[115]

Attraction and consolidation steadily grew throughout the 1970s and 1980s, especially since UEFA had successfully set up different football competitions.[116] During the 1980s and 90s, European football started attracting more attention. Women's football made strides forward; due to political developments especially in eastern Europe, more countries emerged which each became UEFA members with their national associations; and next to that, topics such as television, business and finance, marketing and sponsorship became more relevant. UEFA steadily grew along with these changes: a UEFA European Women's Championship was set up; more teams could participate in the final rounds in the European Championships; and, in line with the tournament for national club champions, the UEFA Europa League was founded in which national clubs other than the champions were able to participate.[117]

Other changes throughout the 1990s included UEFA working more closely together with the European Union (EU). With the implementation of the Bosman ruling by the European Court of Justice, UEFA was obliged to make changes in its regulations on international transfers of football players. The ruling entailed guaranteed freedom for football players "to move, once their contracts had ended, to whichever employee they wished without the burden of a transfer fee."[118] This rule went alongside the increasing freedom of European workers and the consequential rise in labour migration during this period. This stresses the fact that international football associations are interwoven with and dependent of political bodies such as the EU.

Over the last decades, UEFA has been developing in many different areas including commerce and internal structures as well as policies focussing on anti-doping. Also, the rising attention for the European Championships has caused for these championships to be compared to the FIFA World Cup.[119] The organisation has grown out to be leading in European football,

[114] Ibid.
[115] Ibid.
[116] Mittag, "Towards Europeanization."
[117] Ibid.
[118] Matthew Taylor, "Global Players? Football, Migration and Globalization, c. 1930-2000." *Historical Social Research* 31, no. 1 (2006): 20.
[119] Mittag, "Towards Europeanization," 718.

both for club teams and national teams and is seen as "perhaps the most important regulatory actor in the European football regime."[120] UEFA focusses on its guiding principle to foster and develop unity and solidarity among the European football community.[121] It works together with 55 member associations and attempts to represent the wishes of Europe's national football associations.[122]

3.3. National representation in European and world championships

The global reach of football as a sport has clearly expanded during the last several decades and both FIFA and UEFA have shown to be relevant organisations in this process. The national football associations, leagues, clubs, players and officials are to obey the rules set by FIFA and UEFA should they want to participate in tournaments and competitions such as the World Cup or the European Championships. Many different sets of rules have been implemented by the organisations, such as the so-called Laws of the Game which lay the foundations for the rules that ought to be used in all football matches played worldwide: from the FIFA World Cup final to a match on a local level between children.[123] In these laws, the main emphasis is put on fair play and the attractiveness and enjoyability of football.[124]

On a club level, players are able to change club teams almost as often as they like, as was also shown by the Bosman ruling. Contracts between clubs on one hand and professional football players on the other have a minimum length of one season and a maximum length of five years. Next to that, clubs are allowed to lend or rent out their professionals to another club.[125] Football clubs are therefore seen as "commercial entities that maximize profits and that buy and sell players."[126] Transfers of professional football players generally involve high amounts of money. During the last decades, transfer sums that exceeded 50 million euros have not been exceptional. The record of most expensive transfer is currently held by Brazilian player

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[120] Ibid., 720.
[121] UEFA, "The history."
[122] Ibid.
[123] "IFAB Laws of the Game 2018/2019," FIFA, accessed March 25, 2019, https://resources.fifa.com/image/upload/laws-of-the-game-2018-19.pdf?cloudid=khhloe2xoigyna8juxw3.
[124] Ibid.
[125] "Regulations on the Status and Transfer of Players," FIFA, accessed March 25, 2019, https://resources.fifa.com/image/upload/regulations-on-the-status-and-transfer-of-players.pdf?cloudid=adi1292xtnibmwrqnimy.
[126] Branko Milanović, "Globalization and goals: does soccer show the way?" *Review of International Political Economy* 12, no. 5 (2005): 833.

Neymar.[127] In 2017, Paris Saint-Germain paid FC Barcelona a monumental sum of 222 million euros to get the player under contract.[128] Footballers earn most of their money at clubs and therefore, playing at this level is seen as their day job.

As for regulations on national representation, these have gone through several changes over the course of the last century. Predominantly FIFA's visions towards the notion of citizenship and national representation are important in this research. UEFA namely, is a confederation of FIFA and states that "each association must select its national representative team from players who hold the nationality of its country and who comply with the provisions of […] the Regulations Governing the Application of the FIFA Statutes."[129] This indicates that UEFA follows the hierarchically implemented rules and regulations by FIFA.

FIFA's first international football tournaments which involved national representation were held in combination with the Olympic Games. The first Olympic Football Tournament in 1924 proved to be a great success.[130] After this, FIFA wanted to be the organiser of its own event and therefore chose to separate the World Cup from the Olympics. As a result, the first FIFA World Cup opened in Montevideo, Uruguay in 1930.[131] Due to the success of the event, "both in a sporting and a financial sense", a new era in world football had begun.[132]

During these first decades, FIFA saw some cases of nationality swapping by the football players participating in its tournaments. After the first FIFA World Cup in Uruguay in 1930, the subsequent two championships took place in Italy and France. At these World Cups, several football players were representing other national teams than the ones they represented in 1930.[133] Most of these were South American players who, for example, had Italian roots and were therefore also eligible to play for the Italian team. As a consequence, the Italian team won the World Cup in both 1934 and 1938.[134] An example of one of these players is Enrique Guaita, who was eligible to represent more than one country on the basis of his roots. Guaita was born

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[127] "Most expensive transfers of all-time: Neymar, Mbappe, Pogba, Ronaldo and more," ESPN, last modified July 10, 2018, http://www.espn.com/soccer/blog/soccer-transfers/3/post/2915603/most-expensive-transfers-of-all-time-neymar-mbappe-pogba-ronaldo-and-more.

[128] Ibid.

[129] "Regulations of the UEFA European Football Championships 2018-20," UEFA, accessed March 25, 2019, https://www.uefa.com/MultimediaFiles/Download/Regulations/uefaorg/Regulations/02/54/36/05/2543605_DOWNLOAD.pdf.

[130] Ibid.

[131] "History of FIFA – The first FIFA World Cup™," FIFA, accessed February 13, 2019, https://www.fifa.com/about-fifa/who-we-are/history/first-fifa-world-cup.html#.

[132] Ibid.

[133] Courtney D. Hall, "Fishing for All-stars in a Time of Global Free Agency: Understanding FIFA Eligibility Rules and the Impact on the U.S. Men's National Team," *Marquette Sports Law Review* 23, no. 1 (2012), 194.

[134] Ibid.

in Argentina but was of Italian descent through his parents. He started his international career with the Argentinian team after which he represented Italy for a while and then went back to play for Argentina again.[135] In the World Cups that followed, a number of players made their appearance in several national teams. During the Second World War, no World Cups were organised, and the first post-war FIFA World Cup took place in Brazil in 1950.

On the European level, UEFA founded the European Champion Club's Cup which featured the different domestic champion clubs in 1955. Next to that, the European Nation's Cup, a European competition for senior national representative teams, was initiated in 1958. The first European Nation's Cup took place in 1960, involved eight participating teams and was won by the Soviet Union. In 1968, the European Nation's Cup was given the new name of the UEFA European Football Championships, which is still its name today.[136]

FIFA decided to sharpen its rules and regulations on national eligibility at the 1962 FIFA Congress. The organisation wanted to establish as well as maintain a fair international football setting. Alongside this, FIFA aimed at preventing national teams from becoming as commercialised and focussed on profit as football clubs.[137] The organisation feared that the formulated goals would not be achieved whilst national team swapping was often occurring.

FIFA made two major changes to its national eligibility rules in 1962. Firstly, in order for players to represent a national team, the following criteria had to be met: "The player has to be born on the territory of the relevant association; his biological mother or biological father was born on the territory of the relevant association; his grandmother or grandfather was born on the territory of the relevant association."[138] This meant that some players could have had several choices on the basis of descent.

Secondly, players that wished to opt for the national team of a country to which they had no prior connection, they would have to "be a naturalized citizen according to the particular country's laws to be eligible to represent the country."[139] Both rules are still in force today and they are subject to the condition that a player has not yet been included in any national team, because that makes him ineligible to represent another nation.[140] In other words, players are not allowed to change national teams once they have already represented a national team during an

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[135] Alfie Potts Harmer, "The 15 soccer players to play for more than one country," *The Sportster,* November 14, 2015, https://www.thesportster.com/soccer/top-15-soccer-players-to-play-for-more-than-one-country/.

[136] UEFA, "The history."

[137] Milanović, "Globalization and goals," 833.

[138] "FIFA Statutes: August 2018 edition," FIFA, accessed February 18, 2019, https://resources.fifa.com/image/upload/the-fifa-statutes-2018.pdf?cloudid=whhncbdzio03cuhmwfxa.

[139] Ibid.

[140] Milanović, "Globalization and goals," 833.

official match, regardless of their eligibility based on state citizenship.[141] This has added a permanent aspect to the decision for football players on which national team to represent and it was the main act with which FIFA addressed national team swapping.

In the decades following the 1960s, not many changes were made in FIFA's rules and regulations regarding national eligibility. There were, however, ongoing debates on the above-mentioned 'granny rule'. The granny rule entails that a player may represent the football association of the country in which his grandmother or grandfather was born. The debates about this national eligibility rule mostly occurred in the United Kingdom when The Republic of Ireland's association started to use the 'granny rule' to its own advantage in the 1990s. The association started selecting football players "who had been born and bred in Britain but were of Irish origin."[142] The 'granny rule' however, is not a problem in FIFA's eyes since players could have a genuine connection to their grandparents' countries of birth. An example of a player that has successfully claimed citizenship on the basis of the 'granny rule', is Thiago Motta. Motta was born and raised in Brazil and had already played for the Brazilian under-23 national team. However, Motta was looking to play for the national team of Italy, for which he was eligible "through his paternal grandfather who was Italian".[143] FIFA granted permission for his change of national teams because Motta had not yet played for the Brazilian senior team.[144]

The national representation eligibility rule that has stirred up debates in the international world of football, was the ability to naturalise and obtain a 'new' citizenship. In 2004, circumstances urged for FIFA to amend the 1962 national team eligibility rules.[145] On the eve of the 2004 FIFA World Cup, the state of Qatar attempted to use its wealth to buy players from other countries and naturalise them with the aim of strengthening its national football team.[146] This was partly facilitated by countries that had talented footballers to spare, such as Brazil. These countries were able to start selling talented players to whomever offered the most money. These acts were seen a consequence of the globalising nature of football, but FIFA did not tolerate this: from a FIFA perspective this development was seen to be against the spirit of their regulations and it prompted the introduction of emergency measures to prevent players

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[141] Ibid.
[142] Holmes and Storey, "Transferring national allegiance," 260.
[143] Naveen Ravi Joseph, "10 footballers who changed their nationality and played international football," *Sportskeeda*, accessed March 27, 2019, https://www.sportskeeda.com/slideshow/10-active-footballers-who-changed-nationality-played-international-football.
[144] Ibid.
[145] Ibid.
[146] Ibid.

assuming new nationality where there was no clear connection to the country concerned."[147] A player was – and still is – deemed eligible to represent a country if he meets the following criteria: "he has lived continuously on the territory of the relevant association for at least two years."[148] This residency period based rule, only applies to players who are entitled to represent more than one association on account of their place of birth and parentage.[149] If a player wants to acquire citizenship of a 'new' country to which he has no connection whatsoever, the period of residence has to be at least five years. In the abovementioned example of Qatar buying Brazilian players, a minimum period of residence of five years is therefore required. The question remains however, how does this work in practice? Do players indeed need to reside in the country without being able to travel abroad? And if so, who is checking whether this is actually adhered to? The following example of Brazilian born player Pepe is insightful. Pepe moved from Brazil to a Portuguese club in 2001 after which he was constantly under contract of different Portuguese clubs. Through this, he became eligible to apply for citizenship in Portugal.[150] In 2007, Pepe became a naturalised citizen and he made his debut in the national team the same year. With the Portuguese national team, Pepe became European champion in 2016.[151] This example does not show whether Pepe was obligated to remain on Portuguese territory constantly, which realistically would not have been an option because Pepe played for a professional club which meant he had to travel and play matches abroad as well. It does therefore not seem practical to require a professional player to live on the territory of the relevant association continuously for two to five years. The separate case analyses in this thesis will have to show whether these residency rules are applicable and if so, how these rules are adhered to in practice.

From these examples it becomes clear that FIFA's national eligibility regulations indeed create some sort of uniqueness in the relationship between a football player and a national team. Acquiring a new citizenship is not a short process and changing national associations is close to impossible after having played an official match for another national association.

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[147] Storey, "National allegiance," 5.
[148] "FIFA Statutes: August 2018 edition," FIFA, accessed February 18, 2019, https://resources.fifa.com/image/upload/the-fifa-statutes-2018.pdf?cloudid=whhncbdzio03cuhmwfxa.
[149] Ibid.
[150] Joseph, "10 footballers who changed their nationality and played international football."
[151] Ibid.

3.4. Towards the case

When it comes to this thesis' case, which examines football nationality choices by players of Yugoslav descent, players are given multiple citizenship options based on their place of birth combined with their Yugoslav heritage. Either their parents or grandparents were born in former Yugoslavia or the players have acquired citizenship on the basis of residency. Moreover, it is important to note that several different countries have emerged from former Yugoslavia. This could mean that – in some cases – parents or grandparents were all born in different areas of former Yugoslavia which are now different countries. This means that national eligibility options provided at birth for the cases in this research can vary from two to as much as seven.

The example of Zlatan Ibrahimović that was elaborated on in the introduction, shows that many options are possible. He was born in Sweden to a Bosnian father and a mother of Croatian and Albanian origin.[152] This means that after the dissolution of Yugoslavia and the development of Bosnia and Herzegovina and Croatia as independent countries, Ibrahimović had four different citizenship options on the basis of birth location and parentage. He made the decision to play for the Swedish team. Various reasons have shown to be of importance for his motivation, namely political circumstances as well as facilities and staff. Either way, sportspeople usually make a public statement of allegiance in their choice on which country to represent.[153]

3.5. Conclusion of chapter

This chapter has shed light on FIFA and UEFA. The organisations are not just the organisers of the World and European Championships respectively, they are also important regulatory bodies in the international world of football which entwines with other areas such as politics as well as commercial and financial matters. Next to that, the activities and policies of both organisations have largely contributed to the development of football as a sport as well as to the increase of the sport's popularity. Football players have turned into icons and celebrities, attracting even more attention to their – potential – citizenship choices.

FIFA is leading in shaping rules and regulations about the topic of citizenship and national representation. UEFA, as a confederation of FIFA, seems to rather act in line with these

[152] "Everything you need to know about Zlatan," Paris Saint-Germain, last modified July 18, 2012, https://web.archive.org/web/20160126065535/http://www.psg.fr/en/News/003001/Article/58553/Gros-plan-sur-Zlatan-Ibrahimovic.
[153] Ibid.

regulations. Either way, these regulations have very important permanent consequences for the football players analysed in this thesis, because players who were given multiple citizenship options at birth are supposed to make a permanent decision on which country they want to represent. The regulations by FIFA allow them to represent either the country in which they, their parents or their grandparents were born. Next to that, football players are also allowed to naturalise to obtain a certain citizenship. The choice they make however, is permanent since football players are not allowed to change national associations once they have played one official match for a national team.

In chapter five of this thesis, the different cases of football players and their citizenship choices will be analysed in-depth. Before that however, the next chapter will shed light on the following aspects of this research: The historical background of former Yugoslavia as a country and its composition of different ethnicities and regions; the different waves of migration from the area; the country's dissolution and the consequences for citizenship in the independent post-Yugoslav states. This will be assessed with the aim of getting a clear overview of the motives for, places of and citizenship consequences of settlement of migrants and refugees.

4. Historical background of former Yugoslavia

Former Yugoslavia originally came into being as a kingdom after the first World War and changed into a Socialist state in 1945.[154] However, "by 1992 the Yugoslav Federation was falling apart."[155] This chapter will provide relevant historical background to former Yugoslavia, its dissolution and the new states that eventually emerged from it. This chapter aims to describe the dissolution of the Yugoslav state in the context of the emergence of new citizenship regimes with possibilities and constraints for citizens, including football players. In addition, this chapter serves the purpose of explaining the different migration waves from the Yugoslav region and the settlement of migrants and refugees abroad. Since this thesis looks at citizenship choices that children of Yugoslav migrants and refugees have, it is important to assess the different migration and refuge flows. Why did migrants and refugees leave Yugoslavia? Where have they settled? And with what motives? Which consequences has this brought about? This chapter aims to provide answers to these questions.

4.1. Yugoslavia as a country

Favourable natural conditions such as fertile land, various different climate types and the accessibility through rivers have drawn many people towards the Balkan peninsula during the course of the last centuries.[156] These same rivers and other natural barriers have however caused for an internal division within the Balkan area, creating desires for the settled peoples to maintain their own individualities.[157] Attempts to politically unify the peoples in the region throughout many years have generally been unsuccessful.[158]

The former country of Yugoslavia is a very concrete example of a political entity that has encountered multiple unsuccessful attempts of creating and maintaining political unity amongst its peoples. It is often argued that Yugoslavia existed as a country twice, but after both times it fell apart, which was mostly due to social differences and political disagreement between peoples living in it.[159]

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[154] BBC News, "Timeline: Break-up of Yugoslavia," last modified May 22, 2006, http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/europe/4997380.stm.

[155] Ibid.

[156] Castellan, *History of the Balkans,* 4.

[157] Schevill, *A history of the Balkans,* 13.

[158] Ibid.

[159] John R. Lampe, *Yugoslavia as History: Twice there was a country* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000).

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.[160] The Kingdom did not exist for a long time since it was attacked by both Nazi Germany as well as fascist Italy in 1941. Due to German occupation, the country became strongly divided into collaborative groups on one hand and resistance on the other.[161] The biggest and most successful resistance emerged on communist side which eventually resulted in its leader Josip Broz – better known as Tito – seizing power in Yugoslavia at the end of the Second World War with assistance of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics (USSR).[162]

The post-war development of Yugoslavia as a socialist state under Tito's rule is seen as the 'second' Yugoslavia. In these first years, Tito implemented several policies on the economic level and established a constitutional principle which would create absolute equality between all peoples and republics within Yugoslavia.[163] Despite friendly relations between Tito and USSR leader Stalin, these policies did not fit in with the plans that Stalin initially had for the Balkan area. Mainly conflicting opinions on who had been responsible for freeing Yugoslavia were motivation for the cooperative relation between Tito and Stalin to come to an end. Stalin revoked the treaty of friendship and cooperation between the USSR and Yugoslavia in 1949.[164]

Hence, Yugoslavia continued independently, and created and implemented several policies. Internationally, Tito chose to pursue the practice of non-alignment, which was characterised by not being loyal or aligned to either one of the two power blocs in the Cold War.[165] Even more so, Yugoslavia became "one of the leading and initially most influential of a group of non-aligned states."[166] Nationally, a one-party system was introduced in which political opposition was not tolerated and the national ideology was an official communist one. The economy was organised in a manner which for instance prohibited private ownership in agriculture and mass media was centrally controlled.[167]

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[160] Lampe, *Yugoslavia as History*, 23.
[161] Judah, "Yugoslavia."
[162] Leslie Benson, *Yugoslavia: A Concise History* (Hampshire: Palgrave Macmillan, 2004), 73.
[163] Ibid., 90.
[164] Ibid., 94.
[165] John J. Horton, "Yugoslavia," in *Oxford International Encyclopaedia of Peace* (Oxford University Press, 2010).
[166] Ibid.
[167] Sergej Flere and Rudi Klanjšek, "Was Tito's Yugoslavia totalitarian?" *Communist and Post-Communist Studies* 47, no. 2 (June 2014).

The different republics that were a part of Yugoslavia are displayed in figure 3 below. The state consisted of the republics of Bosnia and Herzegovina, Croatia, Macedonia, Montenegro, Serbia and Slovenia. Next to that, within Serbia, the two autonomous provinces of Kosovo and Vojvodina were located.

Figure 3 *– Yugoslavia 1945-91: boundaries of the republics.*[168]

Even though Tito aimed at unifying the different actors within the federal state of Yugoslavia, the republics and their respective governments tended to have their own opinions about economics and other policies. A constitutional amendment in 1963 not only changed the country's name into the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia (SFRY), it also implemented economic reforms that caused for the republics to become less dependent. The republics became autonomous subjects through which they "acquired a deeper sense of their interests and of pursuing them, still within a distributive economy."[169] In the early 1970s even, the nature of the federation changed further, and Yugoslavia became a union of states in which decision-making was based on agreement.[170]

Agreement, however, was at times difficult to achieve. The republics tended to pursue their own – economic – interests rather than the collective interest which was ground for dissatisfaction to emerge. The economy in Slovenia and Croatia for instance, was relatively

[168] Benson, *Yugoslavia*, xxvi.
[169] Flere & Klanjšek, "Was Tito's Yugoslavia totalitarian?" 239.
[170] Ibid.

more profitable because of tourists and the closeness to the booming Italian market. On the other hand, several other republics struggled with unemployment which had to be compensated by the relatively wealthier republics.

The situation was complex as was the decision-making which had many actors on different levels and consequently resulted in long periods of consultation.[171] With the aim of reaching agreement and keeping the federation together, Tito would at times provide the republics with extra money that he loaned from western powers.[172] Keeping the federation together was one of the SFRY's main incentives, since "Yugoslavia's leaders believed that a policy of equality among the many nationalities in Yugoslavia […] would allow nationalism within Yugoslavia to exist, mature, and finally diminish as a political force without jeopardizing the political stability and economic development of the country as a whole."[173] The leaders expected that one shared political agenda as well as modernising society would weaken nationalism amongst the different Yugoslav republics and in a way, policies enabled the accommodation of national diversity within the country's borders through which minorities were legally recognised.[174]

Each republic had minorities and majorities. The Bosniaks, for example: Bosnian Muslims who mainly lived in Bosnia and Herzegovina, formed a minority in Serbia and Montenegro. Furthermore, Serb minorities were living in Croatia and vice versa. In Kosovo, almost 85 per cent of the inhabitants were ethnic Albanians whilst the other 15 per cent was made up of Serbians. For the biggest part, the province of Vojvodina was inhabited by Serbians whilst Croats formed the minority.[175] Generally, minorities identified themselves as "Yugoslavian", rather than Bosnian, Serbian or Croatian for instance, with the aim of showing that they would not assimilate to the majority of the republic in which they resided, nor would they show their weakness by labelling themselves as a minority.[176]

In the SFRY, the integrative processes of shaping one state identity have failed which was mostly due to the tensions between republics, and ethnic and national groups not wanting to give up their own sovereignty within the state.[177] The federal state attempted to impose a

[171] Ibid.
[172] Benson, *Yugoslavia*, 134.
[173] Dusko Sekulic, Garth Massy and Randy Hodson, "Who were the Yugoslavs? Failed sources of a common identity in the Former Yugoslavia," *American Sociological Review* 59, no. 1 (February 1994), 84.
[174] Ibid.
[175] Ibid., 85.
[176] Ibid., 86.
[177] Ibid., 84.

common identity, but the different national groups were clinging onto preserving their own, which can be argued to lie at the core of the wars of Yugoslav dissolution.[178]

4.1.1. Labour migration 1945-1990

Labour migration from the SFRY started as early as 1945 and lasted until 1990. After the Second World War it became clear that Tito's Yugoslavia had "inherited a number of economic and social problems from the old society" which were, amongst other things, under- and unemployment and widespread poverty.[179]

Since 1945, Yugoslavs illegally went abroad for either political or economic reasons and they would leave the country without proper permission.[180] The total number of illegal exits from Yugoslavia between 1945 and 1963 is estimated at 112,000 people and "there was an increasing stream of people leaving mainly for economic reasons."[181] As a consequence of these illegal exits, the Yugoslav government found itself at a crossroads in the early 1960s: it could either decide to take effective measures against the rising tide of illegal departures, do nothing and accept the violations of the laws or adapt its legislation to the social trend that had emerged.[182] Despite the government's concerns on losing control over its citizens, it eventually decided on lifting restrictions on employment abroad.[183] This was mainly due to increasing unemployment in Yugoslavia as well as the government's expectations that migrants would return after a while, importing knowledge and skills and that the country would consequently benefit economically and socially.[184]

As a result, international labour migration started to develop rapidly from the mid-1960s on.[185] Intra-industrial movements between Yugoslav industries and capitalist metropolises were initiated and agricultural labour was transferred from the Yugoslav countryside towards industrial centres in central and western Europe.[186] Furthermore, in the post-war period, guest worker programmes were implemented structurally by western European countries with the

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[178] Ibid.
[179] Schierup, "Former Yugoslavia," 285.
[180] Ulf Brunnbauer, "Migration and Economic Development in Socialist Yugoslavia," *ostBLOG*, March 17, 2016, https://ostblog.hypotheses.org/728.
[181] Ulf Brunnbauer, *Globalizing Southeastern Europe. America, Emigrants and the State since the late 19th Century* (Lanham, MD: Lexington, 2016), 290.
[182] Ibid.
[183] Ibid.
[184] Ibid., 291.
[185] Judah, "Yugoslavia."
[186] Ibid.

aim of addressing labour shortages in their industrial environments.[187] These programmes enabled foreign labourers, usually from the Mediterranean region, to work in a host country for a limited period of time. During this period, the labourers would not be granted permanent residence with the aim of discouraging and preventing integration.[188] Western European countries signed labour-recruitment agreements with countries such as Greece, Italy, Spain and Yugoslavia which were dealing with high numbers of unemployment and thus welcomed such initiatives.[189] This guest worker programme motivated many Yugoslavs to move towards western European countries during the 1960s and 70s.[190]

The SFRY aimed at centrally regulating this labour migration and the dynamics around it. The labour agreements with western European countries were aimed at rotation: workers would sign a contract and work for a few years after which they would return and be replaced by new workers.[191] Migrant workers were hence not seen as emigrants but rather as 'temporarily employed abroad' labourers.[192] Within only a decade, the number of Yugoslav citizens in European and oversees countries had grown to almost 1.5 million. One of the most important receiving countries was West Germany. A bilateral *Gastarbeiter* agreement was signed between the German and the Yugoslav government in 1968 and in the years that followed, nearly 700.000 Serbs, Croatians and Bosnians went to West Germany for work.[193] Besides Germany, Austria, Sweden and France were the main receiving countries. Migrant workers came from all over Yugoslavia, such as from the areas of Croatia, Serbia, Macedonia and Slovenia. Some migrants, however, did not join the established guest worker programmes, but moved oversees to join people from their community who had already emigrated before the Second World War.[194]

The government initially expected that the labour migration flow would only last for a short while. The opposite however, turned out to be the case: the differences in wages between Yugoslavia and western Europe remained high and unemployment was still a problem in the SFRY. Moreover, due to the fact that networks had been established by other migrants abroad,

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[187] Başak Bilecen, "Guest Worker Families in Europe," in *The Wiley Blackwell Encyclopedia of Family Studies*, ed. Constance L. Shehan (Wiley-Blackwell, 2016), 1.
[188] Ibid.
[189] Ibid.
[190] Mirjana Morokvasić, "Yugoslav Refugees, Displaced Persons and the Civil War," *Refuge* 11, no. 4 (May 1992), 3.
[191] Brunnbauer, "Migration and Economic Development."
[192] Ibid.
[193] Filip Slavkovic, "Yugoslav Guest Workers Torn Between Germany and Home," *DW*, December 7, 2008, https://www.dw.com/en/yugoslav-guest-workers-torn-between-germany-and-home/a-3847033.
[194] Schierup, "Former Yugoslavia," 285.

people continued to depart the SFRY during the 1970s and 1980s with the aim of settling and earning money abroad.[195]

Basic tendencies of Yugoslav labour migration can partly be correlated with football emigration from the former country. Yugoslavs – possibly more than any other nationality – have had the tendency to play professional football and settle abroad.[196] In order to provide a bigger understanding of this migration of Yugoslav footballers that has been happening since the beginning of the 20th century, one has to be aware of the "politics and ideology of the Tito regime, its relationship with western and eastern Europe and the internal nationalist tensions of the recent past."[197] Furthermore, it is important to note that football migration that occurred during the course of the previous century, was subject to restrictions imposed by receiving national football federations.[198] This meant for example that a limit was imposed on the number of foreign players that were allowed to play in one club team. These restrictions in Europe varied by date, country and football division.[199]

Yugoslav football migration did not really occur before the 1950s, because players were considered to be state amateurs and were therefore not permitted to play abroad.[200] During the 1950s, the opportunity of football migration was only permitted to the most accomplished and experienced players. It was not until the 1960s, that football migration from Yugoslavia started occurring in higher numbers, which was due to reforms by the government of President Tito. Modest economic reforms in 1961 generated more freedom to domestic businesses and slightly lessened restrictions for foreign trade. With this, Tito "opened up the country's considerable pool of talent to the West."[201] A greater number of accomplished football players became enabled to finish their careers abroad.[202] More economic reforms were implemented in 1965 which led to the country slightly shifting towards liberalism. This meant that citizens were not only allowed to work abroad but encouraged to do so with the aim of them sending money home.[203]

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[195] Morokvasić, "Yugoslav refugees," 4.
[196] Pierre Lanfranchi and Matthew Taylor, *Moving with the Ball: The Migration of Professional Footballers.* (Berg Publishers, 2001), 111.
[197] Ibid.
[198] Jeffrey E. Cole, "People on the move in Europe," *Identities: Global Studies in Culture and Power* 13, no. 2 (2006), 315.
[199] Ibid.
[200] Lanfranchi, *Moving with the ball,* 117.
[201] Cole, "People on the move," 321.
[202] Lanfranchi, *Moving with the ball,* 117.
[203] Ibid., 118.

As a consequence, many football players left Yugoslavia to play abroad. In one summer, "an astonishing total of 122 professional players (the equivalent of 11 teams) left the country to sign contracts abroad."[204] Examples of receiving countries are England, France and Italy. These countries had all founded a national football association around the 1900s which had caused for the foundation of many clubs which as a result contributed to the development of the national league.[205]

In western European countries, clubs were already actively attracting and importing foreign football players. The English Football League for instance, had started importing foreign footballers as early as the 1880s.[206] English clubs commenced with attracting players from Wales, Scotland and Ireland, players from South Africa and other Commonwealth countries made their appearance from the 1920s, and Yugoslav players were brought to the English Football League from the 1970s.[207] The Yugoslav football players that went to play for western European clubs however, only took on short-term contracts and moved between clubs with the aim of constantly improving their financial situation.[208] This meant that the footballers had the tendency to move around western European countries.

4.3. Wars of Yugoslav dissolution

After the death of SFRY leader Tito in 1980, the Yugoslavs were in shock as they had not anticipated political change. As Tito was a dictator, he had done away with all skilled politicians during his rule. Even more so, no politician was considered good enough to succeed Tito. The Yugoslav state began to unravel, and it turned out that Tito's state had been built on the foundations of massive western loans. Consequently, the governments of the various republics began to exercise their individual powers they had received by the constitutions instead of striving for cooperation.[209]

Slovenia was the first republic that stepped forward as the main opponent of Yugoslav centralism.[210] The republic had done well economically and was responsible for high export

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[204] Ibid.

[205] "Member Leagues," European Leagues, accessed June 1, 2019, https://europeanleagues.com/member-leagues-and-associate-members/.

[206] Matthew Taylor, "Global Players? Football, Migration and Globalization, c. 1930-2000," *Historical Social Research* 31, no. 1 (2006), 30.

[207] Ibid.

[208] Christian Banse, "Global Players and the Stadium: Migration and Borders in Professional Football," in *Stadium Worlds. Football, space and the built environment,* eds. Sybille Frank and Silke Steets (London: Routledge, 2010), 139.

[209] Judah, "Yugoslavia."

[210] Benson, *Yugoslavia*,135.

earnings. The Slovenes emerged as the main critics of all federal institutions. They were aiming for confederal arrangements in which the separate republics would have a more privileged place. Together with the Croats, the Slovenes resented the fact that 'their' tourist branch earnings had been used to subsidise poorer parts of the country such as Kosovo.

Kosovo had become an autonomous republic by the 1974 constitution, after which it had been freed from its subordination to Serbia. The Serbs were now aiming at reincorporating Kosovo as a province and maintaining autonomy over the province of Vojvodina.[211] The ethnic Albanians in Kosovo however – which took up a vast majority of the province's population – were starting to demonstrate for their own republic and even wanted Kosovo to secede from Yugoslavia and unite with Albania.[212] This independence movement was supported by big parts of the Albanian population but was not received well by the Serbs and as a result, Serbian police acted violently to end it.[213] Moreover, a Serbian nationalistic movement arose in Kosovo as a reaction to the independence movement and a memorandum was written in which the radical ethnic-nationalistic Serbian vision was expressed.[214] Serbian party leader Slobodan Milošević used this memorandum in his campaigns and propaganda which strengthened his political position. Ethnic-nationalism was now a political priority in Serbia and communist ideologies had been pushed aside.

As a result of the Serbian nationalistic memorandum, Slovenes started to express their dissatisfaction as well as their wishes to separate from Yugoslavia. After a few years of radicalisation, Slovenia declared its independence in June 1991. Polarisation went even further when newly appointed president Tuđman of Croatia declared the republic's independence as well.[215] From this point on, the SFRY began to crumble and violence increased. Several groups of paramilitaries were set up which followed the Serbian political idea to start a civil war in Croatia as a response to the republic's declaration of independence.

Following the Slovenian and Croatian example, Bosnia and Herzegovina declared its independence in March 1992, which resulted in fights and other violence in and around the capital of Sarajevo. In Bosnia and Herzegovina, the population was divided into three main population groups or ethnicities: 44 per cent Muslims, 31 per cent Serbs and 17 per cent

[211] Ibid, 136.
[212] Ibid.
[213] Ton Zwaan, "Crisis en genocide in Joegoslavië, 1985-1995," *NIOD*, accessed April 24, 2019, https://www.niod.nl/sites/niod.nl/files/Crisis%20en%20genocide%20in%20Joegoslavie_0.pdf.
[214] Ibid.
[215] Ibid.

Croats.[216] One of the biggest massacres during the war took place in Srebrenica, a Bosnian town, in July 1995. Many Bosniaks had sought refuge in this town but with the arrival of the Bosnian Serbs, they were no longer safe. Approximately 7.000 Muslim men were slaughtered. After this massacre, the United States of America, the UN and the North Atlantic Treaty Organisation (NATO) decided to structure their involvement in the conflict and consequently, they undertook actions which would push back the Serbs.[217] The end of the war was decided when all parties involved signed the Dayton Agreement in November 1995.

The wars and so-called 'ethnic cleansing' caused many deaths and victims. Estimates of numbers of killings lie around 150.000. Amongst these victims were Bosniaks, Serbians in Bosnia and Croatians. Every group that had been involved in the conflict knew victims as well as offenders.[218]

4.3.1. Refuge flow

As a result of the Yugoslav wars and the violence that came with it, more than one million people were displaced within former Yugoslavia whilst 650.000 to 800.000 people were forced to flee the country.[219] From the republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina, around 700.000 people became refugees. A small number sought refuge in Australia and the United States of America and the biggest part in European countries. As a result, "the Yugoslav wars […] forced European states confronted with the largest refugee crisis since WWII, to revise their asylum policies, specify their vague regulations on refugees, and attempt to develop a unified policy in response to the pressing issue."[220] In figure 4 below, the displacement of Yugoslav peoples is shown as well as the numbers of refugees and the receiving countries.

Overall, Germany received the highest number of Yugoslav refugees. Other important receiving countries are Austria, Sweden, Switzerland, the Netherlands and Denmark. In Germany, Yugoslav refugees represented almost 14 per cent of the entire 'foreign' population in 1991. In Switzerland this was almost 13 per cent whereas the number of Yugoslavs in Austria

[216] "The State of the World's Refugees 2000," UNHCR, accessed on April 24, 2019, https://www.unhcr.org/3ebf9bb50.pdf.
[217] Ibid.
[218] Ibid.
[219] Philippe Rekacewicz et al., "Refugees and displaced persons from former Yugoslavia since 1991," accessed on April 24, 2019, http://www.grida.no/resources/6856.
[220] Joelle Hageboutros, "The Bosnian Refugee Crisis: A Comparative Study of German and Austrian Reactions and Responses," *Swarthmore International Relations Journal* 1 (2016), 50.

represented over 40 per cent of all foreign population.[221] Germany and Austria however, initially had fierce anti-immigration policies. The countries had no intention to provide "immediate permanent residency or resettlement programs."[222] Most European states used the so-called Temporary Protection Status (TPS) as a way to handle the refugee crisis. Refugees did not receive the status of asylum-seekers, because that status meant that people were entitled to financial and social services and would mean a higher financial burden for the receiving states. Refugees, however, were offered basic protection and residence rights with the TPS. Eventually, every country implemented the TPS differently. When the protection for Bosnian refugees was declared to have ended in 1997, some countries decided to begin a repatriation process, such as Germany, whereas other countries chose to accept a permanent residency status for refugees who were initially offered TPS.[223] Sweden for example, performed the latter. Between 1996 and 2001, the absolute number of Yugoslav residents decreased with approximately five per cent because around 35.000 Yugoslavs were naturalised to Swedish citizenship.

Kosovo Albanians – which are not separately indicated in figure 4 – were suppressed in their province and many fled over the mountains towards Albania. Next to that, these people made their way towards Macedonia and Montenegro and fled abroad towards Italy, Switzerland and other parts of western Europe.[224]

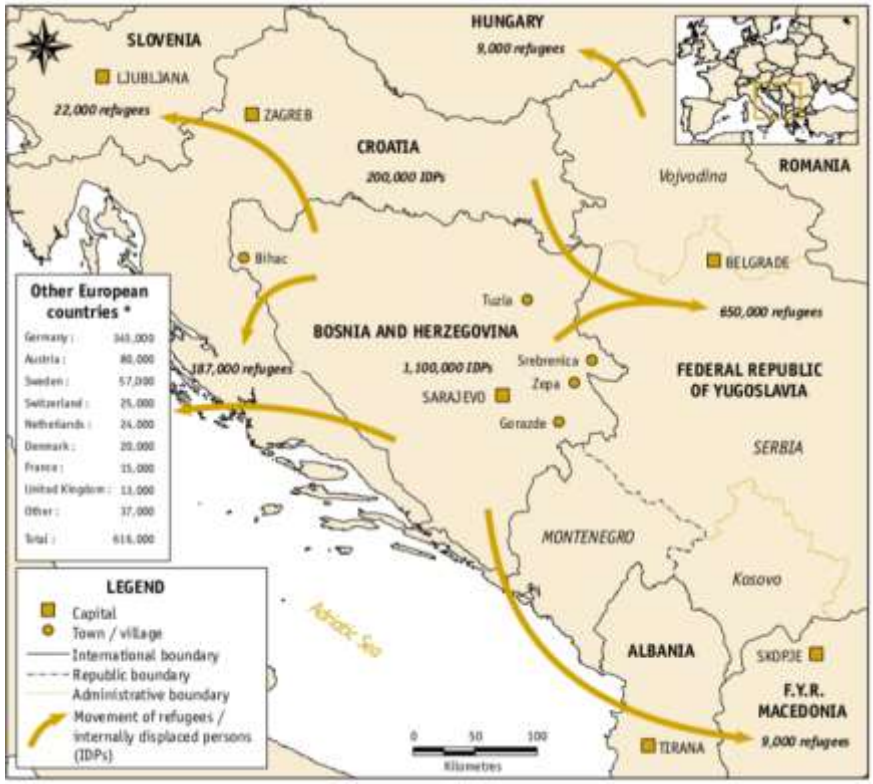

Figure 4 *– Movement of displaced populations and refugees from former Yugoslavia.*[225]

[221] Corrado Bonifazi and Marija Mamolo, "Past and Current Trends of Balkan Migrations," *Espace, Populations, Societies* 3 (2004), 525.
[222] Hageboutros, "The Bosnian Refugee Crisis," 50.
[223] Ibid., 53.
[224] UNHCR, "State of World Refugees."
[225] UNHCR, "The State of World Refugees."

4.4. The post-war Balkan area

The Dayton Agreement in 1995 was signed by presidents of the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina, the Republic of Croatia and the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia. The Federal Republic of Yugoslavia (FRY) would now consist of the republics of Serbia and Montenegro. Slovenia, Croatia and the Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia (FYROM) became independent nations.[226] The Dayton Agreement furthermore acknowledged two entities within the state of Bosnia and Herzegovina: *Republika Srpska* and the Muslim-Croat Federation. Even though there have not been any clashes between military forces within Bosnia and Herzegovina, the country did lack public order and there was no effective security for ethnic minorities. In addition to that, a number of refugees came back to their homeland in 1999 but were not able to return to their original homes: they had to relocate to areas in which their ethnic group was in the majority.[227]

The war in Bosnia and Herzegovina had come to an end, but for Kosovo, the end of the crisis was nowhere near. In February 1998, Serbian security forces intensified operations against Kosovo Albanians. As a result, the UN Security Council got more involved and the Yugoslav authorities eventually agreed to a ceasefire and partially withdrew from Kosovo.[228] Further fighting however, continued and the NATO initiated an air campaign against FR Yugoslavia. This provoked Yugoslav armed forces to carry out a "brutal campaign of ethnic cleansing, which included organized mass deportations to neighbouring states."[229] It was not until 1999 that FR Yugoslavia accepted a peace plan which required the withdrawal of all Serb forces from Kosovo. By the end of the year, more than 820.000 Kosovo Albanians had safely returned but arrived in a society that did not have functioning civil administration nor any legal system. Missions by the UN and other organisations have aimed at restoring the public order as well as protecting the remaining minorities within Kosovo such as Serbs and Roma.[230]

Until 2008, Kosovo was administered by the UN. In that year, Kosovo unilaterally declared independence from Serbia.[231] Kosovo has only been recognised as an independent state by a number of countries such as the United States, the United Kingdom, Germany, France and others. Serbia, however, refuses to recognise Kosovo as an independent state and has Russian

[226] Ibid.
[227] Ibid.
[228] Ibid.
[229] Ibid.
[230] Ibid.
[231] BBC News, "Kosovo profile," last modified January 16, 2018, https://www.bbc.com/news/world-europe-18328859.

support in this case. The International Court of Justice has concluded that the Kosovar declaration of independence has not violated general international law.[232] In this thesis, Kosovo is considered a state since it has its own citizenship regime and the country's national football association has become a member of both UEFA and FIFA in respectively 2015 and 2016 which makes it a country that football players are able to represent.[233]

4.4.1. Citizenship after Yugoslavia

When Yugoslavia still existed, inhabitants had single citizenship of the SFRY as well as citizenship of a respective republic which could be acquired through descent, birth or naturalisation.[234] Each of the Yugoslav republics had their own citizenship laws and registers of citizens which dated back as far as 1947-1948.[235] When the republics emerged as independent states during and after the wars, most citizens were able to obtain citizenship of the new state automatically if they previously had been a republic-level registered citizen.[236]

The citizenship regimes, shaped and implemented by the post-Yugoslav states, were in practice not that simplistic and have therefore received much academic as well as societal attention. Despite the states sharing roots in the sense of having been a republic – or province – within the SFRY, the new citizenship regimes show a number of differences amongst them.[237] This variety was mostly influenced by factors such as socialism, conflict and partition.[238]

Questions on who would be included or excluded in the new communities were present during state formation processes and it has been argued that the post-Yugoslav states aimed at ethnically engineering their societies.[239] Ethnic engineering can be seen as "an intentional policy of governments and lawmakers to influence, by legal means and related administrative practices, the ethnic composition of their populations in favour of their core ethnic group."[240] New political communities were established in the post-Yugoslav states and as a consequence of various forms of ethnic engineering four different groups emerged amongst the previously

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[232] Ibid.
[233] "Kosovo – Association information," FIFA, accessed June 1, 2019, https://www.fifa.com/associations/association/kvx/about.
[234] Jelena Pejic "Citizenship and statelessness in the former Yugoslavia: the legal framework," *Refugee Survey Quarterly* 14, no. 3 (1995): 6.
[235] Igor Štiks, *Nations and Citizens in Yugoslavia and the Post-Yugoslav States: One Hundred Years of Citizenship* (London: Bloomsbury Academic, 2015), 155.
[236] Ibid.
[237] Džankić, Kacarska, Pantić and Shaw, "The Governance of Citizenship Practices," 338.
[238] Shaw and Štiks, "Citizenship in the new states of South Eastern Europe," 309.
[239] Džankić, Kacarska, Pantić and Shaw, "The Governance of Citizenship Practices," 338.
[240] Štiks, *Nations and Citizens in Yugoslavia*, 151.

equal Yugoslav citizens, namely the included, the invited, the excluded and the self-excluded.[241]

To begin with, the 'included' were all former republican citizens who had already been registered in the republican registers and were therefore automatically transferred into new registers. This was a basic matter of law based on the principle of continuity but could nonetheless become complicated if people resided outside of the republic whose citizenship they possessed or if parents had for example different republican citizenships.[242]

Secondly, the new states 'invited' certain individuals to join their newly established political communities on the basis of uniting ethnic kin that resided in neighbouring countries, other European countries or overseas. Especially the Croatian citizenship law called for open invitations which were mainly aimed at ethnic Croats who lived in Europe or overseas, in neighbouring countries such as Bosnia and Herzegovina and ethnic Croats who resided in the republic but did not have its republican citizenship.[243] Despite the relatively small number of ethnic Slovenian and Macedonian kin abroad, Slovenian and Macedonian laws on citizenship also facilitated naturalisation processes for diaspora members.[244] In 1996, the FRY – then existing of Serbia and Montenegro – invited all citizens that lived in the republic to hold FRY citizenship if they did not have a foreign citizenship. This approach was based on attracting ethnic Serbs towards Belgrade as well as on the thought that the FRY was the true successor of former Yugoslavia and hence should facilitate citizenship for those who would otherwise remain without. Acquiring citizenship was more difficult however, for refugees from Croatia and Bosnia and Herzegovina since this would entail "voting rights for this group that by the mid-1990s mostly blamed Milošević for their sufferings" which was not considered beneficial for Milošević's government.[245] It was not until 2001 that amendments to the law made it easier for these refugees to obtain citizenship in the republic.

Thirdly, the 'excluded' group can be seen as the so-called aliens or the stateless. Yugoslav citizens that resided in republics other than their own were immediately excluded.[246] Slovenia appeared to have executed such exclusion intentionally by adopting a citizenship law in 1992 which provided that people from other republics who had lawful residence in Slovenia – on the day of the Slovenian independence referendum – could become Slovenian citizens within six

[241] Ibid., 156.
[242] Ibid., 157.
[243] Ibid., 158.
[244] Ibid., 159.
[245] Ibid.
[246] Ibid., 160.

months if requested so. However, approximately 20,000 lawful residents were in fact intentionally erased from Slovenian civic registries making them unable to apply for Slovenian citizenship and therefore stateless.[247] In the FYR of Macedonia, ethnic Albanians who were displaced to Macedonia during the wars, were specifically targeted by citizenship laws since they were required to live continuously in the republic for no less than 15 years in order to obtain a membership to the Macedonian political community.[248] The province of Kosovo, which was a part of the FRY until the end of the 1990s, was an area in which citizenship rights were violated on many occasions, mainly targeting ethnic Albanians.

Finally, self-exclusion occurred which meant that people would 'exclude' themselves of their existing citizenship status with the aim of establishing their own ethnically based state or joining their kin state.[249] An example is the boycotting of the Serbian state by Kosovo Albanians which has eventually led to Kosovo establishing an independent citizenship regime and becoming partially recognised internationally in 2008.[250]

When it comes to today's situation regarding citizenship, not much changes have occurred in the former Yugoslav republics of Slovenia and Croatia. Slovenia has taken responsibility for its act of 'erasing' people from its registries and Croatia has opened up towards Serb refugees.[251] Moreover, Croatia currently facilitates citizenship not only to people who were born outside of Croatia but also whose parents or grandparents were born on Croatian territory.[252] In line with this, the Croatian government allows its citizens to hold dual citizenship.[253] In these countries, inclusiveness as well as a relatively fair treatment of minorities has developed over the course of the last decades.[254]

In the FYR of Macedonia, Serbia, Montenegro and Kosovo on the other hand, many developments have taken place. In 2001, the FYR of Macedonia agreed upon multiethnicity within its borders with the intention of ending Albanian rebellion.[255] In Belgrade, Serbia and Montenegro – since 2003 no longer going by the name of FRY – amended its citizenship law in 2004 which invited all ethnic Serbs and members of kin to acquire Serbian citizenship. When

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[247] Ibid.
[248] Ibid., 161.
[249] Ibid., 162.
[250] Ibid., 163.
[251] Ibid., 165.
[252] "Croatian Citizenship Act," Refworld, accessed May 15, 2019, https://www.refworld.org/pdfid/5ac3799f4.pdf.
[253] Ibid.
[254] Štiks, *Nations and Citizens in Yugoslavia*, 165.
[255] Ibid.

Montenegro declared its independence of Serbia in 2006, Serbian authorities implemented amendments to the constitution in 2007 which made it easier for Montenegrins who lived in Serbia to obtain Serbian citizenship. Montenegro however, feared this Serbian influence on its citizens and therefore the Montenegrin government chose not to allow its citizens to hold dual citizenship, which makes Montenegro the only post-Yugoslav country that prohibits dual citizenship.[256] The relatively new state of Kosovo considers all people who had habitual residence in Kosovo on 1 January 1998 as being citizens. This directly led to a new flow of self-exclusion when "Kosovo Serbs largely refused to accept Kosovo as an independent state with its own authorities and they have been building their own 'parallel institutions; in Serb-majority zones in North Kosovo."[257] In the wake of the events in the Yugoslav wars, both Kosovo and Bosnia and Herzegovina have experienced the influence of external actors in imposing citizenship laws, causing for them both to become a product of "international intervention, supervision and design."[258]

In conclusion, in the post-Yugoslav states, ethnic membership as well as dominance of the main ethnic group appear to have overshadowed citizenship as a basic right to membership of a political community.[259] Ethnic engineering has been highly important in the establishment of most citizenship regimes. This focus on ethnicity, however, also resulted in the post-Yugoslav states to value kinship and descent which is a central aspect of this thesis. Football players are highly unlikely to have automatically received citizenship of the post-Yugoslav countries in which their parents or grandparents were born. Despite this, the fact that several countries 'invited' people of kin that resided abroad could mean that football players have been or could be offered citizenship. Furthermore, FIFA allows players to represent nations in which their parents or grandparents were born. Thus, the fact that the players have not automatically received citizenship at birth, is unlikely to have provided any issues in their national team choice, because they are able to acquire citizenship of a former Yugoslav state later in life. The different case studies in the next chapter will have to prove whether the citizenship regimes have been of importance in their choice in national representation.

[256] Ibid., 166.
[257] Ibid., 167.
[258] Shaw and Štiks, "Citizenship in the new states of South Eastern Europe," 319.
[259] Štiks, *Nations and Citizens in Yugoslavia*, 169.

4.5. Conclusion of chapter

The Balkan area consists of several countries, out of which seven have been a part of former Yugoslavia. The area was attractive for settlement, because it has a fertile land and good accessibility through rivers. These natural borders, however, have also been a source of complications in creating and maintaining political unity amongst the people residing there.[260]

Yugoslavia knew ethnic differences from its emergence in 1918 as the Kingdom of Serbs, Croats and Slovenes.[261] Disagreements between the different areas and peoples seemed to be less problematic during Tito's rule. The federal state was subdivided into different republics, but decision-making was focused on reaching consensus between the many actors on different governmental levels.[262] In this period, the SFRY started opening up to the west and as a result, many people left the country in order to find work abroad. The SFRY was struggling with poverty and unemployment and even encouraged its citizens to seek work abroad with the aim of sending money home.[263]

After Tito's death, the country seemed more divided than ever. The SFRY had major debts to western countries and most of the republics did not want to cooperate and hence strived for independence. Issues such as money, poverty, subordination and ethnicity lay at the core of the emergence of the wars of Yugoslav dissolution.[264] In this war, every republic had victims as well as offenders such as the Bosniaks, Croats and Serbs. As a result of the war, many people were displaced within the SFRY and others decided to flee the country and seek refuge elsewhere. Many refugees went overseas to the United States of America or Australia, but most sought refuge in western European countries.[265]

At the end of the Yugoslav wars, the different republics of the SFRY individually formed independent states, each with their own citizenship regime, one more inclusive than the other. Nonetheless, the post-Yugoslav citizenship regimes stress the importance of ethnicity and kinship which is of high relevance in this thesis' case, since it focusses on football players of Yugoslav descent.

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[260] Castellan, *History of the Balkans,* 4.
[261] Judah, "Yugoslavia."
[262] Benson, *Yugoslavia*, 135.
[263] Brunnbauer, "Migration and Economic Development."
[264] Benson, *Yugoslavia*,135.
[265] UNHCR "State of the World's Refugees."

5. Analysis of cases

For this analysis, 53 football players of Yugoslav descent have been selected after which a case selection list has been set up, which is to be consulted in Appendix 1. As many as 31 out of 53 football players – approximately 60 per cent – who have played an official match at a World or European Championship, have chosen to represent the national team of the country in which they were born themselves. The other 40 per cent exists of 21 cases that chose to represent their parents' or grandparents' country of heritage whereas only one case was found representing a 'new' country to which he had no connection through birth or descent. The main aim was to emphasise nationality choices and the factors that explain such decisions. Fifty-three in-depth case analyses have been executed on the basis of primary sources such as interviews, news articles, social media and books. The database that was established accordingly, can be found in Appendix 2.

First and foremost, the results of this study indicate that several cases have not brought forward useful information. In numbers, this means that the guiding factors behind football nationality choices of 23 football players remain unknown. This lack of information is for example due to language barriers, since several sources were in Russian, Italian or Norwegian, which unfortunately, were not properly translatable. Alongside this, several football players are less well-known than others which has caused for a low number of useful sources in these cases. Hence, the 23 cases have been listed in the database-category of 'cases with insufficient amount of information.' On the other hand, the majority of all cases did provide useful information: these 30 cases – approximately 60 per cent – have been separated into two categories: cases with a 'sufficient' amount of information and cases with a 'limited' amount of information. The difference between the two categories is based on direct quotes from the football players themselves as opposed to speculative sources or quotes from other people that did point towards a footballers' nationality choice. The categories can be consulted in the database in the second appendix of this thesis.

5.1. Guiding factors analysed

5.1.1. 'Connection to country'

A variety of perspectives were expressed in the analysed cases. The number-one guiding factor for football players of Yugoslav descent in making their football nationality choice is a 'feeling of belonging or pride' which is a part of the category of 'the country'. This guiding factor was

mentioned by 18 players. An example of a player whose football nationality choice can be explained through a feeling of belonging or pride, is Ivan Rakitić. Rakitić was born in 1988 in the town of Möhlin in Switzerland. His Croatian parents had left former Yugoslavia before the wars broke out and consequently, Ivan and his brother Dejan were born in Switzerland.[266] In an interview, Rakitić talks about his childhood in Switzerland and explains that Croatia "was a place we called home, but it was also a place that neither my brother nor I had ever been to before. We spoke Croatian in the house, and there were plenty of Croatians in our town in Switzerland."[267] In the interview, Rakitić also elaborates on the wars in former Yugoslavia, how he experienced those events from his Croatian home in Switzerland and that – as a child – it was difficult to understand all the events occurring in the Balkans. He argues: "We were lucky. We were far away from it, so we did not see what was happening. But it was never really far from my parents' mind."[268] Despite this most difficult period, the topic of football was never off the table in the Rakitić house: "Even before Croatia had officially declared its independence, our national team had already played a match. I think that tells you how much football means to us, to any country, really and its people – no matter where they live."[269] Ivan and his brother were both given a shirt of the Croatian national team and Rakitić explains that "the moment my dad took them out of the box, my brother and I knew… We were never going to take them off."

At a certain point in his career Rakitić had to decide which national team he wanted to represent. On the eve of Rakitić's transfer to FC Schalke 04 in Germany from FC Basel in Switzerland he wanted to make a decision on which national team he would represent: "it was the moment to decide what I have to do. Or playing for Switzerland or for Croatia."[270] In the process of making his decision, Rakitić argued that choosing for the Croatian national team "was never a decision against Switzerland, it was just a decision for Croatia"[271] and "it was a decision of the heart. I did not think 'with this team I will play more.' That thought process is for club football."[272] Considering this, Rakitić's decision was based on a feeling of belonging rather than on a rational or practical consideration.

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[266] Sid Lowe, "Tireless Ivan Rakitic happy to be on the spot for Croatia against England," *The Guardian,* July 9, 2018, https://www.theguardian.com/football/2018/jul/09/tireless-ivan-rakitic-on-the-spot-croatia-england.

[267] Ivan Rakitić, "The Best Shirt in the World," *The Players' Tribune,* June 21, 2018, https://www.theplayerstribune.com/en-us/articles/ivan-rakitic-croatia-the-best-shirt-in-the-world.

[268] Ibid.

[269] Ibid.

[270] Ivan Rakitić, "The Biggest Part of My Heart Belongs to Croatia," *The Players' Tribune,* July 16, 2018, https://www.theplayerstribune.com/global/videos/ivan-rakitic-croatia-national-team.

[271] Rakitić, "The Biggest Part of My Heart Belongs to Croatia."

[272] Lowe, "Tireless Ivan Rakitic happy to be on the spot for Croatia against England."

Rakitić has been a member of the Croatian national team since 2007 and currently still plays for the team as well as for FC Barcelona. For Croatia, he has participated in both the UEFA European championships of 2008, 2012 and 2016; and the FIFA World Cups of 2014 and 2018.[273] Rakitić still appears to be proud to play for Croatia: "To be able to play for your country and defend your colours. There are no words to describe it […] I still never want to take the shirt off."[274]

Photo 1 *– Rakitić in the Croatian chequered jersey.*[275]

Besides Rakitić, 17 other players mentioned a certain feeling of belonging or pride to be explanatory in their football nationality choice. There was a sense of belonging amongst many football players which for instance came forward in players dreaming of representing a certain country from a young age or feeling more connected to one country than the other.

The next guiding factor that was mentioned relatively often is a certain willingness of 'giving back to a country' within the category of 'connection to country'. Five players who were born and raised in a certain country and consequently went through their education there – in both school and sports – tended to have a willingness of 'giving back' to that country. This means that they wished to pay financial and educational investments by the country or the national football association back, in a way, by choosing to represent its national team and potentially contribute to national team successes. The single most surprising and insightful observation in the analysis was the case of Adnan Januzaj. In 1995, Januzaj was born in Brussels, Belgium, as

[273] "Ivan Rakitic," Transfermarkt, accessed May 19, 2019, https://www.transfermarkt.com/ivan-rakitic/nationalmannschaft/spieler/32467.

[274] Rakitić, "The Best Shirt in the World."

[275] Photo retrieved from: Ivan Rakitić (@ivanrakitic), "Nije rezultat koji smo htjeli […]," Instagram photo, June 3, 2018, https://www.instagram.com/p/BjkfUp5lOWl/.

a child of ethnic Albanians from Kosovo.[276] His parents moved towards Belgium with the aim of seeking refuge from the Yugoslav wars. Growing up, it became clear that Januzaj had a talent for football and he was soon taken up in the talent academy of Belgian club RSC Anderlecht. At the age of 16, Januzaj was signed by English Premier League club Manchester United.[277] In 2013, Januzaj was at a crossroads: he was expected to express his football nationality choice as many national teams were preparing for the 2014 World Cup in Brazil. This choice, however, was not easy for Januzaj since he had as much as six different football nationality options. On the basis of his place of birth, he could represent Belgium. On the basis of parentage, he could choose Albania and Kosovo, but also Serbia since Kosovo had been a Serbian province in the past and was not yet a member of FIFA nor UEFA in 2013. Besides that, based on the 'granny' rule, Januzaj was eligible to represent Turkey and considering that he had played in England for some time, he was also eligible to opt for British citizenship. Januzaj's sports mobility towards England at an early age, stresses the importance of "ethical practices of some European clubs in endeavouring to harvest young talent at a very early stage", which has caused for Januzaj to have even more national team options.[278]

***Photo 2** – Adnan Januzaj in the jersey of the 'Red Devils'.*[279]

Eventually, in early 2014, Januzaj announced that he would be available for the Belgian national team and in a press conference, he explained: "I was born here; I have followed my entire studies here. My future is here, with this team."[280] This quote shows that Januzaj has been grateful for what he has been given by Belgium and as a result, he wanted to give something back to the country by making himself available for selection. A few weeks later, Januzaj was

[276] Michael Beattie, "The Januzaj Files: 10 things you need to know about Manchester United's Adnan Januzaj," *The Telegraph,* October 7, 2013, https://www.telegraph.co.uk/sport/football/competitions/premier-league/10360697/The-Januzaj-files-10-things-you-need-to-know-about-Manchester-Uniteds-Adnan-Januzaj.html.

[277] Ibid.

[278] Storey, "National allegiance," 2.

[279] Photo retrieved from: Adnan Januzaj (@adnanjanuzaj), "Happy with the win and the goal […]," Instagram photo, June 29, 2018, https://www.instagram.com/p/BkmoJJnn513/.

[280] Freely translated from "Januzaj: Heel blij met van Gaal," Zoomin.TV Nederland, last modified May 19, 2014, https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=fnBVl27KNG8.

selected by Belgian coach Wilmots and participated in the 2014 World Cup in Brazil that summer.[281]

Interestingly, Januzaj chose to 'give back' his football talent to his country of birth whilst he had many other football nationality options and whilst he was not sure that the Belgian coach would consequently be call up Januzaj to the national team. If, for instance, Januzaj had chosen to make himself available for the Albanian national team, he could have been more certain of being called up because the level of the Albanian team is lower than that of the Belgian. Kosovo on the other hand, was at this period not even a member of UEFA nor FIFA which would make the prospect of an international career uncertain if not impossible in the near future. With the Belgian national team however, Januzaj was more likely to be successful at international tournaments. Januzaj explained his choice as 'giving back' to Belgium since the country has provided him with education, but his decision might have been driven by chances of team success. This was, however, not mentioned by Januzaj so his main guiding factor is 'giving back' to the country.

5.1.2. 'The game'

The next section of the categories was concerned with all factors within the theme of 'the game', such as chances of team success or having a certain connection to a coach.

In three cases, the importance of having a connection to a coach is stressed. For Socceroo Matthew Jurman for instance, his connection to the coach of the Australian national team comes across as very relevant. Jurman was born and raised in Wollongong, Australia and is of Croatian descent through his father.[282] He started playing football at the age of four and immediately fell in love with the game. After playing for several Australian clubs and representing Australia at both under-20 and under-23 level, Jurman expected to be called up for the senior Socceroo team as well but this happened later than expected. Debuting for the Socceroos in 2017, was a dream come true for Jurman which mainly happened because of Australian national team coach at the time, Ange Postecoglou. Jurman explains: "I was fortunate enough to play under Ange three different times – first with the Australian under 20s, then when he signed me to the Brisbane Roar from Sydney FC in 2011 and, finally, when he handed me my Socceroos debut four games

[281] Ibid.
[282] "Late Arrival," AFC Quarterly, accessed June 1, 2019, http://www.the-afc.com/features/late-arrival.

ago."[283] In a column, Jurman explains that: "Ange believed in me and quite literally made my dream come true."[284] These quotes show that – according to Jurman – had it not been for Ange Postecoglou, Jurman would not have made his debut for the Socceroos in 2017. This example explicitly shows the importance of the possible connection between coach and player. Jurman had already worked together with Postecoglou on a club level through which the two appear to have established a friendly relationship, that might have even led to Postecoglou's decision to invite Jurman to the Australian national team.

Photo 3 *– Matthew Jurman in action for Australia.*[285]

Alongside having a connection to a coach, staff and facilities have shown to be a guiding factor in four different cases. One of these cases is Taulant Xhaka. Taulant Xhaka was born in Basel, Switzerland in 1991 to ethnically Albanian parents from Kosovo.[286] His younger brother Granit Xhaka was born a year later and both brothers turned out to be talented football players. In their football careers however, Granit and Taulant ended up representing different national teams: Granit joined the Swiss national team whereas Taulant is currently representing Albania.[287] Despite the fact that Taulant had represented Switzerland at the youth level, choosing for the Albanian senior team was not a difficult decision. Taulant was – as opposed to his younger brother – not called up by the Swiss team. He was, on the other hand, approached by the Albanian national team coach, De Biasi.[288] At the time, Taulant explained: "It is not a decision against Switzerland. The goal is to play internationally and that I can compete with the best. The competition for my position is simply too big in the Swiss national team."[289] Taulant decided to join the Albanian team because it would enable him to participate on the highest

[283] Matt Jurman, "How I feel about Ange," *PlayersVoice*, last modified, November 25, 2017, https://www.playersvoice.com.au/matt-jurman-how-feel-about-ange/#gQYogdbZAtcsCmBV.97.

[284] Ibid.

[285] Photo retrieved from: Matthew Jurman (@matthew_jurman), "A week ago tonight lining up against Syria […]," Instagram Photo, October 17, 2017, https://www.instagram.com/p/BaWZ8NYDbi_/.

[286] Peter M. Birrer and Thomas Schifferle, "Wir werden das Brüder-Sein ausblenden;' Ein höchst kompliziertes Duell: Granit Xhaka tritt für die Schweiz an, Taulant Xhaka für Albanien – am Samstag spielen sie gegeneinander," *Süddeutsche Zeitung*, June 10, 2016, LexisNexis Academic.

[287] Ibid.

[288] Ibid.

[289] Ibid., freely translated.

international level – something that was unlikely to happen for him with the Swiss national team. Thus, 'chances of play time' seem to have also been important for Taulant. Nevertheless, the fact that he was not approached by the Swiss football association, makes 'facilities and staff' a relevant guiding factor too.

***Photo 4** – Granit (left) and Taulant Xhaka playing against each other at the 2018 FIFA World Cup in Russia.*[290]

Several other stories of the case analyses have shown the importance of the national football associations. National associations, for instance, make active efforts to persuade certain players whilst other associations at times end up regretting the fact that they have not tried to approach certain players who have become successful in other national teams. Hence, the importance of the role of these associations and the national governments should not be neglected.

5.1.3. Personal affairs

As for personal affairs, not many players mention the relevance of their friends or teammates. Nevertheless, five players have pointed towards the importance of their families. Families – or more specifically, parents – are considered supportive or the driving forces behind their success by a number of players and in some cases, players even consider their parents to be guiding in their football nationality choice.

Parents have shown to be of importance in the football nationality choices of both Mateo Kovačić and Sergej Milinković-Savić. Kovačić was born in Linz, Austria in 1994 to Croatian parents. His parents decided to move back to Croatia when Kovačić was 14, with the aim of investing in Mateo's football career and hence enrolling him in the talent programme of GNK Dinamo Zagreb.[291] After playing for all Croatian national youth teams, Kovačić debuted in the Croatian national team in 2013. Austrian media have argued that the Austrian national team

[290] Photo retrieved from: Granit Xhaka (@granitxhaka), "Family is what drives my motivation […]," Instagram photo, September 28, 2018, https://www.instagram.com/p/BoRITXvlC_d/.

[291] "Mateo Kovacic: His Eye-Opening Journey to Chelsea | Exclusive Interview," Chelsea Football Club, last modified March 24, 2019, https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=68BiBJBWgTE.

was never in question for Kovačić since he had left Austria at a young age and consequently went through the Croatian programme.[292]

Milinković-Savić was born in Spain in 1995 into a sports family: his father was a professional football player and his mother was a successful basketball player. After his father's retirement, the family moved back to Serbia.[293] Milinković-Savić joined the youth academy of FK Vojvodina. For this club, he made his professional debut at the age of 18 and consequently, represented Serbia on several youth levels and made his debut for the Serbian senior national team in 2017.[294] Should his parents have decided not to return to Serbia, Milinković-Savić might have gone through the Spanish football education which could have created a different outcome.

The decisions to move back to the country of origin by both Kovačić's and Milinković-Savić's parents have shown to be of importance in the players' careers as well as their football nationality choice. Since both players went through the Croatian and Serbian football educations respectively, this is likely to have had a great influence on their football nationality choice. Moreover, it could be possible that the players have not been able to establish a strong connection to the country in which they were born because they went back to their parents' country of origin at a relatively young age. Moving back to the country of heritage hence seems to be an important factor which cannot be neglected in this analysis.

In the stories of Kovačić and Milinković-Savić, parents seem to have fulfilled a practical role, whereas parents could also influence their child's decision on a level of feeling as was the case for Joey Didulica. Goalkeeper Didulica was born and raised in Australia but being of Croatian descent, chose to opt for the Croatian national team. In a column, Didulica writes about his national team choice: "The Croatian national team approached me when I was with Austria Vienna in 2004, but they'd been circling since I was with Ajax between 1999 and 2003. That was when they first made contact. My dad, Luka, is from Croatia. He left the decision up to me. My mum, Mary, was born in Australia of Croatian descent. She was like, 'Croatia! You have to do it!'. She's the most passionate out of all of us. She'll be decked out in red, white and

[292] "Der Linzer Mateo Kovacic spielt seine zweite WM," OÖNachrichten, last modified June 14, 2018, https://www.nachrichten.at/sport/fussball/wm2018/Der-Linzer-Mateo-Kovacic-spielt-seine-zweite-WM;art206986,2923757.

[293] "Generation Next: Sergej Milinkovic-Savic – The Serbian wonderkid making waves at Lazio," Just-Football, accessed June 2, 2019, http://www.just-football.com/2015/12/sergej-milinkovic-savic-scouting-profile-generation-next-serbian-wonderkid-lazio/.

[294] Ibid.

blue, the checkers, this weekend. She's hardcore."[295] From this quote, it becomes clear that Didulica valued his parents' opinions in making his decision and it also stresses the passion of his mother. Didulica mentions this passionate characteristic of his mother for a reason and it shows that he was guided – or at the very least influenced – by her enthusiasm and support.

***Photo 5** – Joey Didulica during the Croatian national anthem.*[296]

Taken together, these results suggest that there are multiple varieties as to how parental influences have contributed to football players' nationality choices. Practical choices such as moving back to the country of descent appears to correlate with football players choosing their parents' country of heritage as opposed to their own country of birth. Alongside this, parental expressions of preference or encouragement seem to also influence football players' choices to represent their parents' country over their country of birth, at least in Joey Didulica's case.

5.1.4. 'Other' guiding factors

A number of cases have shown that politics as well as club careers have been of importance as well. Due to the fact that these categories were not a part of this research' typology in the beginning, these guiding factors were subdivided into the category of 'other'.

Club career has shown to be an important factor in four cases amongst which is Mile Jedinak's football nationality decision. Jedinak was born in Camperstown, Australia to Croatian parents. After the start of his career at FC Sydney United, Jedinak moved to Croatia and joined NK Varaždin.[297] After a short while however, Jedinak had to return to Australia because he did not receive sufficient play time. He explains: "everything was perfect, but I was never given

[295] Joey Didulica, "Geelong to Croatia's world cup squad," *PlayersVoice*, last modified July 13, 2018, https://www.playersvoice.com.au/joey-didulica-geelong-to-croatias-world-cup-squad/#pLwFjmfOjxXIvmWF.97.

[296] Photo retrieved from: Ibid.

[297] Daniela Rogulj, "Croatian Mile Jedinak Leads Australia to World Cup 2018!," *Total Croatia news*, November 15, 2017, https://www.total-croatia-news.com/sport/23413-croatian-mile-jedinak-leads-australia-to-world-cup-2018.

the right opportunity. I returned to Sydney."[298] If Jedinak had endured at Croatian club level, he might have been able to remain in Croatia which could have had an influence on his football nationality choice. However, since he moved back to Australia to continue his career there, it is likely that this has influenced his decision to represent the Socceroos.

Another reported guiding factor in the case analyses was politics. Political circumstances have occurred to be guiding in three cases. These political circumstances were mainly the result of the disintegration of former Yugoslavia and policies performed by national governments and football associations of the post-Yugoslav states. In Ibrahimović's case, this was for instance based on Croatian policies that tended to 'exclude' people based on their ethnicity. The case of Mark Viduka coincided with this Croatian nationalism or 'ethnic-engineering' but shows quite the opposite. Viduka was born in Melbourne to Croatian parents and received a Croatian upbringing at home.[299] During the first part of his career, Viduka played for Melbourne Knights FC which caused for his performances to soon become noticed in Europe, and more specifically, in the Croatian capital of Zagreb. Croatian President Tuđman controlled GNK Dinamo Zagreb and wanted Viduka to play for his team: Tuđman personally travelled to Australia and, with the aim of inviting Viduka to Croatia, made a proposal to Viduka and his parents.[300] Viduka agreed and made his move to Zagreb at the age of 19, only to leave for Scotland after having played three years for Dinamo Zagreb. Viduka had become the victim of Croatian press and public hatred since he had been signed by President Tuđman, who was facing domestic criticism and became increasingly unpopular.[301] This politically negative experience made Viduka move towards Scotland and ever since, he has not played for a Croatian club again. This has hence had a big influence on his football career and is probably the reason he chose to represent the Australian national team over the Croatian. Either way, this analysis stresses the importance of national governments and politicians.

A guiding factor that has shown not to be relevant at all is financial incentives. Most football players earn their money at a club which is therefore seen as their day job. This could result in football players not choosing for the national association with the best financial prospects and

[298] Dejan Lovric, "Hrvat superMile zvijezda SP-a: Od Varteksa do heroja klokana," *24sata*, June 21, 2018, https://www.24sata.hr/sport/hrvat-supermile-zvijezda-sp-a-od-varteksa-do-heroja-klokana-579122.

[299] AD Groene Hart, "Er is respect. Aan beide kanten kijken families mee. Graham Arnold (Australië) – Sportieve broedermoord. Bij Kroatië-Australië hebben veel spelers door hun afkomst het gevoel uit te komen tegen hun eigen land," June 22, 2006, LexisNexis Academic.

[300] "Mark Viduka on his career," WOODDDDDDDYALUFC, last modified March 2, 2019, https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=sk4Xxiv4kfY.

[301] Ibid.

rather basing their football nationality choice on other factors such as a feeling of identity or family. It must be taken into account however, that the topic of salary holds a certain taboo which might be the reason that no football player in this analysis has mentioned financial motives for his national team choice. Next to financial incentives, practical aspects such as living prospects and distance were not mentioned in any of the analysed cases.

5.2. Overall findings

The case analyses of this thesis have pointed out which guiding factors can explain the football nationality choices of football players of Yugoslav descent and which guiding factors have not been of importance at all. The results indicate that reasons for football nationality choices differ. Human geographer David Storey has analysed sporting citizenship and nationality choices made by football players of African origin, and he argues that "some players may be motivated by a sense of cultural affinity while for others there may be a more functional component involved whereby a player sees an opportunity to play international football and advance their career through the enhanced profile it might offer."[302] On this more general level, the following findings on footballers of Yugoslav descent have created interesting insights.

In the first place, the majority of cases chose to represent their country of birth as opposed to a post-Yugoslav state which coincides with the legal citizenship principle of *ius soli* and is also facilitated by FIFA's national eligibility rules. In this analysis, this could for instance be subscribed to the fact that many Australian born players are included in the database. As many as 21 players were born and raised in Oceania (20 players in Australia and one in New Zealand). Out of these 21 cases, only three players have chosen to represent the country of their parents' heritage: in all three cases, Croatia. It is highly likely that this is due to the fact that the distance between post-Yugoslav states and Australia is simply very long. The three players that have chosen to represent Croatia, were already playing in European competitions at the time, making the travel distance less of an obstacle. Surprisingly though, 'distance' has not been mentioned by any of the analysed football players. Despite the outcome that distance might not necessarily be considered as an important factor by the players themselves, the numbers do point towards a correlation between distance, club career and the eventual football nationality choice. For players who were born and raised in European countries – which is a total of 32 players – the distance is unlikely to have caused problems. The analysis has shown that more than half of

[302] Ibid., 9.

these players – 18 cases – decided to represent the country of their parents' or grandparents' heritage over their country of birth. A high number of these players have explained to still have family in the post-Yugoslav stated which has caused for them to visit their country of heritage relatively often, potentially resulting in them establishing a connection to their (grand)parents' countries of heritage.

Secondly, the case analyses have shown that 21 of 53 cases chose to represent the country of their parents' or grandparents' origin, which is facilitated by both the legal principle of *ius sanguinis* and FIFA's eligibility rules. Such decisions can be seen as a part of a larger development which is also referred to as a notion of subsequent migration in which previous migration trends potentially causes for loyalty to the country of family origin to rise.[303] This could for instance be due to the way in which children were brought up by their parents: several football players indeed stressed their parents' passion for their country of heritage.

The research has shown that 52 of 53 cases have chosen to represent a country to which they already had a connection, either through birth or parentage. It is somewhat surprising that only one case, György Garics, has chosen to represent to which he had no previous connection. Unfortunately, due to a lack of information about his football nationality choice, Garics' main guiding factor remains unknown. Nevertheless, this analysis does show that a national team choice based on establishing a connection to a 'new' country – also referred to as the principle of *ius nexi* which is often facilitated by a process of naturalisation – are very rare for football players of Yugoslav descent.

As mentioned, the choices in national representation do not seem to bring about any considerations of citizenship or a potential process of obtaining citizenship. The options and considerations are mainly based on the national eligibility rules set by FIFA. This was also highlighted by Storey in his analysis of football players of African descent: "the complex connections between place of birth, residency and ancestry need to be more fully taken into account rather than placing undue emphasis on a singular idea of citizenship."[304] In line with this, Storey explains that "it would be simplistic to assume that pragmatic concerns always govern such decisions."[305] This would explain the fact that, in making their football nationality choice, many football players were driven by their heart, feelings, or passion rather than pragmatic or rational concerns. Storey stresses the importance of identity in football nationality

[303] Jansen, Oonk and Engbersen, "Nationality Swapping," 530.
[304] Storey, "National allegiance," 4.
[305] Ibid., 9.

choices as opposed to citizenship and this statement coincides with one of the deficiencies in this thesis. As 18 out of 53 players were led by a certain feeling of belonging or pride, a potential use of the concept of national (sports) identity would be a valuable asset to research on this topic, especially since there is a 50/50 division in the football players driven by feelings of identity: nine players chose to represent their country of birth whilst the other nine chose their (grand)parents' country of heritage. In the current analysis, 'a feeling of belonging or pride' is integrated, but these choices were unfortunately not analysed thoroughly. This thesis was not able to explain why one half of the 18 players chose their country of birth and the other half chose the country to which they are connected through parentage, since all 18 cases were led by feelings of belonging or pride.

An aspect of FIFA's national eligibility rules that is somewhat problematic for professional football players, is the irreversibility of footballers' nationality choices. If players indeed decide based on 'identity' rather than a rational idea or practical deliberation, it must be considered that a "sense of identity at the age of 16 might subtly shift as time goes by so that by later teens or early 20s players may feel somewhat differently."[306] In other words, if a football players makes his decision at an early age, he might feel different a few years afterwards. It would be valuable to take such considerations into account when using the perspective of national (sports) identity to look at football nationality choices because these could indicate potential change over time.

Finally, the role of national football associations is worth emphasising since "increasingly transnational scouting systems, complex webs of football agents and the growth of footballing academies […] facilitate a more diverse pattern of movement to an ever widening set of destinations."[307] As national football associations are responsible for the potential call-up of a player, they are of invaluable importance in football nationality choices. As Storey argues, "it may ultimately come down to the simple issue of which country asks first."[308] This shows that policy makers, scouts and football agents are the actors responsible for a potential call-up of a player. If such a call-up is not forthcoming, it often results in players such as Taulant Xhaka making use of their other nationality option(s).

In line with this, is the integration of politics as well as post-Yugoslav ethnicity politics with these national football associations and their behaviour. This integration can be illustrated

[306] Ibid., 10.
[307] Ibid., 2.
[308] Ibid., 10.

through the citizenship regimes established by the post-Yugoslav states. It has become clear that these post-Yugoslav citizenship regimes aimed at ethnically engineering their societies using different tools such as inclusion and exclusion. Inclusion of those of kin, for instance, was executed fervently by the Croatian government which actively invited people of Croatian descent who were resided abroad or overseas.[309] The analysis has shown that this was indeed the case for Mark Viduka, who was personally approached and invited to play in Croatia by former President Tuđman. It has been argued that "teams like […] Croatia have displayed an increasing willingness to tap into their extensive overseas diaspora."[310] The analysis has shown that indeed, "countries have utilised migratory […] connections to good advantage, pursuing instrumentalist policies that expand the pool of available players and it has become an increasingly common phenomenon."[311]

Alongside this, is the case of Kosovo, which only recently emerged as a country and attained its international sporting status. Thus far, the country's national football association has attempted "to 'reclaim' players who have previously played for other countries. Kosovan exiles have lined out for other international teams, most notably Albania to whom they are connected through ethnicity, and Switzerland where many were born or brought up as children of refugees."[312] So in a way, countries and their national associations lobby for talent abroad, on the basis of descent or ethnicity: instrumentalist policies are introduced with the aim of expanding the pool of talented and available players. This can be seen as an example of citizenship claims-making executed top-down. As argued by sociologist Irene Bloemraad, membership claims are not only executed towards polities and institutions, but also towards people.[313] In that case, countries or other political entities demand something or someone which they consider to 'rightfully' belong to them.[314] In this case, the people that are being 'claimed' are professional and talented football players and the 'claimers' are national football associations or national governments.

Claims-making on a potential citizen, however, does have a counter side.[315] Is this individual recognised by the political community or does he or she not meet the criteria? In football and national representation, these questions have risen often. Even though some football players of

[309] Štiks, *Nations and Citizens in Yugoslavia*, 157.
[310] Storey, "National allegiance," 4.
[311] Ibid.
[312] Ibid.
[313] Bloemraad, "Theorising the power of citizenship," 6.
[314] Cooper, *Citizenship,* 158.
[315] Bloemraad, "Theorising the power of citizenship," 14.

migrant or refuge background are accepted as "genuine representatives of the nation, this may sometimes be highly conditional."[316] Public conceptions of football players' national statuses can cause for a 'heroic' status to quickly transform into a racialised 'other'. When performances are down, migrant or refuge backgrounds are often emphasised more.[317] Negative media coverage has been emphasised by Zlatan Ibrahimović as well: "There is undercover racism. […] If another Swedish player would do same mistake I do they would defend them. […] Because I am not Andersson or Svensson. If I would be that, trust me, they would defend me even if I would rob a bank."[318] Next to that, Ibrahimović has also been the subject of post-Yugoslav citizenship politics of exclusion. Ibrahimović was allegedly refused by the Croatian national football association because of his Bosniak last name. In sum, the post-Yugoslav citizenship regimes and the policies with it, appear to have influenced politicians as well as national associations in their behaviour towards professional football players. The question remains whether football players with a migrant or refuge background are fully accepted by the public of the country they decide to represent, and this might be an interesting assessment for further research.

[316] Storey, "National allegiance," 8.
[317] Ibid.
[318] "Zlatan Ibrahimovic hits out at 'undercover racism in Swedish media," The Local, last modified January 8, 2018, https://www.thelocal.se/20180108/zlatan-ibrahimovic-hits-out-at-undercover-racism-in-swedish-media.

6. Conclusion of research

This thesis has analysed the irreversible football nationality decisions of professional football players of Yugoslav descent as well as the explanations for such nationality decisions. With the aim of indicating which factors have been crucial for these football players, this research has established a database in which the stories of 53 different football players – or cases – have been evaluated in depth.

From the outset and throughout, this research has taken into account both the concept of state citizenship and national eligibility rules as formulated by FIFA. Alongside this, this research focussed on football players of Yugoslav descent, including the historical processes of the disintegration of former Yugoslavia, the emergence of post-Yugoslav states and their citizenship regimes. The combination of these aspects shape the conditions of national representation for the selected football players.

The concept of citizenship brings forward many practical considerations as well as normative perspectives. This thesis has shown that citizenship as claims-making is very relevant when it comes to football nationality decisions. Citizenship as claims-making performed top-down involves countries or other political entities to demand something or someone which they consider to 'rightfully' belong to them.[319] This can mainly be seen in the role of national football associations and national governments. These actors can affect the attraction or, at times, refusal of football players. When national governments and football associations actively attempt to persuade football players of kin to join their national team, this can be considered to be claims-making performed top-down. Sociologist Bloemraad explains that such membership claims can also be executed towards polities and institutions.[320] In line with this statement are football players who pledge their allegiance to a national association by claiming citizenship of the country based on their origins or descent. This thesis' assessment of football players' nationality choices has provided insightful findings in the perspective of citizenship as claims-making performed both top-down and bottom-up. Furthermore, it is likely that citizenship as claims-making will remain to be relevant in national representation in football, for instance in the case of the newly emerged country of Kosovo which is actively 'lobbying' for talented players of kin.[321]

[319] Cooper, *Citizenship,* 158.
[320] Bloemraad, "Theorising the power of citizenship," 6.
[321] Storey, "National allegiance," 4

When considering the possession of more than one citizenship, American legal scholar Peter Spiro has argued that it should become a human right to acquire and maintain plural citizenship.[322] According to Spiro, the possession of plural citizenship should not be problematic in practical terms of security. This coincides with the citizenship regimes in most post-Yugoslav countries, which allow their citizens to hold plural citizenship. However, the possibilities and constraints of plural citizenship appear to have not been considered by the football players analysed in this thesis, because their choices are mainly structured and subjected to the national eligibility rules formulated by FIFA. The national eligibility rules determine football players' nationality options, and these do not necessarily have consequences for the possession of a passport. National legislations on possessing plural citizenship are hence completely separated from FIFA's national eligibility rules.

As for pledging national allegiance, FIFA has determined football players' nationality choices to be permanent. Spiro would argue this irreversibility to be a violation of the human right which should enable people to hold multiple nationalities and access the benefits attached to that. Even though Spiro has not used a sports perspective to assess plural citizenship, he has created a way in which this argument is open for consideration towards this topic. As football players are obliged to only pledge allegiance to one country and its national football association, FIFA causes for players to be restrained from remaining affiliated or connected to any other association, and with that, the potential rights and benefits a player could be given elsewhere.

The legislative amendment which led to the irreversibility of football nationality choices, found its origin in the early 1960s. FIFA aimed at establishing a fair international football setting and the organisation wanted to prevent national teams from becoming as focussed on profits as clubs.[323] This irreversibility of football nationality choices might nowadays not be problematic for players who have only one nationality option, but in the light of this thesis, which considers the disintegration of former Yugoslavia, it is. As Yugoslavia fell apart, this caused for consequences in terms of citizenship as well as national identity for the people living there and those of Yugoslav descent residing abroad. Due to these developments, football players are provided with a number of nationality options. Political scientist Shachar has argued that the legal citizenship principles of *ius soli* and *ius sanguinis* can provide people with privileges that others do not have: people get access to citizenship in one country on the basis of birth right but also receive citizenship of another country through parentage – provided the

[322] Spiro, "Dual citizenship as human right," 130.
[323] Milanović, "Globalization and goals," 833.

national legislations allow this.[324] The question is however, to what extent is this a privilege for professional football players? The permanence of a football nationality choice causes for even more complexity for football players of Yugoslav descent in making an adequate decision. Football players might consequently not feel privileged by the sheer amount of options. Preferably, FIFA could stretch the irreversibility in nationality decisions for football players who find themselves in the remarkably unique situation of having origins in countries that no longer exist. Such flexibility would be highly valuable and create for a less pivotal decision in these football players' careers.

Similar research on the topic of sports nationalities of football players has been executed by David Storey. Storey has assessed football migration of African players towards the European continent and he argues that the presence of football players of African origin in European teams is a reflection of colonial and migratory links between African and European countries.[325] The setting of Storey's assessment is completely different from this thesis' framework as this research has focussed on football players of Yugoslav descent. Post-Yugoslav states are located in the European continent and this research has shown that continental as well as overseas football migration has occurred, which makes it fundamentally different from Storey's focus on north-south bound migration based on colonial history.

Nonetheless, one of Storey's major findings is compatible with the findings of this research. Storey states that it is unrealistic to limit football players' identities to only one, whilst, for a number of players, their identity exists of multi-layered backgrounds and sentiments. Football players' decisions indeed might be problematic as these decisions tend to reflect one single identity whilst the players have mixed backgrounds. The previous chapter has shown that 'feelings of belonging or pride' explain the majority – 18 out of 33 cases – of football nationality decisions in the cases analysed. Football players pledge allegiance to a country, its anthem, its jersey, and its flag, instead of choosing a passport or membership of a political community. It appears that footballers' choices of football nationality are only partly driven by football related or practical arguments and mostly by sentiments. In this observation, it is however, important to take into account Storey's view of the multiplicity of national identity, which is explainable through the uniqueness of the case of former Yugoslavia. As several long waves of migration have found their origins in former Yugoslavia, a large diaspora has spread globally. The

[324] Shachar, "Earned Citizenship," 115.
[325] Ibid., 11.

historical developments of the disintegration of Yugoslavia and the emergence of post-Yugoslav states, have created an extraordinary situation. In this light, national identity can be seen as a fluid and flexible concept, especially since a country has fallen apart and was consequently subdivided into as much as seven new states. The football players analysed in this thesis were obligated to pledge their allegiance to only one country, but this decision does not necessarily need to have consequences for their personal sentiments or identification with other countries to which they are connected.

This research can be positioned within the academic debates on citizenship and national football eligibility. Moreover, the research was approached from the perspective of the disintegrated state of Yugoslavia which has brought forward successor states with new citizenship regimes. The research hence contributes to the understanding of football nationality choices of professional football players as well as the benefits and implications that are brought forward by the historical process of the disintegration of a country.

Comparative methods would be highly valuable in future research. Many football players have found themselves at similar crossroads due to migration or refuge backgrounds or, for example, former colonial causes. In such instances, however, the country of origin is likely to still exist as is the case for football players of Moroccan descent who were born and raised in Europe. Over the course of the last two decades, a somewhat radical change has occurred in the composition of the Moroccan national team. Previously, the team mainly consisted of native Moroccan players, whereas currently, more than half of the players in the national team were born outside of Morocco.[326] Even though these players were born outside of Morocco, their country of heritage still exists in the same manner as their parents or grandparents remember it. This is wholly different from the football players in this thesis since Yugoslavia is no longer a country and post-Yugoslav states have emerged and continued independently.

Another option for comparative research which is highly recommended in strengthening this thesis' framework is to include female football players of Yugoslav descent. As currently, the women's FIFA World Cup is taking place and the popularity and media-coverage for female football is increasing, this could contribute to a broader understanding of football nationality choices linked to former Yugoslavia. An example of a player that could seamlessly be

[326] Hassan Bahara, "Het Marokkaanse voetbalelftal; hoe de loyaliteit van de Leeuwen van de Atlas van twee kanten betwist wordt," *De Volkskrant*, June 8, 2018, https://www.volkskrant.nl/sport/het-marokkaanse-voetbalelftal-hoe-de-loyaliteit-van-de-leeuwen-van-de-atlas-van-twee-kanten-betwist-wordt~b97c83ba/.

integrated in this thesis' framework is Swedish international Kosovare Asslani, who was born and raised in Sweden but is of Kosovar-Albanian descent.[327] If female football players of Yugoslav descent were to be integrated, this is likely to bring forward different findings. It is expected that women are more often obliged to take the chances they are given because women's football is less developed than men's which provides women with fewer options. Next to that, the women's national football teams of post-Yugoslav countries are not (yet) as developed as, for instance, the teams of western European countries. For that reason, practical considerations are probably more relevant in football nationality choices of women than feelings of belonging. Hence, the integration of female players would be a valuable asset but, of course, this is an entire research on its own.

[327] "Fotospecial: Ontdek Kosovare Asllani, de vrouwelijke versie van Zlatan Ibrahimovic," Soccernews, accessed June 21, 2019, http://www.soccernews.nl/news/281569/fotospecial-ontdek-kosovare-asllani-de-vrouwelijke-versie-van-zlatan-ibrahimovic.

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8. Appendices

8.1. Appendix I – Selected cases

Name	Date of birth	Country of birth	Citizenship options	National team	Debut
Robert Prosinečki	12.01.1969	Germany	Croatia, Serbia	Yugoslavia Croatia	23.08.1989 23.03.1994
Slobodan Komljenović	02.01.1971	Germany	Serbia	FR Yugoslavia	23.12.1994
Rudi Istenič	10.01.1971	Germany	Slovenia	Slovenia	*Not available*
Niko Kovač	15.10.1971	Germany	Bosnia and Herzegovina, Croatia	Croatia	11.12.1996
Željko Kalac	16.12.1972	Australia	Croatia	Australia	11.08.1992
Teddy Lučić	15.04.1973	Sweden	Croatia, Finland	Sweden	04.06.1995
Anthony Popović	04.07.1973	Australia	Croatia	Australia	1992
Robert Kovač	06.04.1974	Germany	Bosnia and Herzegovina, Croatia	Croatia	28.04.1999
Thomas Brdarić	23.01.1975	Germany	Croatia	Germany	27.03.2002
Ante Čović	13.06.1975	Australia	Croatia	Australia	22.02.2006
Vladimir Vasilj	06.07.1975	Germany	Croatia	Croatia	29.05.1998
Mark Viduka	09.10.1975	Australia	Croatia	Australia	06.1994
Josip Skoko	10.12.1975	Australia	Croatia	Australia	1997
Ivan Vicelich	03.09.1976	New Zealand	Croatia	New Zealand	25.06.1995
Yksel Osmanovski	24.02.1977	Sweden	North Macedonia	Sweden	*Not available*
Daniel Majstorović	05.05.1977	Sweden	Serbia	Sweden	16.04.2003
Joey Didulica	14.10.1977	Australia	Croatia	Croatia	28.04.2004
Josip Šimunić	18.02.1978	Australia	Bosnia and Herzegovina, Croatia	Croatia	10.11.2001
Anthony Šerić	15.01.1979	Australia	Croatia	Croatia	29.05.1998
Mile Sterjovski	27.05.1979	Australia	North Macedonia	Australia	15.11.2000

Ivan Klasnić	29.01.1980	Germany	Bosnia and Herzegovina, Croatia	Croatia	18.02.2004
Mark Bresciano	11.02.1980	Australia	Croatia, Italy	Australia	01.06.2001
Jason Čulina	05.08.1980	Australia	Croatia	Australia	09.02.2005
Eugene Galeković	12.06.1981	Australia	Croatia	Australia	28.01.2009
Zlatan Ibrahimović	03.10.1981	Sweden	Albania, Bosnia and Herzegovina, Croatia	Sweden	31.01.2001
Zvjezdan Misimović	05.06.1982	Germany	Bosnia and Herzegovina, Serbia	Bosnia and Herzegovina	18.02.2004
Andreas Ivanschitz	15.10.1983	Austria	Croatia	Austria	26.03.2003
György Garics	08.03.1984	Hungary	Serbia	Austria	06.10.2006
Mile Jedinak	03.08.1984	Australia	Croatia	Australia	22.03.2008
Danny Vuković	27.03.1985	Australia	Serbia	Australia	27.03.2018
Ivan Franjić	10.09.1987	Australia	Croatia	Australia	03.12.2012
Zdravko Kuzmanović	22.09.1987	Switzerland	Serbia	Serbia	02.06.2007
Ivan Rakitić	10.03.1988	Switzerland	Croatia	Croatia	08.09.2007
Matthew Spiranović	27.06.1988	Australia	Croatia	Australia	23.05.2008
Oliver Bozanic	08.01.1989	Australia	Croatia	Australia	10.2013
Marko Arnautović	19.04.1989	Austria	Serbia	Austria	11.10.2008
Mario Gavranović	24.11.1989	Switzerland	Bosnia and Herzegovina, Croatia	Switzerland	26.03.2011
Matthew Jurman	08.12.1989	Australia	Croatia	Australia	05.10.2017
Aleksandar Prijović	21.04.1990	Switzerland	Serbia	Serbia	11.06.2017
Aleksandar Dragović	06.03.1991	Austria	Serbia	Austria	06.06.2009
Taulant Xhaka	28.03.1991	Switzerland	Albania, Kosovo	Albania	07.09.2014
Tomi Jurić	22.07.1991	Australia	Croatia	Australia	20.07.2013
Izet Hajrović	04.08.1991	Switzerland	Bosnia and Herzegovina	Bosnia and Herzegovina	06.09.2013
Haris Seferović	22.02.1992	Switzerland	Bosnia and Herzegovina	Switzerland	06.02.2013
Josip Drmić	08.08.1992	Switzerland	Croatia	Switzerland	11.09.2012
Muhamed Bešić	10.09.1992	Germany	Bosnia and Herzegovina	Bosnia and Herzegovina	05.11.2004

Granit Xhaka	27.09.1992	Switzerland	Albania, Kosovo	Switzerland	04.06.2011
Tom Rogić	16.12.1992	Australia	Serbia	Australia	14.11.2012
Sead Kolašinac	20.06.1993	Germany	Bosnia and Herzegovina	Bosnia and Herzegovina	18.11.2013
Mateo Kovačić	06.05.1994	Austria	Croatia	Croatia	22.03.2013
Adnan Januzaj	05.02.1995	Belgium	Albania, England, Kosovo, Serbia, Turkey	Belgium	26.05.2014
Sergej Milinković-Savić	27.02.1995	Spain	Serbia	Serbia	30.10.2017
Miloš Veljković	26.09.1995	Switzerland	Serbia	Serbia	19.11.2017

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8.2. Appendix II – Database

8.2.1. General findings

Number of cases with sufficient information	30
Number of cases without available information	23

The guiding factors mentioned by football players are displayed below.[328]

Financial incentives	0
The game	12
➤ Chances of play time	3
➤ Chances of team success	2
➤ Facilities and staff	4
➤ Connection to coach	3
Country practicalities	1
➤ Prospects of residency	0
➤ Citizenship practicalities	1
➤ Distance	0

Connection to country	23
➤ Feeling of belonging/pride	18
➤ "Giving back" to a country	5
Personal affairs	6
➤ Family	5
➤ Friends	0
➤ Teammates	1
Other	7
➤ Political circumstances	3
➤ Club career	4

[328] For the 30 cases with sufficient information, the following guiding factors can explain their football nationality choices. The different categories are listed, which all indicate the number of times these factors were mentioned by football players. Twelve players for instance are subdivided into the category of 'the game', out of which three players mentioned the relevance of 'chances of play time'; two players found 'chances of team success' relevant; four players mentioned 'facilities and staff' as an important factor; and finally, three players mentioned the factor of 'connection to coach' to be decisive.

8.2.2. Cases with sufficient amount of information

Name	Guiding factor 1	Guiding factor 2	Guiding factor 3
Robert Prosinečki	Personal affairs	Other	
	➤ Family	➤ Political circumstances	
Slobodan Komljenović	Connection to country		
	➤ Feeling of belonging/pride		
Niko Kovač	Connection to country		
	➤ Feeling of belonging/pride		
Mark Viduka	Connection to country	Connection to country	Other
	➤ Feeling of belonging/pride	➤ "Giving back"	➤ Political circumstances
Joey Didulica	Connection to country	Personal affairs	Connection to country
	➤ Feeling of belonging/pride	➤ Family	➤ Citizenship practicalities
Josip Šimunić	Connection to country		
	➤ Feeling of belonging/pride		
Mile Sterjovski	Connection to country		
	➤ Feeling of belonging/pride		
Ivan Klasnić	Connection to country		
	➤ Feeling of belonging/pride		
Mark Bresciano	Connection to country		
	➤ Feeling of belonging/pride		
Ivan Rakitić	Personal affairs	Connection to country	The game
	➤ Family	➤ Feeling of belonging/pride	➤ Connection to coach
Matthew Spiranović	Connection to country		
	➤ Feeling of belonging/pride		
Matthew Jurman	Connection to country	The game	
	➤ Feeling of belonging/pride	➤ Connection to coach	
Aleksandar Prijović	Connection to country		
	➤ Feeling of belonging/pride		
Aleksandar Dragović	Connection to country		

	➤ Facilities and staff	
Taulant Xhaka	The game	The game
	➤ Facilities and staff	➤ Chances of play time
Izet Hajrović	The game	
	➤ Chances of play time	
Josip Drmić	The game	Connection to country
	➤ Facilities and staff	➤ "Giving back"
Muhamed Bešić	Connection to country	
	➤ Feeling of belonging/pride	
Granit Xhaka	Connection to country	Connection to country
	➤ Feeling of belonging/pride	➤ "Giving back"
Adnan Januzaj	Connection to country	
	➤ "Giving back"	

8.2.3. Cases with limited amount of information

Name	Guiding factor 1	Guiding factor 2	Guiding factor 3
Josip Skoko	Connection to country	Connection to country	
	➤ Feeling of belonging/pride	➤ "'Giving back"	
Anthony Šerić	The game		
	➤ Chances of team success		
Zlatan Ibrahimović	Other	The game	
	➤ Political circumstances	➤ Facilities and staff	
Zvjezdan Misimović	The game	Personal affairs	
	➤ Connection to coach	➤ Teammates	
Mile Jedinak	Other		
	➤ Club career		
Mario Gavranović	Connection to country		
	➤ Feeling of belonging/pride		
Tomi Jurić	Connection to country	Other	

	➤ Feeling of belonging/pride	➤ Club career	
Sead Kolašinac	Connection to country	The game	The game
	➤ Feeling of belonging/pride	➤ Chances of team success	➤ Chances of play time
Mateo Kovačić	Personal affairs	Other	
	➤ Family	➤ Club career	
Sergej Milinković-Savić	Personal affairs	Other	
	➤ Family	➤ Club career	

8.2.4. Cases with insufficient amount of information

Rudi Istenić
Željko Kalac
Teddy Lučić
Anthony Popović
Robert Kovač
Thomas Brdarić
Ante Čović
Vladimir Vasilj
Ivan Vicelich
Yksel Osmanovski
Daniel Majstorović
Jason Čulina
Eugene Galeković
Andreas Ivanschitz
György Garics
Danny Vuković
Ivan Franjić
Zdravko Kuzmanović
Oliver Bozanic
Marko Arnautović
Haris Seferović

Tom Rogić

Miloš Veljković

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