

Who Are We Actually Cheering On?



Sport, Migration, and National Identity
in a World-Historical Perspective

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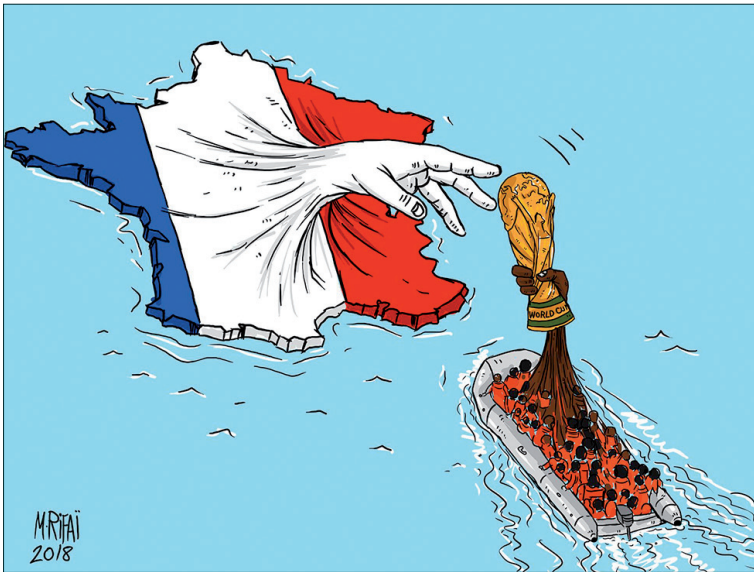
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Who Are We Actually Cheering On?

Mr. Rector Magnificus, Highly esteemed listeners,

Allow me to take you back to date a little more than a year ago: July 15, 2018, when France became the world champion in men's football. A day after, the Jordan cartoonist Mahmoud Al-Rifai published the following cartoon.



Migrants hand France the World Cup.
© Mahmoud Al-Rifai (2018)

In this cartoon, we see the contours of France in its well-known national colours of blue, white, and red. A huge hand is rising up from the white surface aiming to clutch the World Cup. The World Cup itself is in the hands of boat refugees, clearly recognisable by their orange life vests on a rubber boat. A brown hand rises up from the rubber boat to hand over the World Cup to the white hand of France. This cartoon came in response to a wider debate on the matter of the French team's identity. Fourteen out of twenty-two national players had African roots, mostly children of Senegalese, Malian,

Moroccan, and Congolese migrants into France. In the media, this gave rise to a debate on the question to what extent the French national team was *genuinely* a French national team.¹

There was yet another person who was wondering whether the French team was genuinely a French team. This was the popular American comedian Trevor Noah. In the well-known American Daily Show, he congratulated the *African* team on winning the world championship. In the studio, he cried out: 'Africa has won, Africa is the world champion. I know that

France has won, but I also acknowledge my *African* brother in the French team.²

Trevor Noah's demeanour was strongly criticized by the French ambassador to the United States, Gérard Araud. In an open letter, Araud declared that France did not consider its citizens in terms of race, religion, or migration background, and I quote: 'France has no "hyphenated identity" like the Americans do when they refer to "Afro-Americans". To us, all citizens are French.'³ In Araud's view, Noah denied the French team its French identity by referring to their African roots. In his letter, the ambassador underlined that the rich and varied background of the French team reflected the diversity of France. Which led Noah to reply: 'I don't mean to be rude, but these people have not been randomly selected. I feel it rather reflects France's colonial past.'

So what is going on here? Mahmoud Al-Rifai, Trevor Noah, and Gérard Araud watched the same game and the same players. They agree that France has become the world champion. But they disagree about which France has won: the first person highlights the role of refugees and migration; the second one stresses some players' African roots; and the third one mainly focuses on a citizenship ideal. The team consisted of French players. Can you be French and African at the same time, as Trevor Noah presumed? Let's extend the scope of this question: can you be German and American at the same time? Can you be Moroccan

and Dutch at the same time? Or would that make you not Dutch enough in the Netherlands and not Moroccan enough in Morocco? And what exactly do we mean with these questions and why do they matter?

To address these questions, I have been inspired by Kwame Anthony Appiah, a philosopher who, unfortunately, is not widely read and poorly understood in the Netherlands. In the past year, he published a pioneering book: *The Lies that Bind. Rethinking Identity*,⁴ which has meanwhile been translated into Dutch as *De leugens die ons binden. Een nieuwe kijk op identiteit*. In this book, Kwame Anthony Appiah has a fine way of showing that, though we are connected by gender, religion, colour, ethnicity, regions, national states, class, and culture, this connection is actually wafer-thin, so thin, in fact, that he considers it to be an illusion or, even worse, a lie.

I agree with him when he argues that in order to find a scholarly legitimization of identity issues, we need to return to 19th-century Europe, which is when the idea of national identity was shaped, in addition to already existing identity markers such as race, ethnicity, and class. In his book, Appiah unfortunately begs the question who has actually propagated this lie. The examples I have chosen today, however, might indicate that it is us who did so.

National states

In this lecture, I will show how processes of national inclusion and exclusion can be illuminated by way of the historiography of sport.⁵ France winning the world championship and the range of responses to it offer a splendid case in point.

The scholarly literature on the rise of national states and national identities recognizes a continuum between two extremes. At the one extreme, there are scholars such as Renan, Weber, Brubaker, and Habermas,⁶ who emphasize that, in the process of state building in the 18th and 19th centuries, the citizens' loyalty to the state was voluntary and civic. Citizenship as a choice. Citizenship as a predominantly individual relation with the state.

At the other extreme, there is 'ethnic nationalism', which is about non-voluntary membership of a community; this is about the community into which you are born, a community with a shared origin, language, and tradition. This side of the spectrum is represented by scholars such as Miller, Tamir, and Gans.⁷

Somewhere in the middle there is Michel Seymour, who emphasizes that common origins can be both ethnic and civic, involving, therefore, both ethnicity and history and the civic experience of a group of people in a common state.⁸

In addition, there is a debate on the question how and why people have come to feel 'nationally connected'. To put it simply, why do I cheer on the Dutch national team and how does this connect me with people in southern Limburg or eastern Groningen, who also cheer on the Dutch national team? I do not know these people and they do not

know me, but all of us happen to know the names of the players in the Dutch national team.

And yet all of this is somehow highly accidental. If someone from Groningen had been born a little further to the east, he or she would have supported the German team, and if somebody from Limburg had been born a little further to the south, he or she would have supported the Belgian team. And this is only playful and innocent conjecture. Underlying all this, though, there is a much more pressing question: how is it possible that a group of individuals who have never met or talked are jointly prepared to engage in war with other groups or to enter into economic competition with each other?⁹

Since the 90s of the previous century, there has been an interesting discourse amongst historians, anthropologists, and sociologists, in their attempt to address these questions. Concepts that are commonly used in this discourse include imagined communities, banal nationality, and created, invented traditions.¹⁰ However 'banal' or 'created' or 'deceitful' such identity may be, it is nevertheless so powerful and so genuine that, as some opinion leaders have it, international football matches sometimes resemble a 'war without bullets'.

There is something to be said for that. Debates about player loyalty and loyalty conflicts often resemble the war rhetoric that was used by warlords and politicians in the 19th and early 20th centuries. This national and local 'imagination' of

a shared identity is at the core of my research. To answer the question 'Who are we actually cheering on?', therefore, we first need to answer other questions, such as: who are 'we'? Or who are 'who' in this matter of cheering on?

Nationality

For most people, their nationality is a given. It is not subject to debate. To many in the Western world, the ultimate proof of your nationality is your passport. I was born in the Netherlands. My parents and grandparents were born in the Netherlands. And so I am a Dutch citizen. But this is not quite so self-evident for many people. Let's briefly investigate how we acquire this nationality.

Most people by far acquire their nationality by descent (parents and grandparents) and by the place where they were born. These two principles show right away how multiple nationality can arise: a child that was born in the United States to a Dutch father and a German mother is entitled to the American, German, and Dutch nationalities.¹¹

From the 1990s on, a third major way of acquiring a new nationality has been added to these: migrants who have lived and worked somewhere for more than five or sometimes seven or ten years can acquire the nationality of the country in which they live, work, and pay tax, sometimes after taking so-called naturalisation tests.¹² This is the so-called *jus nexi principle*.

All this means that the worldwide system of obtaining citizenship and nationality

will, by definition, produce a group of people with multiple loyalties and options. Let's proceed to a concrete example from the world of sports.

This is Adnan Januzaj. He was born in Belgium to parents who were refugees from the former Yugoslavia. His mother is from Kosovo, and his father from Albania. He has a grandmother from Serbia and a grandfather from Turkey. Several years ago, when Adnan Januzaj was one of the greatest talents of Belgium, he was scouted by Manchester United at a young age. On the eve of the 2016 European Championships, there was a debate on the question for which country he would choose to play, as, from a technical point of view, he could play for Belgium, Kosovo, Albania, Serbia, Turkey, or England. Eventually he chose to play for Belgium.



Adnan Janzaj plays for Belgium in 2018.

© Norbert Barczyk/ MB Media

This extreme example shows that players' migration history as well as their parents' and grandparents' descent determine the possibilities they have. It is, however, not only players with mixed backgrounds who have a choice: so do states and sports associations. They are increasingly attempting to attract players with dual passports if this is to their advantage, as was evident in the way in which the Moroccan football association managed to attract Moroccan footballers playing for European clubs in the 2018 World Cup.¹³

As some people may remember, five players in the Moroccan selection had been born in the Netherlands. Many Dutch fans, particularly those in the Dutch-Moroccan community, followed the Moroccan team with added interest, without identifying in any way, for that matter, with the eight French-Moroccan players who had been born in France. Only six players had been born in Morocco. Two players had been born in Spain. And the final two players in the selection had been born in Canada and Belgium.

The composition of the Moroccan selection involved a diversity of languages being spoken in the Moroccan team, such as Arabic, Spanish, French, and Dutch. Though no one had been born in England, English was used by the French, Spanish, Belgian, and Dutch Moroccans who did not speak Arabic. Anthropologist and sociologist Steven Vertovec would call this a super-diverse team,¹⁴ that is, a team in which there is no dominant culture or language group: everyone in such a team is a minority. At the same time, this team represented Morocco and the Moroccan diaspora in Europe.

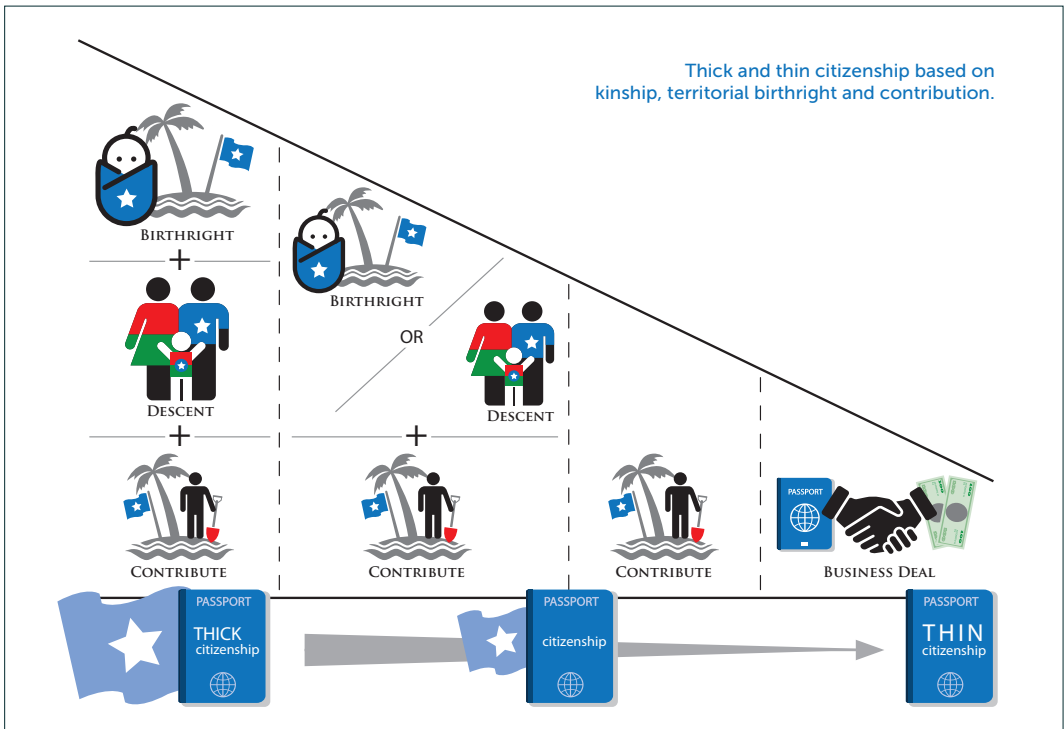
Some states, however, such as Bahrain, Qatar, Russia, and Turkey take things even further by recruiting 'foreign' athletes. At major international events, such as the Olympic Games, these countries try to do the best they can by incorporating talents even if there has been no previous relation with them at all. A good example here is Ruth Jebet.

Ruth Jebet is a talented steeplechase runner. She was born in Kenya in 1996. At the age of seventeen, she traded in her Kenyan passport for a Bahraini one. In this way, in fact, Bahrain attempted to buy national and Olympic prestige. And it worked: as an African with a Bahraini passport, Ruth Jebet won the Asian games in 2013, and she became an Olympic champion for Bahrain in 2016. She herself was more than happy with the arrangement. The deal allowed her to keep training at the highest level and to fund the professional support that this required. She now had a decent pension scheme and her parents and children were taken care of financially.

Knowing that she was Kenyan 'in her heart of hearts', the Kenyan population adored her and cheered her on. Kenyan athletics association officials, however, were not quite so delighted. They felt that they had been investing in Jebet's and other athletes' talent for many years, and for them it was very bitter indeed to see how their best talents were being poached and were now playing for other countries. This was not what their talent programme had set out to achieve.¹⁵



Ruth Jebet of Kenyan descent poses for Bahrain with her gold medal on the podium after winning the 3000m Steeplechase during the Olympic Games 2016.
© Michael Kappeler/ Agefotostock



The International Olympic Committee also raised question marks, wondering if this would not cause inflation of the Olympic Games, with the wealthiest countries buying the best athletes and winning the most medals. In wondering the way they did, for that matter, they incidentally seemed to be conveniently forgetting that those countries that invest most in sports and athletes win the most medals. This is already the case at present.

In my current research, my research team and I are looking at athletes that play in the Olympic Games or the football World Cup for a country in which they were not born. I look at the institutional setting and at the various rules and laws used by states and sporting institutions to include or exclude people.

For my research, I have designed an ideal-typical model of citizenship/nationality, in which I have defined 'thick citizenship' as the one where birthright, blood relations, and working/living all come together in one country. This would be the case for most people in this hall. It is represented on the left-hand side of the above graph. If one or two of these three aspects are lacking, citizens may have the option of a dual nationality: they have a choice. This would be the case, for example, for an athlete who was born in the United States but also has a German parent. He or she can play for the United States or Germany. States and sporting institutions also have a choice, even if the rules may differ for each state or institution.

In the final category, there are no ties whatsoever between a citizen and a state. This is the case, for instance, when a Kenyan

athlete represents Bahrain. This is what I define as 'thin citizenship'. It is represented on the right-hand side of the above model. Initially I thought that the examples of Januzaj and Jebet would be mainly a recent phenomenon, presuming that they were much less prevalent in the past than in the present and that they would be exceptional cases. This proved to be a mistake. My PhD students Joost Jansen and Gijs van Campenhout showed that this was not so. In the entire period from 1930 to 2018, the percentage of players playing for a country in which they were

not born has remained relatively stable: between eight and twelve per cent. Brazil is one of the few countries that have never contracted players that were not born in that country.

The presence of migrant athletes at the World Cup or the Olympic Games, however, is not random but shaped by long historical processes of colonisation and decolonisation and, as Trevor Noah already suggested, by so-called migration corridors. I will demonstrate this by means of some historical examples.¹⁶

Some historical examples

In the second football World Cup in world history – in 1934 – the Italian team had five players that had not been born in Italy but in Argentina and Brazil as children of Italian migrants that had left for South America. It was Mussolini himself who ensured that these players would defend the honour of the Italian nation, even if they could have chosen to play for Argentina or Brazil. They were also called *oriundi*, meaning 'import Italians' or, a little kinder, 'diaspora Italians'. One of those players, Luis Monti, had played for Argentina in the 1930 final and played for Italy in the 1934 final, which was in accordance with the rules current at the time.

These *oriundi* fit into the middle section of my model of thick and thin citizenship: these players were not born in Italy but they did play for Italy; they did speak Italian, and on the whole they had two parents born in

Italy. Initially, there was virtually no debate in Italy about these 'import Italians'.¹⁷ Debate did arise, however, on the question whether Jewish and Roma people, who had been born in Italy and had generally lived there for many generations, were actually 'genuine' Italians. In other words, who are 'we' in the phrase 'we are Italians'? Were Jews and Roma, born and bred in Italy, actually real Italians? It soon transpired that a large section of the Italian population did not think so. In this case, ethnic descent proved to be more important than place of birth. Some top-league athletes become not only national but also historic heroes, embraced by all and sundry for having accomplished historic achievements and for the political significance of their triumphs. This needs to be put into some perspective though, Jesse Owens being a well-known case in point.

Many history books show the famous photo of black athlete Jesse Owens, depicting him saluting the American flag after winning the long jump event at the Berlin Olympic Games in 1936. In front of him is the Japanese Naoto Tajima, who finished third; behind him is the German Lutz Long, the runner-up, giving the nazi salute.

To many people, Owens became the personification of an individual who single-handedly disproved Hitler's racial

theory by winning four medals. Owens himself took a slightly different view. Owens' memories of Berlin in 1936 were very positive: he stayed at the same Berlin hotels as white people did, which was not always the case in the United States. Racism was not only a German problem, it was also a problem in the United States. Owens maintained very cordial relations with the German athlete Lutz Long. He observed several times that he had encountered racism a lot less in Germany than he did after his return to the United



Jesse Owens wins the long jump at the Olympic Games in Berlin in 1936.

States. He was often quoted as saying: 'When I came back to my native country, ..., I couldn't ride in front of the bus (...). I had to go to the back door. I couldn't live where I wanted. Although I wasn't invited to shake hands with Hitler, I wasn't invited to the White House to shake hands with the President either.'¹⁸

Jesse Owens made history as a hero. He was a man; he was black; and he was an American. Things were very different from most other athletes of 1936. Take, for instance, the Dutch swimmer Rie Mastenbroek. At these selfsame Games, she won three gold medals (100 m, 400m, and 4x100m freestyle) and one silver medal (100m backstroke).

At first she was welcomed back in the Netherlands as the 'Empress of Berlin', but in the long run she did not become an Olympic heroine as, having taken part in Hitler's propaganda Games, a nazi taint would always cling to her medals. Jesse Owens never had to answer nasty questions about Berlin; but in all her subsequent post-war life, Rie Mastenbroek had to face questions such as 'What were you doing there?' and 'Should you have been there at all?' Rie Mastenbroek was white; she was Dutch; and she was female. She herself has been quoted as saying: 'If I'd had a dark skin, things would have been a lot easier.'¹⁹

Both in the United States and in the Netherlands, there had been a strong call to boycott the 1936 Olympic Games.



Dutch swimmer Rie Mastenbroek at the Olympic Games in Berlin in 1936.

Jesse Owens and Rie Mastenbroek did not heed this call. The former won four medals and became the fight against evil personified; the latter won four medals and had to explain why she had got involved with the propaganda of evil. Skin colour may definitely have played a role, as did local history and the way in which the Second World War was digested afterwards, a process that, in the Netherlands, was characterized by the debate on who had been 'right' or 'wrong'. There simply was no middle ground at first.

How the colonies were incorporated into the national discourse

After the Second World War, when a new world order was being established, one of its most prominent features was that most Asian and African countries gained independence. These countries too were entitled to self-determination and were seeking to define a 'national identity', which, however, was and continues to be inextricably bound up with their 'mother countries'.

At the same time, former colonizers such as Great Britain, France, the Netherlands, and Portugal were also forced to seek a new national identity, one without their colonies. And this search has persisted right up to the present day, as we already saw in the example of the French national team. The colonies and the so-called mother countries were connected not only in political and economic ways but also in cultural ways, with the colonies, then and now, forming an integral part of the mother countries' national culture and identity. Let me explain this by means of the following example, that of Portugal.

In the 1950s, the then dictator António de Oliveira Salazar meant to show that the civilisation missions in the colonies had been a success, and the living proof of this success was to be the introduction of colonial football talents into the national

competition and into the national team. When Portugal lost 5-1 to its archenemy Spain and even 9-1 to Austria, Salazar felt that drastic measures were required. The incorporation of colonial talents into the national team would be a successful formula for Salazar to foster the nation's commitment to himself.

In 1966, for instance, the men's World Cup was held in England, with Europe, South America, and Asia being represented. Sub-Saharan Africa was not officially represented yet, but four players from Mozambique had been selected to play for Portugal. These were not the least football players: the best-known of them was Eusébio da Silva Ferreira, also called Eusébio the Black Panther or Eusébio the Black Pearl.²⁰ He became the top scorer in this tournament, and Portugal would eventually end third. Though we will never know for sure, it is more than likely that Portugal would never have done so well without these players from its colony. This success was partly owing to the measures that dictator Salazar had taken.

After Portugal's success in the 1966 World Cup, Eusébio received a lucrative offer from an Italian top-level club, but the Portuguese dictator declared that Eusébio was a 'national treasure' that could not be sold.



The Portuguese team in 1966. Eusebio da Sylva Ferreira in the bottom row, third from the left.

Eusébio himself later professed that he had, to all intents and purposes, been Salazar's slave, entirely dependent on him for his passport and his travels.²²

The examples of the colonial Portuguese team and the Moroccan diaspora team show that colonial past and migration history have an important part to play in national teams and their identity.

The examples of Anand Januzaj and Ruth Jebet, moreover, show that individual players may also have multiple loyalties, identities, and options. And so Appiah is right in saying that both national and individual identities are wafer thin constructions.

All this also goes for the French team. So what kind of a team is it actually?

I assume that many people in this hall, when they think of France as a country, will first be reminded of the contours of France on the European map. Most of you will not immediately think of colonial France or France as a migration country. The national football team of France, however, also represented colonial France, that is, the France of labour migration and refugees. Out of the twenty-three selected players, more than 50% had roots in sub-Saharan Africa, mainly children of colonial migrants. One-third of the team was white/European/French. Approximately 10% came from North Africa, and one

player had roots in the Philippines. About a third of the selected players was Muslim.²²

All this meant that the cheering that went on for France took place not only in France but also in Senegal, Cameroon (for Mbappe), Congo (for Steve Mandanda), and, remarkably enough, in the Philippines, where a son of Philippine migrants, the French player Alphonse Aréola, is celebrated as being the first Philippine football world champion.

At the same time, the diverse character of the team was much criticized within France itself. Jean-Marie Le Pen, Holocaust denier and former leader of the Front National, spoke out several times in the past on the fact that some black players did not join in the singing of the national hymn at the start of international matches. Remarkably enough, he never mentioned white players who failed to join in the singing of the national hymn.

A lot more deplorable was the fact that the French national football association had a debate with the trainer of the national team in 2011 to urge him to select fewer players of colour.²³ In France, in other words, the debate on the identity of the French team has become a debate on nationalism and patriotism and on the question whether you subscribe to the far-right politics of the Front National. In sub-Saharan Africa, it was all about the possibility to identify with success and with the idea that children from migrants from sub-Saharan Africa could also be successful.

And why would Mahmoud Al-Rifai, Trevor Noah, and Gérard Araud be making such a fuss about this French team?

I believe it is not a coincidence that it should be precisely the Jordan cartoonist Mahmoud Al-Rifai who emphasized the arrival of refugees into Europe. Jordan has about 6.5 million inhabitants. During the refugee crises of 2015, the country had taken in more than 600,000 refugees,²⁴ amounting to about 10% of the total population. Mahmoud Al-Rifai was confronted with these refugees every single day. They became part of parcel of his everyday life and experience. He may, in other words, have been unable to consider the World Cup in any other way but with the significance of migration and refugees at the back of his mind.

It was this importance that he underlined in his cartoon. He was particularly irritated by the fact that the children of migrants in the French team were considered to be 'French' now that they were successful, but that migrants are no longer considered to be French citizens if they happen to be unemployed or criminal. Then they are reduced to their religion as Muslims or referred to in terms of their African background. This is why Al-Rifai makes an appeal to consider citizens-with-a-migration-background as citizens *always*, not only when they are winning.²⁵

Trevor Noah emphasized the 'blackness' and 'colour' and 'African heritage' of the French national team, which is not surprising considering his own descent. Noah grew up in Soweto, a township of Johannesburg in South Africa. His father is a white man of German-Swiss descent, and his mother is a black South African who is half Jewish. In the days of South Africa's apartheid regime, his parents' relationship was outlawed. It is not

surprising, therefore, for Noah's multiracial background, including his colour, to play a major role in his observations on the race and identity of the French team. Gérard Araud was born in Marseille. He is not only the official representative of France in the United States. He is also white. And I strongly believe that this has played a role in his decision to write a letter to Trevor Noah to underline that the

French team was really a French team and that 'colour' did not enter into it. Some white people tend to believe that colour does not matter. But for Trevor Noah, colour does matter.²⁶ These three actors, then, all of them men connected with football and national identity, have each presented us with what they see from their own perspective: who they are and who they cheer on.

A multi-perspective in the domain of history

I believe that sports and sports history offer many fine ways to investigate the construction and the deconstruction of loyalty and national 'identity'.

We all know that sport is a highly opportunist endeavour and that it magnifies things out of proportion. This is why we can relate to it and why it lends itself so well to study. Debates on sport, migration, and identity will continue to be held for some time to come. As, in my view, the multi-perspective on national identity, the colonial past, and migration has been seriously underexposed in the domain

of history, I will continue to study it in the years to come. I am aware that every answer will give rise to further questions. But we will have gained something if on future Sundays, dinners on laps, we will occasionally wonder: who are we actually cheering on? And who is 'who' and who are 'we'? I hope my research will make a contribution to this field.

Acknowledgments

Mr. Rector Magnificus, highly esteemed listeners, I will conclude my lecture.

I would like to thank the Executive Board of this University, the board of the Erasmus School of History, Culture and Communication, and my colleagues for the trust they put in me. The European Union, in addition, has been instrumental in the realisation of this chair. This chair stimulates education and research in the field of sport, migration, and identity. I take great pride in now being the holder of this chair. This is the University where I was a student. This is where I did my PhD. And this is where I have now arrived. In football terms, you might say I am a home-grown player.

I would like to thank everyone who has made it possible for me to stand here today and to enjoy my work with so much pleasure.

For a start, I thank the members of my research team: Gijs van Campenhout, Joost Jansen, Jasmin Seijbel, Christian Ungruhe and my fellow teachers Jacco van Sterkenburg and Godfried Engbersen. Together we have established the Sport and Nation network, which has already staged several fine events and activities. Let's continue to do so. I enjoy them so much. In addition, of course, I thank the Global History section: Dick Douwes, Karin Willemse, Chris Nierstrasz, Sandra Manickam, with a special word of thanks for Alex van Stipriaan. Alex, we have become very close friends over

time, and I am very, very grateful for that. How wonderful that friendship and professional life can go together like that. A special word of thanks also goes to Maria Grever for the pleasant collaboration we have had over the past years. We are real chums, but sharp, loyal, and critical as we are, we also keep each other on our toes.

Some of the sport and migration lectures that I have developed, are currently being prepared for secondary school history education, with the aid of the South-Holland Education Network and the Leiden University Graduate School of Teaching (ICLON).

I would like to thank Elise Storck for all the work that she has done to achieve this. In addition, I am involved in the European Association of History Educators (Euroclio), where we are also engaged in translating the results of my research and education into possible curricula for secondary schools in Europe. I thank Steven Stegers and Jonathan Even-Zohar for such excellent collaboration.

I would also like to thank the people at the Mulier Institute in general, and Agnes Elling in particular, for her work the Sport and Nation project. Recently we have established partnerships with the Anne Frank Foundation and the Feyenoord Professional Football Organisation.

Joram Verhoeven, Willem Wagenaar, and Maarten Holsteijn, I am looking forward to our inspiring and fruitful collaboration.

Dear relatives, in-laws, friends, inhabitants of Arkel and friends of Frenkie. Your presence here today underlines the importance of the life I have away from work. For most of you, the business of science is a rather remote spectacle. That is exactly what I appreciate, for there are so many other things in life that are valuable. Together with Marc Gijzen and my children, for example, I have visited the Kuip every fortnight for more than a decade. For a dreadful moment

we feared that Feyenoord would never be a champion again. Nothing, however, has proved to be impossible.

Dear parents, dearest Karin, Merel, Alexander, and Merlijn. I mention you last, but for me, you always rank first or even above. Thank you for all the love and energy you give me. I would never have got here – or run that marathon – without you. In my heart, I cheer you on every day and consider myself a very, very lucky man indeed.

I have spoken.

References

- 1 The criticism was sometimes so violent that Mahmoud Al-Rifai felt obliged to respond in a brief video. In this response, he said that it had not been his intention to attack France as a country. He recognized that France had been admitting migrants into its society for a very long time. These migrants could become French citizens and start a new life. That these migrants and their children now represented the French national team, therefore, was a fine thing and a matter of course. But, he said in his video, when we talk about criminality or about religion in the media or in politics, these migrants cease to be French citizens and are reduced to their religion (Muslims) or referred to in terms of their African background. Then they are not French. And so he makes an appeal to consider citizens-with-a-migration-background as citizens *always* – not only when they are winning – or not at all. See <https://twitter.com/thisisafricatia/status/1020374264699072512> (seen on 12-12-2018).
- 2 Noah immediately added that he realized that the French had won. He said: 'Of course it is the French, they have to say that they are French, but look at these boys. This is not a tan you get from sunbathing in the south of France. This colour really comes from something else.' See <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=COD9hcTpGWQ1> (seen on 12-12-2018).
- 3 See https://www.reddit.com/r/MurderedByWords/comments/908k11/trevor_noah_taken_down_with_tact_by_french/ (seen on 14-6-2019).
- 4 Appiah, Kwame Anthony (2018). *The Lies that Bind. Rethinking Identity*. Profile Books.
- 5 Billig, Michael (1995). *Banal nationalism*. Sage Publications.
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On sport and nationalism, see the pioneering work of Alain Bairner, *Sport, Nationalism, and Globalization. European and North American Perspectives* (State University of New York Press 2001). See also: Maguire, John & M. Falcous (eds.) (2010). *Sport and Migration: Borders Boundaries and Crossings*. Routledge.
- 6 Brubaker, R. (2004). "In the Name of the Nation: Reflections on Nationalism and Patriotism." *Citizenship Studies* 8(2): 115–127. Brubaker, R. (2013). "Language, religion and the politics of difference." *Nations and Nationalism* 19 (1), 1-20. Habermas, J. (1996). *Between Facts and Norms: Contribution to a Discourse Theory of Law and Democracy*. Polity Press. Renan, E. (1882) "What is a nation?" In: H. Bhabha (ed.) (1990). *Nation and Narration*. Routledge. (Reprinted in: J. Hutchinson & A. Smith (eds.) (1994). *Nationalisms*. Oxford University Press.). Weber, M. (1970). *From Max Weber. Essays in Sociology*. H. H. Gerth and C. Wright Mills (eds. & trans.). Routledge.
- 7 Miller, D. (1992). "Community and Citizenship." In: Avineri & de Shalit (1992). *Communitarianism and Individualism*. Oxford University Press. Miller, D. (1995). *On Nationality*. Oxford University Press.
Miller, D. (2000). *Citizenship and National Identity*. Blackwell. Gans, C. (2003). *The Limits of Nationalism*. Cambridge University Press. Tamir, Y. (1993). *Liberal Nationalism*. Princeton University Press.
- 8 Seymour, M. (1999). *La nation en question*. L'Hexagone. Seymour, M. (2000). "On Redefining the Nation." In: Miscevic, N. (ed.) (2000). *Nationalism and Ethnic Conflict. Philosophical Perspectives*. Open Court.
- 9 Two quotations are relevant here: "Nationalism gives shape to soccer loyalties and the Olympic games, as well as to wars and economic competition." C. Calhoun (2017), *The Rhetoric of Nationalism*, in M. Skey and M. Antonsich (eds) (2017), *Everyday Nationhood. Theorising Culture, Identity and Belonging after Banal Nationalism*, Palgrave MacMillan; and "The Imagined Community of Millions seems more real as a team of eleven named people. The individual, even the one who only cheers, becomes a symbol of his nation himself." In Hobsbawm, Eric J. (2012). *Nations and Nationalism since 1780: Programme, Myth, Reality*. Cambridge University Press, 143.
- 10 Gellner, Ernest & John Breuilly (1983). *Nations and Nationalism*. (Vol. 1) Cornell University Press. Anderson, Benedict (2006). *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism*. Verso Books.
Hobsbawm, Eric & Terence Ranger (2012). *The Invention of Tradition*. Cambridge University Press. Billig, Michael (1995). *Banal Nationalism*. Sage. Hobsbawm, Eric J. (2012). *Nations and Nationalism since 1780: Programme, Myth, Reality*. Cambridge University Press.
- 11 Brubaker, R. (1998). *Citizenship and Nationhood in France and Germany*. New Ed edition. Harvard University Press. Kettner, James H. (2014). *The Development of American Citizenship, 1608-1870*. UNC Press Books.
- 12 For the various ways of categorizing nationality/citizenship, see:
Bauböck, Rainer (1999). "Recombinant Citizenship." *Political Science Series No. 67* (December).
Bauböck, Rainer (2006). *Migration and Citizenship: Legal Status, Rights and Political Participation*. Amsterdam University Press. Bauböck, Rainer (2009). "National Community, Citizenship and Cultural Diversity." *Political Science Series No. 62*. Blatter, Joachim (2011). "Dual Citizenship and Theories of Democracy." *Citizenship Studies* 15(6-7): 769-98. <https://doi.org/10.1080/13621025.2011.600090>. Shachar, Ayelet, Rainer Bauböck, Irene Bloemraad & Maarten Peter Vink (2017). *The Oxford Handbook of Citizenship*. Oxford University Press.

¹³ An official new category has recently been added: that of refugees. These are not only refugees such as the runner Sifan Hassan, who obtained refugee status in the Netherlands and then became a Dutch citizen, but also refugees who do not yet have an official status. They were admitted to the last Olympic Games under the heading of the Olympic refugee team. This made it possible for top athletes to take part in the Olympic Games while their formal naturalization, in any country whatever, was still ongoing. Then there are exceptional states with very special arrangements. Israel, for example, has the so-called Law of Return, a law from 1950 proclaiming that anyone anywhere in the world who is of (partial) Jewish descent is entitled to settle in Israel and obtain Israeli citizenship. This means that any Jewish person anywhere in the world might take part in the Olympic Games for Israel, if only he or she qualifies as an athlete. So this is where religion and diaspora play a very important role. Countries such as India and China have sizeable diaspora communities in the world, but they have rules in place that prevent members from this diaspora to play for these countries. The Republic of Liberia in North Africa was founded by former slaves in West Africa in 1847. In accordance with current legislation, state citizenship is only granted to people who are 'black', and so colour and race play a decisive role. In a previous article, I already wrote about the complexity of state citizenship in colonial societies, particularly relating to Indians in East Africa whose ancestors had already been living in present-day Kenya, Uganda, and Tanzania for three generations before decolonization.

¹⁴ Steven Vertovec (2007) "Super-diversity and its implications." *Ethnic and Racial Studies* 30 (6), 1024-1054, DOI: 10.1080/01419870701599465

Fran Meissner & Steven Vertovec (2015) "Comparing super-diversity." *Ethnic and Racial Studies* 38 (4), 541-555, DOI: 10.1080/01419870.2015.980295

¹⁵ Shachar, A. (2011). "Picking winners: Olympic citizenship and the global race for talent." *The Yale Law Journal* 120, 2088–2140. Shachar reveals the moral debate that underlies these examples from the perspective of the athlete, the perspective of the recipient state (Bahrein, in this case), that of the sending state (Kenya), and that of international sports associations, such as the International Olympic Committee, which is responsible for regulations.

¹⁶ Jansen, Joost, Gijsbert Oonk & Godfried Engbersen (2018). "Nationality swapping in the Olympic field: towards the marketization of citizenship?" *Citizenship Studies* 22 (5), 523-539, DOI: 10.1080/13621025.2018.1477921. This confirms the trends that are also known to the United Nations.

¹⁷ All this was to change after the 1936 Olympic football tournament. In those Olympic Games, Italy was represented by amateur football players that had all been born in Italy. This team became the Olympic champion. After 1936, therefore, the question arose whether Italy actually needed the so-called *oriundi* in its national team. See Simon Martin, *Football and Fascism. The National Game under Mussolini*. Berg 2004, 173-209.

¹⁸ Jacqueline Edmondson, *Jesse Owens: A Biography*. Greenwood Publishing Group 2007, 37.

¹⁹ Cited in the wonderful book by the Rotterdam-trained historian Auke Kok, 1936. *Wij gingen naar Berlijn*, Amsterdam, Thomas Rap 2017, 18.

²⁰ The others were: Mário Esteves Coluna (Mário Coluna, Captain), Hilário Rosário da Conceição (Hilário), Vicente da Fonseca Lucas (Vicente). See also: Eusebio da Silva Ferreira (1967). *My name is Eusebio*. Routledge & Kegan Paul. Todd Cleveland (2017). *Following the Ball, The Migration of African Soccer Players across the Portuguese Colonial Empire, 1949-1975*. Ohio University Press.

Peter Alegi (2010), *African Soccerstates. How a Continent Changed the World's Game*, Ohio University Press.

²¹ Todd Cleveland, *Ibid*, 187-188.

²² See <https://hailtoyou.wordpress.com/2018/06/11/world-cup-2018-france-squad-33-european/> (gezien op 7-10-2018).

²³ See <https://www.aljazeera.com/indepth/opinion/football-identity-frenchness-180801080257299.html> (gezien op 14-10-2019).

²⁴ Please note that these are registered refugees. The Jordan government itself estimates there were about 1.4 million refugees, including non-registered refugees.

²⁵ See note 1.

²⁶ Other white people, such as Jean-Marie Le Pen, the former leader of the far right Front National, emphasized that some non-white people that did not join in singing the national hymn were, for that reason, less patriotically French. https://www.la-croix.com/Archives/1996-06-25/Pour-Le-Pen-l-equipe-de-France-de-foot-n-est-pas-francaise-_NP_-1996-06-25-377656 (seen on 4-7-2019).