UNIVERSITY OF THE WEST *of* SCOTLAND

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Caught Offside:
The Soft Power of Sport and its Effects on Dual Nationals
Declaring Loyalty to One Nation

MA Cultural Diplomacy & International Events
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Submitted on:
April 18, 2019

A dissertation submitted in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of

Cultural Diplomacy & International Events at The University of the West of Scotland.

Supervised by:
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Word Count: 15,749

Abstract

In an increasingly globalised world, the issue of identity and what it means to be of a nation is continually called into question. As a result of continuous and evermore frequent migration on a global scale, citizens not only live within much more diverse communities, but the citizens themselves become hybrids of cultures, with many holding dual nationalities and/or having parents from differing nations. This study aims to understand and evaluate how an individual of dual heritage can represent one nation on the international stage. Within the context of football and looking at the realm of cultural diplomacy, and specifically sports diplomacy, this study aims to assess whether the soft power of sport has the ability to change the view on national identity and what the future holds in terms of the make-up and demographic of national sporting teams.

The study is carried out through an in-depth media analysis of the fallout surrounding the case of German national team footballer Mesut Özil in the 2018 FIFA World Cup, an analytical comparison of the top six European footballing nations' (as of the start of the World Cup in June 2018) policies on citizenship and concretising the respective number of dual nationals on their teams.

It was found that dual nationals can represent one nation on the international stage, but are consequently faced with a number of repercussions, both from the nation they choose not to represent and from the "home" nation if they do not perform well and they further fall victim to the sovereignty gap, where they are unable to identify with either nation.

Acknowledgements

I would like to thank my supervisor, Gayle McPherson for all the support and for introducing me to the important works that helped form the framework for this study.

I would also like to thank Özgür Özvatan and Uwe Freimuth for their help, advice and support along the way.

And to my parents, who are always there.

This study is dedicated to all those whose roots have wings.

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DECLARATION

Caught Offside: The Soft Power of Sport and its Effects on Dual Nationals Declaring Loyalty to One Nation

This dissertation is solely my own work and all sources are appropriately referenced.

(Signed) _____Aliena Haig_____   (Date) 18.04.2019

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List of Abbreviations

FIFA: Fédération Internationale de Football Association

UEFA: Union of European Football Associations

BAMF: Federal Office for Migration and Refugees (*Bundesamt für Migration und Flüchtlinge*)

DFB: German National Football Association (*Deutscher Fußball-Bund*)

FA: Football Association

CDU: Christian Democratic Union (*Christlich Demokratische Union*)

SPD: Socialist Democratic Party (*Sozialdemokratische Partei Deutschlands*)

AfD: Alternative for Germany (*Alternative für Deutschland*)

Review of terms

Some definitions to consider, as defined by the Oxford Dictionary of English, which are discussed later in the text. The following is a general guide:

Citizenship: the status of a person recognized under the custom or law as being a legal member of a sovereign state or belonging to a nation.

Community: a group of people living in the same place or having a particular characteristic in common.

Country: a nation with its own government, occupying a particular territory.

Cultural Diplomacy: a course of actions, which are based on and utilize the exchange of ideas, values, traditions and other aspects of culture or identity, whether to strengthen relationships, enhance socio-cultural cooperation, promote national interests and beyond (as defined by the Institute for Cultural Diplomacy).

Dual nationality: citizenship of two countries concurrently.

Ethnicity: the fact or state of belonging to a social group that has a common national or cultural tradition.

Nation: a large body of people united by common descent, history, culture, or language, inhabiting a particular state or territory.

National identity: a sense of a nation as a cohesive whole, as represented by distinctive traditions, culture, and language.

Nation state: a sovereign state of which most of the citizens or subjects are united also by factors which define a nation, such as language or common descent

Nationalism: patriotic feeling, principles, or efforts

Nationality: the status of belonging to a particular nation.

Sovereignty: the authority of a state to govern itself or another state

State: a nation or territory considered as an organized political community under one government.

1. Introduction

The rise of right wing politics in the last decade among citizens and political parties in Western nations have spurred widespread nationalistic narratives and the push to protect borders. The simultaneous growth of globalisation, however, strongly contradicts the idea of nationalism, blurring borders and encouraging interaction and trade between nations. "The two are fundamentally opposed to one another and therefore destined for the relationship of resistance and confrontation" (Sabanadze, 2010, p. 169). As a result of continuous and evermore frequent migration on a global scale, citizens not only live within much more diverse communities, but the citizens themselves become hybrids of cultures, with many holding dual nationalities and/or having parents from differing nations. In such a situation, nationality, citizenship and loyalty to a nation become difficult to ascertain and the notion of where one belongs becomes harder to interpret (Hartnell, 2006; Simonis, 2012; Scribner, 2007).

The question as to whether or not cultural divides can be healed becomes increasingly uncertain and it is in this situation where cultural diplomacy comes in to play. Cultural diplomacy, and particularly sports diplomacy as part of cultural diplomacy, will become ever more important as the notion of cultural hybridity within more tightly enclosed borders begins to grow and develop. This study aims to understand and evaluate how an individual of dual heritage can represent one nation on the international stage, within the framework of professional football. Questions this critical study seeks to answer include:

- Can an individual of dual heritage represent just one nation?
- What are the repercussions of declaring loyalty to only one nation professionally?
- Does identity and/or heritage outweigh citizenship/nationality?
- Ethnic, cultural or national identity: which holds greater importance?

Football players with ties to more than one country, who are selected to represent and 'fight' for one nation, bear the brunt of the blame in defeat and are deemed as being disloyal to the nation whose tricot they wear. Considering European football nations' current policies regarding citizenship, this study aims to assess whether the soft power of sport has the ability to change the view on immigration and identity.

The study is carried out through an in-depth media analysis of the fallout surrounding the case of footballer player Mesut Özil in the 2018 FIFA World Cup, an analytical comparison of the top six European footballing nations' (as of the start of the World Cup in June 2018) policies on citizenship and concretising the respective number of dual nationals on their teams. The following sections offer background information and an in-depth literature review of the theoretical framework surrounding this study. This is followed by an explanation of how the study is carried out in the methodology and the consequent results and findings. The study finishes with a discussion of the results, a summarising conclusion and recommendations for the future.

2. Background

At the start of the 2018 FIFA World Cup, expectations were high for the defending champions. Having won the tournament in Brazil in 2014 and consistently performing well at the international level, Germany were ranked as the top footballing nation, not just in the European Union Football Association (UEFA), but among all the football confederations worldwide. By the end of the first round, however, Germany exited the tournament, having only won one game and consequently coming in at the bottom of their group.

The elimination was met with great disappointment by the German population and in an attempt to explain the embarrassing result, fans, the media and members of the German National Football Association (DFB) placed a heavy amount of blame on one player in particular: Mesut Özil. Özil was hailed as a national hero following Germany's World Cup triumph in 2014 and considered an integral part of the team. But one month prior to the start of the tournament, Özil, who was born and raised in Germany to Turkish parents, met with Turkey's now newly re-elected president, Recep Tayyip Erdogan, on his visit to the UK. Fellow German teammate Ilkay Gündogan, also of Turkish descent, attended as well. The photos of the two players exchanging handshakes with Erdogan and offering signed jerseys sparked outrage among citizens and members of political parties in Germany, raising questions as to where and with whom their loyalties lie. Of particular concern was the timing at which this took place: only days before the announcement of who would be selected to play for the German national team, slightly over a month ahead of the Turkish presidential election, where Erdogan was in the running and predicted to

win and a month ahead of announcements as to who would host the UEFA Championship in 2024.

Germany and Turkey have a long and on-going history of political tensions, based mostly on Turkey's attempts at becoming a member of the European Union and Germany's subsequent resistance. Following the large influx of Turkish *gastarbeiter* (guest workers) to Germany that began in 1961, who were invited to fill the gaps in the labour market following World War II, those of Turkish descent now represent the largest population of citizens with a migrant background in Germany. Despite the two cultures living side-by-side for over 50 years, however, numerous social tensions remain. Compared to guest-workers from other nations, such as Italy, Spain or Greece, "Turkish labour migrants became a key symbol for cultural difference and otherness" (Seiberth, Thiel & Spaaij, p. 2) and tensions between German and Turkish cultures rise to the surface in moments of contention, as was the case during the 2018 World Cup. Accused of not living according to German values by standing alongside Erdogan, the president of a country with widespread human rights violations[1], there were many calls for Mesut Özil and Ilkay Gündogan to be excluded from playing for Germany. Ironically in 2010, Özil was "upheld as the prime example of an immigrant success story" and was even awarded a Bambi for being a "prime example of successful integration into German society" (Kershaw, 2013).[2]

For the purpose of this study, it is important to highlight that this event lies within the context of the on-going refugee crisis. Germany has welcomed more asylum-seekers than

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[1] Amnesty International (2019)
[2] The Bambi Award is Germany's most important media prize. It "is a benchmark for success and popularity in Germany, a platform for people and topics that make [Germany] special. BAMBI shows and stages what is important in and for Germany, and from the German perspective for the world." (www.bambi.de)

any other European nation since the crisis began in 2015 and as it currently stands, of the 82.8 million people living in Germany, just under a quarter (23.3%) have a migrant background.[3] The crisis has propelled a surge in right-wing politics across Europe and for the first time in almost 60 years, right-wing, anti-immigration political party *Alternative für Deutschland* (AfD) won 12.9% of the public vote in the latest federal election, entering parliament as the third largest party (Clark, 2019). The AfD were one of the first to comment on Mesut Özil's performance during games, claiming he felt uncomfortable in his German jersey, articulated by the party spokesperson, Jörn Koenig. He stated: "team spirit isn't working with Özil and Gündogan in the German team because whoever only takes part half-heartedly can't muster the necessary fighting spirit" (Reuters, 2018). To the AfD, anyone sympathising with the "other," or in this case, a leader of the "other," is reprimanded, dubbed as controversial, heavily criticised and deemed inappropriate and insulting to the "home" nation. Right wing politicians place huge emphasis on the privilege of citizenship, seeing it as more than just a legal status and expecting all those who hold citizenship to have an emotional attachment to the nation (Deutsche Welle).

Considering the current trends and the large numbers of people migrating across all corners of the world, the number of multi-ethnic, dual-heritage and dual-national (or perhaps more) individuals will increase with each generation. But with increasingly blurred lines, how are individuals meant to choose between their countries of heritage? And in making that decision, do they risk being penalised by the country or countries not chosen? Are an individual's choices less important than the want of a nation?

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[3] Based on statistics, Dec. 31, 2017 from Germany's Federal Statistical Office

At the time of the 2018 World Cup, the German national football team directly reflected the German population, with a quarter of the players having a migrant background or being of dual heritage. If societies are gradually more international and loyalties are more divided, will those who represent the nation be chosen based on political decisions rather than by talent or skill? Will the national team of the future truly represent the nation or simply how the nation wishes to be represented?

This study hopes to address these questions by looking at how national sports teams competing on the international level help or hinder the image of a nation and its resulting perception that the players engender according to their own national, ethnic and cultural identity. Much has been written about the soft power of sport, the concept of nationalism and how the two interrelate, but there remains a gap in the literature that concentrates on the fallout and the effects of situations in which the two collide. This study seeks to provide a critical assessment of the current situation surrounding citizenship and national acceptance in society, through the context of football, as a small representation of the future trends of sports and cultural diplomacy overall.

3. Literature Review

3. 1 Nationalism

Nationalism is an ideology based on the premise that an individual's loyalty and devotion to the nation-state surpasses other individual or group interests (Kohn, 2018). First emerging in the 18th century, nationalism can be understood within three differing paradigms: primordialism, which claims nations have historical roots that go back centuries (Storey, 2001); ethno-symbolism, which "emphasises the survival and importance of ethnic ties, myths, memories, values, symbols and traditions in the constitution and cohesiveness of modern nations" (Leoussi, 2002, p. 252); and modernism, where nations and nationalism are products of modern day processes (Ricketts, 2015). It is best summarised by Umut Özkirimli:

> "The common denominator of the modernists is their conviction in the modernity of nations and nationalism; that of the ethno-symbolists is the stress they lay in their explanations on ethnic pasts and cultures; finally that of the primordialists is their belief in the antiquity and naturalness of nations." (Özkirmli, 2000, p. 64)

Nationalism has historically been a difficult concept to describe, as it has been pushed and pulled by society and political groups and understood in a number of different ways. Those who study nationalism look to explain nationalism through "a form of community that crosses class lines and seeks to heighten a sense of national belonging through symbols, a sense of shared history, and emotional means of identification" (Schwarzmantel, 2012, p. 148).

In his seminal lecture at the Sorbonne in 1882, French historian Ernest Renan questioned the definition of a nation. In reference to the French Revolution, Renan argued that "a nation is a soul, a spiritual principle [...] like the individual, is the outcome of a long past

of efforts, sacrifices, and devotions" and that "the modern nation is therefore the historical result of a number of facts that have converged in the same direction" (Renan, 1882).

> "A nation can exist in the absence of the dynastic principle [because] having suffered, rejoiced, and hoped together is worth more than common taxes or frontiers that conform to strategic ideas and is independent of racial or linguistic considerations" (Renan, 1882).

A nation and nationalistic sentiment, therefore, is not created by or enforced by a ruling power, but rather decided upon in mutual consent by those living in the nation.

Benedict Anderson and his concept of "Imagined Communities" builds on Renan's idea of mutual consent. "Regardless of the actual inequality and exploitation that may prevail in each, the nation is always conceived as a deep, horizontal comradeship" (Anderson, 1983, p. 7). For Anderson, a nation

> "is an imagined political community - and imagined as both inherently limited and sovereign. It is imagined because the members of even the smallest nation will never know most of their fellow-members, meet them, or even hear of them, yet in the minds of each lives the image of their communion." (Anderson, 1983, p. 6)

Fellow modernist Ernest Gellner believes nationalism was created by the shift towards industrialism, as a result of standardised, mass education that allowed economic and social mobility, which ultimately did not spread equally among the various communities. Nationalism therefore emerges from the consequential inequality within society, driving the minority to push for national sovereignty. For Gellner, the nation and the state should coincide, so that the cultural unit of the nation coincides with the political unit of the state. What Renan, Gellner and Anderson all share is that the concept of a nation is held together by a common belief shared by its people and is galvanised by modern day processes. The processes on which their theories were based have since developed, but

remain just as relevant. Anderson's explanations of the effects of the printing press can now be applied to mass media, Renan's theories relate to the ideas of present-day democracy and Gellner's ideas on industrialisation can equally be used within the framework of neo-liberalism.[4]

Since its conception, nationalism "has been able to use an idea of 'the people' defined as a *national* people, thus linking itself with ideas of democracy and popular sovereignty" (Schwarzmantel, 2012, p. 150). In the context of globalisation and neo-liberalism, however, defining a nation becomes an even more complicated task. Interestingly, prior to the 18th century, "the ideal was the universal world-state, not loyalty to any separate political entity" (Kohn, 2018). In the present-day 21st century, the idea of a universal world-state re-emerges through the phenomenon known as globalisation, encouraging transatlantic relations, intercontinental business transactions and a worldwide dissemination of information, ultimately blurring the borders that have been developing over the course of four centuries. Nationalism has simultaneously developed into a political, social and economic system that, as explained by Tom Nairn, has become "fundamental to contemporary politics in providing diversity and identity in a globalizing world" (Schwarzmantel, 2012, p. 148).

Nationalism has been around since the creation of the nation-state, following the demise of empires, but is relatively new as an ideology. It has been intrinsically linked with the ideas of modernity and "confined to the rise of the modern state" (Conversi, 2012, p. 14). If nationalism, in its most basic form, is to be understood as having pride in

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[4] As recognised by the likes of Daniele Conversi (2012) and John Schwarzmantel (2012).

the nation, then the assumption would be that nationalists take pride in the current state of their nation. But rather than developing alongside the nation-state, nationalism in the developed world, holds on to the nation pre-globalisation, albeit a modern nation, but not one of the modern world. One that is far removed from the idea of a universal world-state and instead focuses on traditional ideals, pure identities and traceable bloodlines. Nations make use of what historian Eric Hobsbawn dubs "invented traditions", which "seek to inculcate certain values and norms of behaviour by repetition, which automatically implies continuity with the past" (Hobsbawm & Ranger, 1983, p. 1)[5] and which incorporate the "complex processes of forgetting and remembering [vital to] reconstructing national identities" (McCrone & McPherson, 2009, p. 6). In the context of today, with the "constant change and innovation of the modern world and the attempt to structure at least some parts of social life within it as unchanging and invariant" (Hobsbawm & Ranger, 1983, p. 2), nationalism and nationalistic behaviour acts as a counter-movement to globalisation.

> "Nationalism functions as a rallying cry for those groups made insecure by globalization and its consequences in terms of the growing multicultural composition of the citizen body of nation-states, better described as multi-national states in the contemporary world." (Schwarzmantel, 2012, p. 150).

With the mixing of nationalities, cultures, religions, ethnicities and mindsets, nationalism has been stimulated by globalisation and incorporated elements of xenophobia. In the 21st century, nationalism is a result of the reactions prompted by "the spread of globalisation and its tendencies to uniformity and the imposition of a single model of democracy" (Schwarzmantel, 2012, p. 149) and has developed while "cultural variation was seen as threatening 'national security'" (Conversi, 2012, p. 15).

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[5] Eric Hosbawm offers an important differentiation between traditions and customs: *"'Customs' cannot afford to be invariant because even in 'traditional' societies life is not so […] the decline of 'custom' inevitably changes the 'tradition' with which it is habitually intertwined"* (Hobsbawm & Ranger, 1983, p. 2).

3.2 National identity and the nation-state

In Western Europe, the crisis of the nation-state is compounded by the on-going refugee crisis, which presents an entirely new set of problems, provoking "the deepest anxieties of the modern nation–state, which relies on boundaries, censuses, taxes and documentation" (Appadurai, 2016). 1,732,671 people have arrived in Europe since the start of 2015 (UNHCR), spurring a political push to the right throughout the region and bringing about large swathes of nationalist movements that hold the new arrivals responsible for the failures or shortcomings of the state. Presently, the nation-state "is less able or willing to provide the safety-net and welfare measures that in the past protected and cushioned its citizens against economic insecurity," (Schwarzmantel, 2012, p. 154) which is why the nationalism we see today evokes "insecurity and fear directed against some target held responsible for that insecurity […] re-enact[ing] forms of nationalism in its earlier nineteenth century incarnations" (Schwarzmantel, 2012, p. 150). In this case, nationalism is a modern ideology existing in a postmodern reality and the nation is a highly inflexible concept in a highly mobile and ever-changing world.

There remain numerous discussions as to what came first between nationalism or the nation (see Liah Greenfeld, Anthony D. Smith, John Breuilly, Elie Kedourie), but both are necessary for the creation of a national ideology in order to forge a national identity. In the post-Cold War era, nation-states became the new norm in the global world order and, led by the United Nations, aimed to prioritise peace as part of "the concept of post-conflict state construction" (Talentino, 2004, p. 558). Nations sought to differentiate themselves, however, by developing greater autonomy. Greater solidarity and greater stability were thus required, pushing modern-day nation-states to engage in what has become known as nation-building. "Nation-building is the process of creating a stable,

centralised, and cohesive state that represents a definable community" (Talentino, 2004, p. 559). Successful nation-building strategies incorporate both internal and external approaches, emphasising "bottom-up processes designed to bridge societal divisions and demonstrate the tangible benefits of cooperation [and a] top-down strategy aimed at developing structures of political and economic governance" (Talentino, 2004, p. 558) respectively. By the 1990s, nation-building activities became associated with the term "nation branding," that applied corporate marketing techniques for the improved promotion, selling and popularity of the nation, suiting the first world trend towards neo-liberalism occurring simultaneously. Coined by Simon Anholt, nation branding is

> "a metaphor for how effectively countries compete with each other for favorable perception, be it with regard to exports, governance, tourism, investment and immigration, culture and heritage, or people" (Anholt, 2007).

In an attempt to unify citizens, nations "used all the powers at their disposal to create a unitary state, with a single or dominant language and a single or dominant religion" (Olins, 2002, p. 4). Nations encouraged the creation, learning and adoption of a national language for its people to communicate with one another and for governments to more precisely disseminate information. Symbols including a flag and a national anthem heighten the sense of national pride and provide tangible elements for citizens to use to show their nationality, whilst instilling a sense of community and belonging and creating a "language of symbolic practice and communication" (Hobsbawm & Ranger, 1983, p. 6). National days are also "important symbolic signifiers of national identities [...] and imply a range of possible responsibilities upon the inhabitants of a nation – as stakeholders, citizens, consumers or proselytisers" (McCrone & McPherson, 2009, p. 6). Such iconographies help to highlight and bolster local identities and create "boundaries, borders and nation-states that exclude others who do not share common identifying

iconographies" (Chakraborty, 2015). National identity, however, is not only defined "from within, namely from the features that fellow-nationals share in common but also from without, that is, through distinguishing and differentiating the nation from other nations or ethnic groups" (Triandafyllidou, 1998, p. 593). In creating an identity, a nation provides its people with an understanding of and association to their surroundings, allowing them to be proud of its heritage, traditions and culture, defined here as the ideas, customs, and social behaviour of a particular people or society. "Existing customary traditional practices – folksong, physical contests, marksmanship – were modified, ritualized and institutionalized for the national purposes" (Hobsbawm & Ranger, 1983, p. 6). As argued by John Paul Lederach, "the greatest resource for sustaining peace in the long term is always rooted in the local people" (Lederach, 1997, p. 94) and in having a national identity, the local people feel secure, stable, of value and most importantly, as though they belong.[6]

In creating a nation brand, "the reputations of countries (and, by extension, of cities and regions too) behave rather like the brand images of companies and products, and they are equally critical to the progress, prosperity, and good management of those places" (Anholt, 2011, p. 289). As a reflection of change or contemporary circumstances, nation branding tactics aid in the reinvention of the perception of the nation, but are only successful when the brand is lived by the citizens, who, as Anholt describes, are the mouthpiece and the recipients of the message. In this sense, nation branding tactics reflect Renan's ideas of mutual consent, as "nations do not belong to brand managers or

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[6] Joanna Pfaff-Czarnecka offers interesting insight into the concept of belonging and an individual's 'biographical navigation.' Pfaff-Czarnecka defines belonging as "emotionally charged social positioning" and her 'belonging theory' is based on (1) the perception as well as the enactment of things in common; (2) the social relationships of reciprocity; and (3) both material and immaterial bonds or attachments (see Pfaff-Czarnecka, J. (2012)).

corporations; indeed, if they 'belong' to anyone, it is to the nation's entire citizenry" (Dinnie, 2008, p. 15). But "the government is often identified as the initiator and coordinator of a nation branding," (Szondi, 2008, p. 12) creating a narrative for citizens to tell and to believe in.

It is worth briefly turning to the ideas of ethno-symbolist Anthony D. Smith who suggest that "the landscapes of the nation define and characterise the identity of its people" (Smith, 1991, p. 56). Smith defines the Western model of nationalism as "an ideological movement for attaining and maintaining autonomy, unity and identity on behalf of a population," (Smith, 1991, p. 73) based on six interconnected ideas:

1. The world is divided into nations, each with its own character, history and destiny
2. The nation is the sole source of political power
3. Loyalty to the nation overrides all other loyalties
4. To be free, every individual must belong to a nation
5. Every nation required full self-expression and autonomy
6. Global peace and justice require a world of autonomous nations

In the development of the modern nation-state, these ideas were perpetuated through the creation of citizenship, where "the complex array of pre-modern corporate and individual rights and privileges was replaced by a unitary national system of equal rights" (Harnaz & Mateos, 2018, p. 2). National identity is most commonly tied to citizenship, as it "underpin[s] individual sovereignty in the contemporary globalized world" (O'Connor & Faas, 2012, p. 52). Those who hold citizenship become part of a national identity but also actively contribute to the building of that national identity. To belong to a nation means to be a citizen of that nation. Citizenship became the legal tie between the state and the individual and functions as a form of identification beyond the borders of the

nation. To be a citizen is to be able to enjoy the benefits and the protection provided by the state, "but also seeks to override other claims on allegiance such as family, religion and ethnicity" (Houlihan, 1997, p. 121). To be a citizen, ultimately, is to a part of the nation brand.

In forming an image, brand, narrative, collective concept (or however one chooses to name it) and in turn producing tangible products that help convey that image, a national identity begins to emerge, on which a national culture is shaped. These tangible products are considered cultural products, as they are products, symbols and/or representations of the culture of the nation that help solidify a nation's identity and that politicians use "to propel the nation-state into imagined shapes which evolve and change over time" (Chakraborty, 2015). In the neo-liberal era, cultural products are also "domestic citizens whose primary role is to 'live the brand' and serve as 'brand ambassadors'" (Szondi, 2008, p. 12). By considering citizens as commodities, a nation can thus equally make use of individuals for political gain.

3.3 Sports Diplomacy

One of the most effective ways of expressing and expanding national identity, or the nation brand, is through sport. It "is a universal language that effortlessly overcomes estrangement between so-called disparate peoples, nations and states" (Murray, 2017). Sporting events, much like national days, provide "a number of emotionally charged occasions for citizens to be made aware of and express their common identity within the nation" (Houlihan, 1997, p. 121). The emotional and ritualistic nature of sports "construct a common world with shared meanings and symbols," (Ismer, 2011, p. 552) "capable of sustaining the 'imagined community' of the nation" (Houlihan, 1997, p. 121). Athletes who compete for their nation are referred to by John Hoberman as 'proxy warriors,' and following them into international competition "is one of the easiest and most passionate ways of underlining one's sense of national identity, one's nationality or both in the modern era" (Bairner, 2009, p. 227).

> "It is easy to see the extent to which sport, arguably more than any other form of social activity in the modern world, facilitates flag waving and the playing of national anthems, both formally at moments such as medal ceremonies and informally through the activities of fans." (Bairner, 2009, p. 227).

Using sport as a tool to build national identity is equally as effective in helping to build the brand. Sport provides a "means of improving their image, credibility, stature, economic competitiveness and (they hope) ability to exercise agency on the international stage" (Murray, 2017). Building a team and sending them as national representation to an international sporting event gives the nation the opportunity to showcase its brand. If a national day can be "invented, reconstructed, mobilised" (McCrone & McPherson, 2009, p. 6), then a national sports team can to. Particularly with regards to football, also known as the global game, sport "is truly global, generates trillions of dollars, and affects

billions of fans, players and coaches" (Murray, 2017). It is on the global stage that sport

also takes its shape as a tool for diplomacy, since

> "it can transcend acrimony in diplomatic relationships, bring 'estranged' leaders together, offer informal pathways beyond staid, formal venues of diplomacy, generate massive public diplomacy opportunities, amplify a state's diplomatic message, culture and values, and unite so-called disparate nations, states and people via a mutual love of pursuits centred on physical exercise" (Murray, 2017).

Sports diplomacy, operating within the wider realm of cultural diplomacy, has grown

prominent in the recent decade as a means of employing soft power tactics. The "use of

sports often occurs through matches between two national teams within the framework

of bilateral interstate relations [and for countries] to display [their] benevolence towards

reconciliation" (Polo, 2015, p.9). Soft power, as coined by Joseph Nye, refers to the ability

to use elements of a national identity's culture to influence other peoples. As a soft power

tactic, nations choose to engage in cultural diplomacy as a way of portraying their own

culture, while exchanging it with foreign cultures to foster understanding in hopes of

generating greater peace and stability in a globalised world and because of its multi-

faceted ability to be applied in the public sector, private sector and/or in civil society. The

emphasis lies on the production and subsequent nurturing and dissemination of cultural

products that help to push diplomatic efforts forward. Cultural products therefore help

the overall diplomatic cause (Chakraborty). With regards to sports diplomacy, the

sporting event in itself is a product and a tool, as is the athlete. An athlete is a citizen and

a product of the nation brand and therefore a brand ambassador. When that citizen is a

celebrity, as is the case with the players of the national football team, they are brand

ambassadors in the public eye, opening their actions, words and behaviours to criticism

and scrutiny, where the reliance on them as a representative of the nation becomes

twofold.

Sporting events, and particularly mega events, such as the FIFA World Cup and Summer and Winter Olympic Games, capitalise and profit from nations looking to propel their brand, while simultaneously allowing nations to compete non-violently, yet in a way that is capable of changing reputations and perceptions. "International sporting competition is perceived increasingly as an ideal channel for nations, regions and cities to share their identities, their merits and 'brands' with the rest of the world" (Pigman & Rofe, 2014, p. 1096). Even before the event begins, nations compete to become host because of the opportunities a mega event can provide "in developing and projecting national identity, providing economic benefits through regeneration or a strengthened balance of payments, delivering social benefits for individuals or communities and in adding to the repertoire of diplomatic resources" (Houlihan & Zheng, 2015, p. 330).[7] The practicality of using sport as a diplomatic tool can help "the culture of a state's diplomacy change from aloof, hermetic and 'dead' to one that is advanced, innovative, very public and even fun" (Murray, 2017). Already in the bid to host and, should they be successful, the eventual hosting of the event, the identity the nation looks to project must be made clear and must consequentially be adhered to.

It is here where contention arises. With increased globalisation, the identity of the nation-state, much like its individuals, becomes increasingly blurred. One brand, with one concept, ideology and narrative cannot encompass an entire nation's vast diversity, unless diversity is the brand itself. In 2017, 258 million people were living outside their country of birth (Hill, 2018), all of whom meet, work, share and interact with local and

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[7] See case studies on the 2006 World Cup in Germany (Grix & Houlihan, 2014), South Africa 2010 (Cornelissen, 2008; Misener, 2013); on the 2016 Summer Olympics in Rio de Janeiro (Broudehoux & Sanchez, 2015), London 2012 (Smith, 2014), Beijing 2008 (D'Hooghe, 2015; Price, 2008), Barcelona 1992 (Garcia, 2004); on the 2014 Winter Olympic Games in Sochi (Wolfe, 2016).

other foreign cultures. Thus, the likelihood of marrying and having children with a partner who does not share your heritage, religion and/or native language becomes increasingly likely. The child born of this partnership will ultimately absorb traits from both partners. Like the parents' physical traits, the child's individual identity will be shaped by two or more cultures (assuming both partners raise the child) and will hold two or more heritages. In this case, the child will be a multi-national and will operate in what Mike Featherstone calls a 'third culture,' where they "are conduits for all sorts of diverse cultural flows which cannot be merely understood as the product of bilateral exchanges between nation-states" (Featherstone, 1990, p. 1). How children operating in the third culture eventually identify themselves, ultimately relies on a number of factors.[8]

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[8] These include family values and traditions, the language spoken at home, the friends, the music they listen to, the sports they play, the school they go to, etc.

3.4 Cultural, ethnic and national identity

In the globalised era,

> "the expansion of dual citizenship is redefining the basic principle of state membership, which is shifting from exclusive and territorial to overlapping and portable. [...] Most dual citizens have 'ordinary' resident citizenship in their country of residence and in addition have another citizenship from a country where they do not reside" (Harpaz & Mateos, 2018, p. 11).

In a highly migratory world, many individuals strive for what Harpaz and Mateo refer to as "strategic citizenship," to "provide them with economic advantages, global mobility, a sense of security or even higher social status" (Harpaz & Mateos, 2018, p. 2). But regardless of whether or not the citizenship is strategic, in adopting the citizenship, the nation expects a form of loyalty and submission to their national identity. In doing so, the nation automatically rejects and disregards ethnic and cultural identities, prioritising the identity of the nation. For the individual, however, ethnic and cultural identity does not simply disappear. As theorised by Homi Bhabha and his concept of hybridity and mimicry, an individual becomes a blend of two or more identities and cultures and establishes a new identity. By combining elements, the new identity can leave an individual excluded from the two (or more) from which the identity was formed, belonging to neither one or the other, consequentially leading to isolation or the ultimate belonging to a minority, 'third culture' (see Featherstone) or falling into the 'sovereignty gap' (see Ashraf Ghani).

Identity can be considered in three ways: national, ethnic or cultural. National identity "incorporates political, cultural, sociological and historical approaches to identity" (Szondi, 2008, p. 4) and in its modern sense, "derives from membership in a people, the fundamental characteristic of which is that it is defined as a nation" (Greenfeld, 1992, p. 7). Ethnic identity, as described by Donald Horowitz is based on the association to an

ethnic group "that is based on perceived common origin, skin colour, appearance, religion, language or some combination thereof" (Horowitz, 1985).

> "An ethnic identity is developed through time and takes on various meanings in the course of one's life experience, as one contrasts one's social group in some measure against the dominant culture and against other groups within it" (Romanucci-Ross, De Vos & Tsuda, 2006, p. 387).

Cultural identity is "comprised of the rich web of interrelating stories, myths, narratives, and traditions held by the people and institutions of a given group" (Shindler, 2014). An individual is a mixture of all three identities and can choose which identity they identify with most strongly. The identity, or identities, they choose to define themselves by become problematic only when going against the brand of the nation.

Sport has always been "a hugely important marker of national identity," (Bairner, 2015, p. 378) and assembling a team to compete at the international level is therefore of utmost importance in terms of how a nation wants to be perceived and defined. In the case of Germany, its multi-national, multi-ethnic and multi-cultural national football squad "is not a reflection of a colonial past but a model of contemporary German society" (Merkel, 2014, p. 246). But sport is equally important as a marker of cultural and ethnic identity and in fostering social cohesion between the identity groups, "because they make people believe in the special and supra-individual power of the group" (Ismer, 2011, p. 553). It is in the realm of sports, therefore, and the wider field of cultural diplomacy, that identities can be presented, dispersed and ultimately understood, in a non-threatening arena, to ensure peace and stability between the many ethnicities, cultures and nationalities that exist in the world today. The soft, but highly meaningful power of sports helps to encourage the spirit of conviviality that inspires "a more mature polity that [...] might be better equipped to deal with [...] cultural plurality" (Gilroy, 2006, p. 40-41) than

traditional forms of diplomacy and hard power tactics. In its most basic form, sport offers a level playing field that displays sportsmanship, mutual respect and an adherence to rules, offering a metaphor that multi-ethnic, multi-cultural and multi-national societies can aim to replicate. "The fact that so many people from a vast range of backgrounds wrap themselves in [sport] demonstrates a new and modern sense of national identity and a playful, non-threatening patriotism that continues to stun the world" (Merkel, 2014, p. 248).

"The elision of society, state and nation is a key aspect of the weaponry of political debate in the modern world. It implies that genuine 'societies' are those in which social, political and cultural dimensions are in alignment" (McCrone & Kiely, 2000, p. 22). Whether a migrant, refugee, asylum-seeker or privileged expat who can exercise the right to strategic citizenship, the 'third culture' operates as a threat to traditional national identity. If nationalism remained true to its course of development as a product of modern processes, then nationalism should be developing along the lines of current processes of modernisation, which include globalisation. A truly contemporary nationalist would relinquish their "prejudices, becom[e] more tolerant and gradually embrac[e] [the] multi-cultural and multi-national composition" (McCrone & Kiely, 2000, p. 22) of their nation. Developed nations in the present day are ultimately at a crossroads, where they and their consequent brand must consider their priorities: to protect their primordial nation and their culture by streamlining their citizens or join the global community and welcome a diverse, multi-national society. "One culture, one nation, one society remains still the leitmotif of Western thought, even though it does not sit at all easily with multiculturalism" (McCrone & Kiely, 2000, p. 30).

But if a nation is based on shared, communal experiences and developed from a narrative in which its citizens choose to believe, then the idea and image of a nation can be changed. "Most contemporary states are, of course, modern inventions from the 19th century, and […] undergo invention and reinvention" (McCrone & McPherson, 2009, p. 5). A narrative is highly malleable and can be altered, provided the majority can be enticed to believe in it. Perhaps sport can help in at least offering a space and a framework, away from the pitch, that supersedes nationalism and in which an individual is not penalised for identifying with whatever culture they so choose.

4. Methodology

The following section discusses the methodological steps and approaches of this study to understand and evaluate how an individual of dual heritage can represent one nation on the international stage and to assess whether the soft power of sport has the ability to change the view on immigration and identity. Within the context of the existing literature and keeping in mind the relevant theories that are applicable to this study, research was conducted in three parts.

Firstly, it is important to understand the rules and regulations behind attaining nationality in the first place. Data was collected from the top six European footballing nations at the start of the World Cup (June 2018), which are, in order of ranking: Germany, Belgium, Portugal, Switzerland, France and Poland. The top six were chosen to better ascertain any similarities or differences between the nations in terms of who they accept not only as their citizens, but also as their national footballers. According to a study done by the Washington Post, of the 736 players competing in the World Cup, 82 players were not born in the country they represent and 22 of the 32 teams have at least one foreign-born player (Berkowitz, Alcantara, Ulmanu & Esteban, 2018). How, therefore, can a player attain citizenship? What are the rules regarding naturalisation?

FIFA stipulates that players must hold "the nationality of its country and be subject to its jurisdiction" (FIFA, 2019). In order for the player to be eligible to play for their nation at the World Cup, therefore, the player must be a passport holder of that nation. In the case of having more than one nationality, FIFA outlines the following conditions, of which one must be fulfilled for the individual to be allowed to play:

a) he was born on the territory of the relevant association;
b) his biological mother or biological father was born on the territory
of the relevant association;
c) his grandmother or grandfather was born on the territory of the
relevant association;
d) he has lived on the territory of the relevant association for at least
two years without interruption.

In this case, it is important to understand the laws of obtaining citizenship in the top six
European footballing countries, rather than the top six worldwide, as they fall under the
umbrella of the wider European identity. For the purpose of this study, it is necessary to
identify the differences between their citizenship, naturalisation and dual nationality laws
that factor into the football players being eligible for passports, particularly in the cases
of those who were born abroad. Information was gathered from embassy and consulate
websites from each nation for official and up-to-date information.

Secondly, data was collected on how many individuals on each of the top six European
footballing teams are dual nationals. By consulting the official FIFA website, it was
possible to get the full names of each of the players in the six 23-player squads. These
names were then used to search their profile on the official Transfer Markt website
(*www.transfermarkt.co.uk*) that provides the largest database of football player details,
including age, player position, the teams they have played for and nationality. Each player
that has two flags or more on their profile is considered a dual national and, as according
to FIFA regulations, they have the choice of which country to play for.

The third part involves analysing in greater depth the situation of Mesut Özil, a star
German midfielder with Turkish roots who was thrown into the spotlight before, during
and after the World Cup 2018 in Russia. This final part was crucial in understanding the

issues surrounding identity and the overall perception of what the public holds in higher regard: heritage and ethnicity or citizenship and nationality? A media analysis was conducted to better understand the fallout surrounding the case of Mesut Özil following the World Cup. By applying Erving Goffman's frame analysis, the research aimed to determine cultural "definitions of reality that allow people to make sense of objects and events" (Shaw, 2013). In looking at the social behaviour, or "strips," it was possible to understand the frames that people use to make sense of the behaviour, as well as the "political role played by frames in mass communication, examining the use of frames to guide audiences to preferred conclusions by simultaneously highlighting particular aspects of reality and hiding others" (Shaw, 2013). A media analysis "provides an insight into complex models of human thought and language use [and helps] to analyse the ideologies of those who produce them and how they try to spread this ideology" (Trueman, 2015).

Articles were gathered from four of Germany's most prominent news channels: *Der Spiegel, Focus, Die Welt* and *Die Zeit.* The four represent an equal balance of political leanings (two centre-left, two centre-right) and being four of the most consumed sources of news in Germany (All You Can Read, 2018), not only is their content the most read on a regular basis, but also the most capable of affecting popular opinion and understanding. Only German articles written between May 14 and August 15, 2018 on their specific online channels were consulted,[9] a time period spanning one month prior to the start of the World Cup and one month after the official end of the tournament. All the articles were accessed through each of the news outlets' archives, publicly available online. For

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[9] *Der Spiegel* and *Die Zeit* have additional outlets and magazines (i.e. *Spiegel Plus, Spiegel Magazine, Zeit Magazin*) but these were not consulted in the media analysis.

each newspaper or magazine, the search terms "Mesut Özil" and "Weltmeisterschaft" (*World Cup*) were used together. *Das Bild*, despite having "the highest circulation in Germany, its content tends to be sensationalist and the articles are usually short, lacking in-depth coverage" (Gehring, 2016, p. 1967) and was consequently omitted from the media analysis.

There are three distinct phases within the three months the media analysis covers: 1) Özil posing with President Erdogan; 2) Özil's performance on the pitch during the World Cup 2018; 3) Özil's resignation from the German national team. By breaking down the media analysis into these phases, it was easier to compare and contrast the coverage between each of the four channels and to identify which elements were given greater attention (i.e. use of language; specificity of terms used; what information was omitted or included; particular leaning of the article; use of bias; criticising, blaming or supporting Özil; etc). The media analysis, however, did not aim or attempt to understand the perceptions and/or interpretations of the readers. With regards to opinion pieces, authors biographies were consulted to better understand the context in which the article was written and the background or potential political leanings the individual may have.

The content analysis paid particular attention to the syntax, word-choice, headline and inclusion or omission of information of each article, recognising the stylistic, rhetoric and linguistic choices used by the authors. The way in which articles are written and how they describe the events can have profound effects on wider public opinion. Going back to the ideas of Benedict Anderson and his theories regarding imagined communities created as a result of the invention of the printing press, analysing the information provided by the

mass media is critical in understanding the wider common conceptions held by the public

and in turn, the perception of common identity and construction of a perceived nation.

5. Results/Findings

This study was conducted in three parts: first, to understand the rules and regulations regarding citizenship and naturalisation in each of the top six footballing nations in Europe; second, to determine how many dual nationals play in each of the top six European footballing nations; and finally, a media analysis of articles on Mesut Özil in four main German news publications spanning three months (May 15 – August 15, 2018). The following outlines the results and findings:

5.1 Citizenship & Naturalisation

Germany, Belgium, Portugal, Switzerland, France and Poland grant each individual the right of blood and the right of soil, meaning individuals who are born in the country or born to a citizen of that country are automatically entitled to citizenship. Each country also allows foreigners to apply for citizenship through naturalisation, some with stricter rules than others. Poland proves to be the most lenient of the six countries, requiring individuals to live in Poland for only three years prior to applying, while Switzerland requires individuals to have lived in the country for ten years. Poland and Belgium are the only countries that do not require a command of the national language to be eligible to apply for citizenship. Germany proves to be the strictest country with regards to dual nationality, laying out very specific terms and regulations. Tables 10.1, 10.2 and 10.3 in the Appendix lay out the citizenship, naturalisation and dual nationality laws for each of the six European nations.

5.2 Dual nationals

The graphs on the following pages show the make-up of nationals vs. dual-nationals in each of the top six 23-man European footballing nations, as well as the breakdown of nationalities. The French national team has the most dual national players, with 15, followed closely by Switzerland with 14. Germany and Poland feature the least number of dual nationals, with only three and two respectively. Most interestingly to note is that Mesut Özil and Ilkay Gündogan, the two players under the largest scrutiny in the 2018 World Cup, are not dual nationals. Both players are German and only entitled to play for Germany in international football.
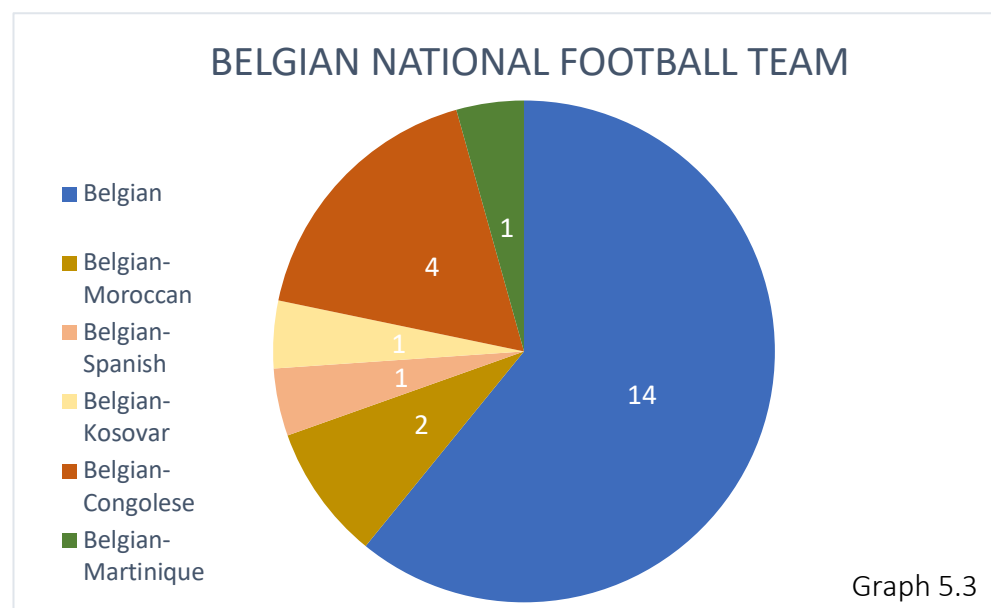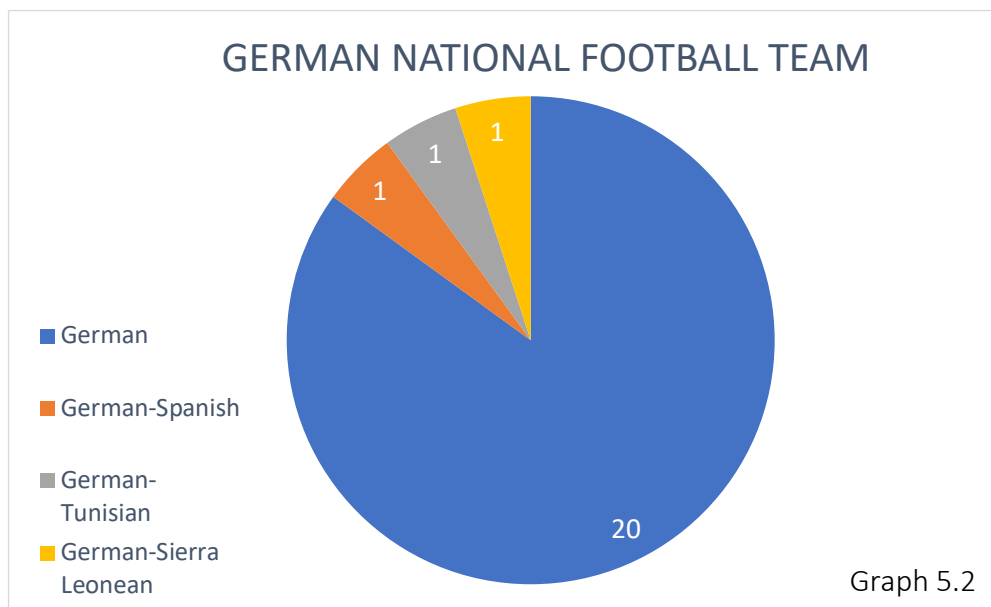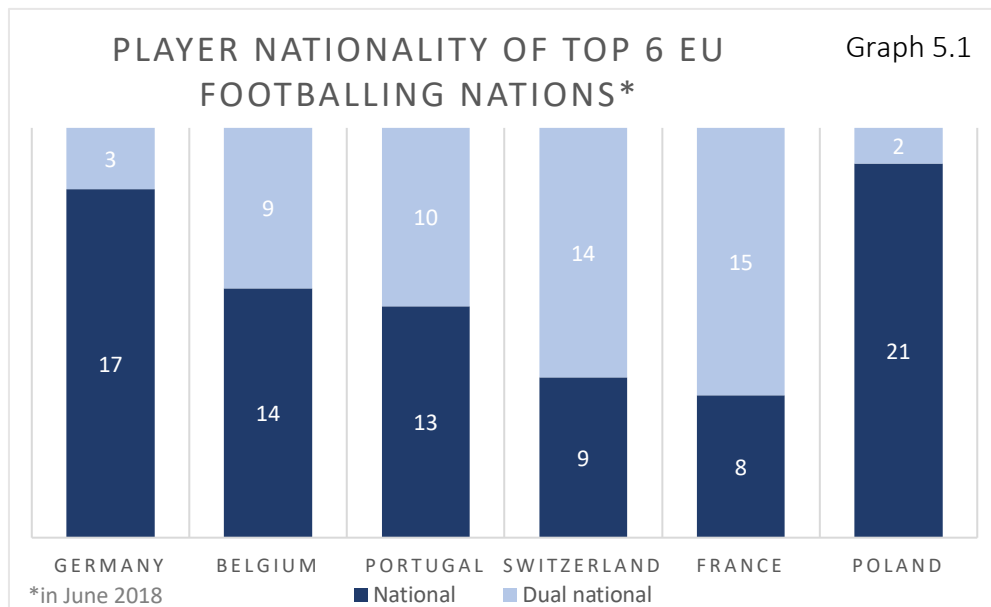
It is important to highlight the citizenship and naturalisation laws in Germany:

If you do not have German parents, but are born within the borders of Germany, you qualify for citizenship by birth or by right of soil. This is also the Jus Soli citizenship. You can get this type of citizenship on the following conditions:
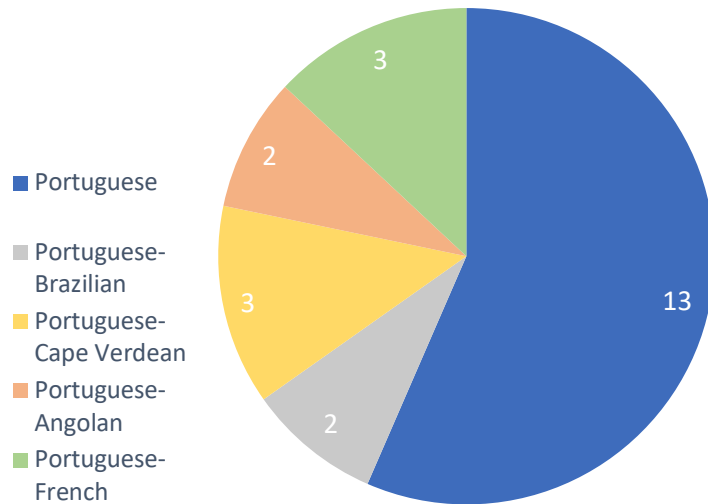
- *If at least one of your parents has lived in Germany for at least 8 years before the birth of the child*
- *If at the time the child is born, one of the parents had a permanent residence permit*
- *In getting this type of citizenship, the child will again have to choose the citizenship of the parents or the citizenship of Germany between the ages of 18 and 23 years old. The child must give up the nationalities of the parents in order to get the German one, or apply for dual citizenship. Only children born after February 2nd, 1990, have the right to get this type of citizenship.*

(Germany VISA, 2019)

Born before 1990, Mesut Özil is not entitled to apply for dual citizenship and therefore was faced with having to decide which citizenship to keep. In opting to play for Germany, Özil consequently obtained German citizenship and was forced to renounce his Turkish citizenship.
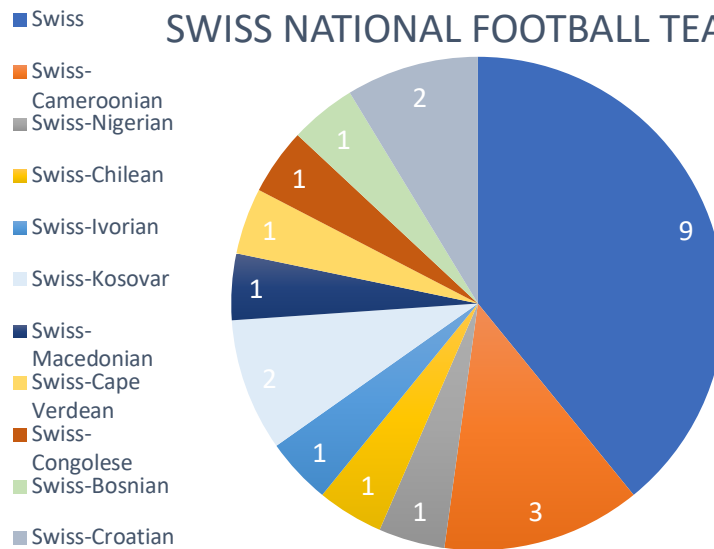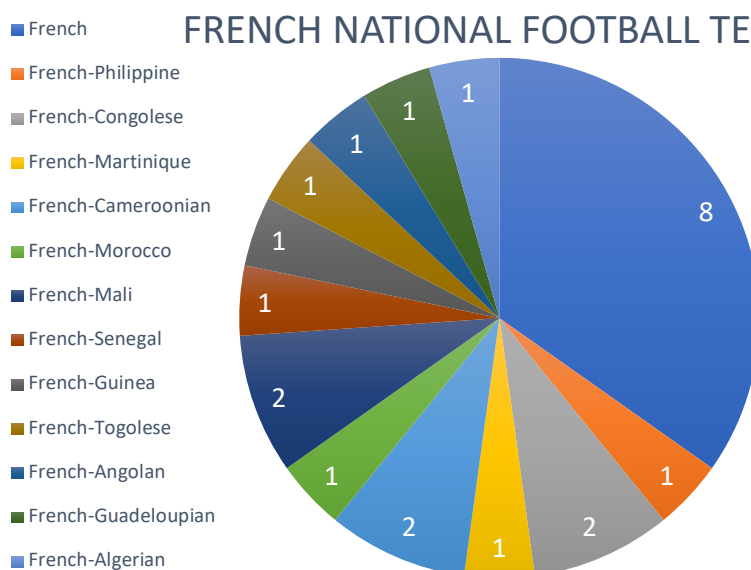
PLAYER NATIONALITY OF TOP 6 EU FOOTBALLING NATIONS*

Graph 5.1

Country	National	Dual national
GERMANY	17	3
BELGIUM	14	9
PORTUGAL	13	10
SWITZERLAND	9	14
FRANCE	8	15
POLAND	21	2

*in June 2018

■ National ■ Dual national

GERMAN NATIONAL FOOTBALL TEAM

- German: 20
- German-Spanish: 1
- German-Tunisian: 1
- German-Sierra Leonean: 1

Graph 5.2

BELGIAN NATIONAL FOOTBALL TEAM

- Belgian: 14
- Belgian-Moroccan: 2
- Belgian-Spanish: 1
- Belgian-Kosovar: 1
- Belgian-Congolese: 4
- Belgian-Martinique: 1

Graph 5.3

PORTUGUESE NATIONAL FOOTBALL TEAM

- Portuguese
- Portuguese-Brazilian
- Portuguese-Cape Verdean
- Portuguese-Angolan
- Portuguese-French

Graph 5.4

SWISS NATIONAL FOOTBALL TEAM

- Swiss
- Swiss-Cameroonian
- Swiss-Nigerian
- Swiss-Chilean
- Swiss-Ivorian
- Swiss-Kosovar
- Swiss-Macedonian
- Swiss-Cape Verdean
- Swiss-Congolese
- Swiss-Bosnian
- Swiss-Croatian

Graph 5.5

FRENCH NATIONAL FOOTBALL TEAM

- French
- French-Philippine
- French-Congolese
- French-Martinique
- French-Cameroonian
- French-Morocco
- French-Mali
- French-Senegal
- French-Guinea
- French-Togolese
- French-Angolan
- French-Guadeloupian
- French-Algerian

Graph 5.6

POLISH NATIONAL FOOTBALL TEAM

- ■ Polish
- ■ Polish-Brazilian
- ■ Polish-German
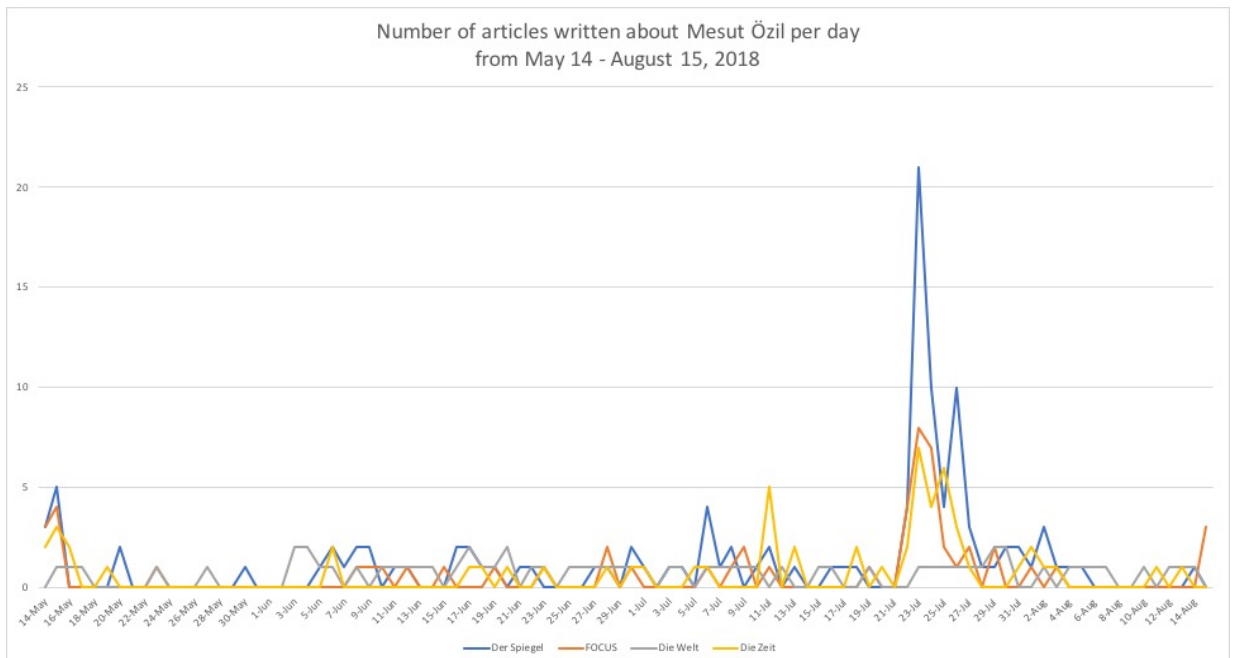
Graph 5.7
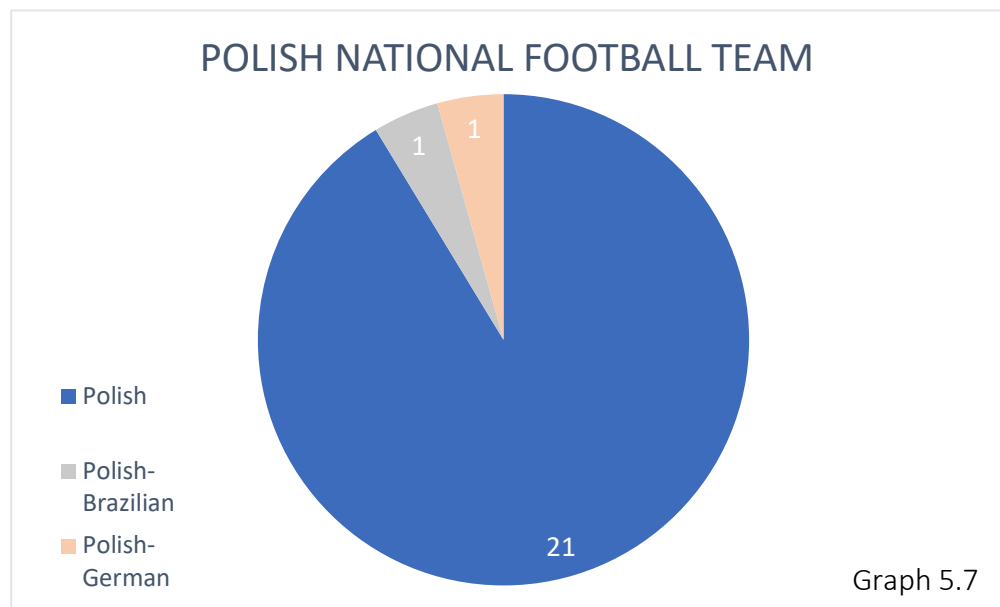
5.3 Media Analysis

Over the course of three months, the four news outlets collectively published 293 articles on Mesut Özil in relation to the World Cup. The articles range from short, fact-listing pieces to opinion pieces and in-depth explanations on wider issues that the events surrounding Özil catalysed, including: integration, racism, Turkish-German relations, national identity, dual citizenship, the concept of a homeland, the current state of Germany's politics and the repercussions on the German national football team. Each of the publications presented an overall trend, that despite the event that kickstarted the entire discussion, namely both Mesut Özil and Ilkay Gündogan meeting Turkish president Recep Tayyip Erdogan, the majority of the coverage focused solely on Özil. Articles that mention Gündogan dwindled by the official start of the World Cup. On the following page is a timeline outlining the key events that took place over the course of the three months covered in the media analysis. They have been highlighted to help explain the context in which the articles are written and the ensuing graph shows the number of articles written per day about Mesut Özil.

Timeline of Events
May 14 - August 15, 2018

June 17, 2018
Germany **0 - 1** Mexico

May 13, 2018
Mesut Özil and Ilkay
Gündogan meet with
President Erdogan

June 6, 2018
German national
football team media
day - Özil absent

June 27, 2018
Germany **0 - 2** S. Korea
Germany do not progress

July 23, 2018
Mesut Özil resigns
from German
national football team

May 14, 2018

Aug. 15, 2018

June 14, 2018
Start of the 2018
World Cup in Russia

July 15, 2018
End of the 2018
World Cup in Russia

June 23, 2018
Germany **2 - 1** Sweden

Number of articles written about Mesut Özil per day
from May 14 - August 15, 2018

Graph 5.8

					Table 5.1
Number of articles written about Mesut Özil per publication				
	Pre-World Cup (May 14 – June 13)	World Cup (June 14 – July 15)	Post-World Cup (July 16 – August 15)	TOTAL
Der Spiegel	21	26	69	116
Focus	12	11	32	55
Die Welt	16	26	21	63
Die Zeit	10	16	33	59
TOTAL	59	79	158	293

The four publications offer slight variations with regard to their interpretation of events. *Die Welt* takes a more social and sports-orientated stance in its coverage, with an entire section dedicated to the World Cup during the course of the tournament, while *FOCUS* takes a hard news approach, with no focus on sporting elements and very few opinion articles. Left-leaning newspaper *Die Zeit* takes a more liberal stance in its coverage and uses the various events as a basis for discussions on wider topics, including Turkish integration, wider politics and issues surrounding the DFB. *Der Spiegel*, having written the greatest number of articles, covers the same issues repeatedly, but each time from a different perspective, offering a wide range of opinion. For example, one article written from the perspective of a German would be followed by an article written by a journalist with a migrant background, offering varied nuances and interpretations of the event. It is also the only news channel to address national identity issues and question the current status quo.

Overall, the basic facts of each event remain the same (i.e. time, place, individuals involved, etc.), as well as the quotes from the various political representatives, spokespeople and heads of organisations. The language used to describe the events, however, and the information included or omitted changes according to each

publication, leaving readers with slightly varying impressions of how they unfolded. For example, all four publications report on the fact that Mesut Özil and Ilkay Gündogan met and posed with Turkish President Recep Tayyip Erdogan on May 14, 2018 at the Four Seasons Hotel in London and gave the president signed jerseys of their respective football clubs in the United Kingdom. Each of the publications, however, chose to emphasise certain elements of the story more than others. *Die Welt* places much more of the focus on Ilkay Gündogan for having written "with respect to my President" on the jersey he gave Erdogan, as does *Der Spiegel*, while the content in *FOCUS* is more centred on Özil, with one article even discussing his trip to Mecca two years prior, bringing his religion to the centre of the coverage.

Despite the different attention in coverage, both *Die Welt* and *FOCUS* are the only two publications to offer articles with interpretations from Turkish individuals, who explain the events from an alternative perspective and provide a cultural interpretation of Özil and Gündogan's meeting with Erdogan. *Der Spiegel* published many more articles than *FOCUS, Die Welt* and *Die Zeit*, seven of them being opinion pieces. *Die Zeit* is the only publication that includes two in-depth interviews with Reinhard Grindel, president of the DFB and Frank-Walter Steinmeier, the president of Germany, speaking directly to those most heavily quoted.

59 articles were written concerning Özil and Gündogan's meeting with President Erdogan over the course of a month. Regardless of whether or not the event is described as a "mistake" (*Die Welt*), "treasonous" (*Der Spiegel*), "not a good idea" (*Die Zeit*) or are articles that show support for Özil and Gündogan, the fact remains that the event was at the centre of 59 articles and was not to be soon forgotten. Ten days after the event,

coverage stopped almost entirely apart from one article in *Die Welt* on May 27 and one in *Der Spiegel* on May 30. Following two weeks of media coverage silence, however, it is interesting to see how Özil choosing not to appear on the final media day ahead of the team's journey to Russia, reignited the Erdogan-Özil-Gündogan debate across all the publications, resulting in another 22 articles being published on a subject that was seemingly laid to rest two weeks prior.

All the publications point out that Özil does not sing the national anthem before a match, all quote the criticisms from senior political officials, members of German parliament and representatives from sporting bodies and all mention the fact that fellow footballer of Turkish background, Emre Can, had declined the same invitation to meet President Erdogan. Only *FOCUS*, however, mentions DFB President's Reinhard Grindel's former political role in the CDU, alluding to the fact that the current president of the DFB comes from a prominent political background.[10] *FOCUS* and *Die Welt* are the only publications to mention the fact that Özil has met President Erdogan many times before, yet those meetings had never previously posed a problem. Contradictorily, *FOCUS* features an article that consults Turkish-German journalist Fatih Demireli, who explains the background of the event from the perspective of someone who shares the same heritage. The article offers an explanation as to why they accepted the invitation and is the only article of 59 to publish Gündogan's official statement. The title of the article is worth highlighting here as "Özil and Gündogan help Erdogan - Turkish expert explains background" (Mittermeier, 2018) creates the idea that the footballers, in the eyes of a Turkish individual, have betrayed Germany. Meanwhile, *Die Welt* is the only newspaper

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[10] NOTE: *FOCUS* is politically aligned to the CDU.

to discuss Turkish culture and customs, to offer the most nuanced translation of what Gündogan wrote on the jersey and to provide insight into Özil and Gündogan's upbringing, explaining their Turkish ties.

Moving into the World Cup phase of the media analysis, the coverage ahead of Germany's first game against Mexico revolves mostly around speculation over how they will perform, what tactics will be used and who will play in the starting eleven. Immediately after the first game (Germany lost 0-1), attention returns to Özil, singling him out as one of the weakest players, criticising his performance and arguing that teammate Marco Reus should have been playing instead of him. His 89 appearances in international football (prior to the game against Mexico), all representing Germany, won him no favours and was a detail only mentioned in the third phase of media coverage.

A clear trend emerges here: regardless of the German national team's performance, Mesut Özil is either singled out within the text or is the main subject of the article. In the articles where the team is mentioned collectively, Özil consistently has one paragraph written exclusively about him. Of the 79 articles written during the time of the World Cup, not one omits reminding readers that Özil took photographs with Erdogan one month prior to the start of the tournament and that Özil has remained silent on the issue. Even the articles that undoubtedly support Özil and criticise the criticism he receives, counterproductively mention the photographs and his silence. The constant repetition engenders sensationalisation and by granting the issue such importance, the overall impression that emerges suggests that Özil is not forgiven for his actions, or insinuates that he should not be. Articles written on July 15, three weeks after Germany's exit from the World Cup and two whole months after the photographs were taken, still make

mention of the event, proving just how much of an issue it posed. *Die Welt* goes so far as to call it a scandal ("*Erdogan-Skandal*"), while the others dub it as the "Erdogan Affair." One article in *Der Spiegel* referred to the event as "Erdo-gate."

28 articles were written over the course of the 12 days that Germany was a part of the World Cup, but 50 articles were written after their exit. With almost double the amount of coverage for a time span that is only 6 days longer, the national disappointment is made abundantly clear and the content turns to the search for answers. It is in this phase where the discussion shifts to whether or not Mesut Özil is to blame for Germany's short-lived World Cup participation. *Der Spiegel* categorises all the Özil articles that are published after Germany's World Cup exit under the title of "Subject Özil" ("*Causa Özil*") and is the only publication to continually report German national team manager Oliver Bierhoff's post-World Cup interview as out-rightly against Özil, blaming him for their performance in Russia. The other publications entitle their categories "Özil-Debate" (*FOCUS*) and *Die Zeit* had a dedicated "Mesut Özil" section. *Die Welt* had an entire section dedicated to the World Cup and as such, not one solely focused on Özil. *Die Welt* did, however, print photos in which Özil was repeatedly included, if not the sole subject of the photograph. On June 17, Özil was on the front cover of the newspaper with head coach, Löw and again on June 20, this time alone and with the headline "Germany has much to thank Özil for" ("*Deutschland hat Mesut Özil viel zu verdanken*").

The largest portion of coverage surrounds Özil's decision to resign from the German national football team and from international football, which forms the bulk of the third phase of the media analysis. In this period, spanning July 16 to August 15, there were only two days where the four publications did not publish articles concerning Özil – July 21

and August 9. On July 23 alone, 31 articles were written following the announcement of Özil's resignation, with an additional 66 articles published in the following three days. All the articles over these days discuss, criticise and analyse whether resigning from the national team was the appropriate thing for Özil to do and examine the DFB's reaction and overall management of the situation. On the whole, it is concluded that the DFB very much mismanaged the whole ordeal from the very beginning, starting with the photos of Özil, Gündogan and President Erdogan. Each article, as was the case with the coverage both prior to and during the World Cup, continues to remind readers of Özil posing with Erdogan and the majority of the articles re-publish the photos alongside the written content. For most of the coverage during this period, however, the articles bring in discussions concerning politics and society, steering away from Özil himself and focusing on the nationwide debate that the events have spurred.

Much of the discussion centres on Özil's decision to write his statement of resignation in English, making sure the global community could understand his decision and the reasoning behind it. Each publication refers to the Turkish media and politicians who voice support for Özil's decision, with *FOCUS* going so far as to publish each statement from German and Turkish politicians, the main headlines from other German newspapers and their own readers from both the German and Turkish communities. What is made clear is that Özil's resignation creates ripples that go beyond the footballing world and resonates strongly among the German population, bringing to the surface a mixture of conflicting opinions, not only from politicians and citizens, but from fellow athletes as well.

Die Welt remains consistent in providing differing cultural angles in their coverage. Out of all the publications, *Die Welt* either interviews individuals of differing background to offer a variety of interpretations or publish articles written by journalists with differing cultures, ethnicities and nationalities. Interestingly, the articles that discuss the social issues and report on social and identity issues are written by journalists who themselves have a migrant background. Few of the identity-related articles are written by fully German journalists, highlighting the fact that certain issues are of greater importance from one cultural sector to another. The context in which the article is written cannot go unnoticed, but it is also important to recognise that the publication did take steps to make sure opinions were heard from a variety of social and cultural groups. Most evident in the media analysis is the wide ranging and great number of opinions, perspectives and understandings of the events surround Mesut Özil prior to, during and after the World Cup, a reflection of the many conversations taking place around Germany.

6. Discussion

With a three-part methodology, the data collected for this study, while addressing specific questions, provided results that are integral to understanding the big picture. By identifying the citizenship laws of six European countries and gathering statistics on their football teams, concrete results allow for no further interpretation. The laws are clearly written and the team statistics are plainly laid out. The sheer size of the media analysis, which revealed 293 articles, provided a broad and in-depth look at the way in which events were perceived, interpreted, explained and ultimately disseminated. But the articles from the four publications only serve as a minor representation of the many other articles that were published during the same time period. They do, however, offer a window into the German media landscape and help to ascertain an understanding of the numerous opinions and perspectives of the German people. Most importantly, by completing the media analysis, one gains a comprehensive understanding of the events as a whole and how they developed. Had only one publication been analysed or only one article chosen per day of the three-month period, key facts would be missing and the frame of this study would be dependent on the interpretation of only a few journalists, all of whom operate within their own contexts and according to one publications agenda. By completing a 293-article analysis, a fairly concrete understanding of a situation emerges, as articles from different channels or written by different authors fill in the missing pieces for each other.

This paper sought to understand the intricacies of being an individual of dual-heritage who represents only one nation within an international realm. As a prime, highly current and apt example, the events surrounding Mesut Özil in the summer of 2018 provided a

strong case study on which to seek answers to the question: at which point does dual-heritage become a point of contention and must an individual make a choice?

As someone who very much operates in the public eye, Mesut Özil and his celebrity status propels a narrative on which social and cultural dimensions are formed. Should those narratives clash with a given political rhetoric, however, the individual is subject to targeted media campaigns and heavy criticism from supporters and members of political parties, creating further divides in wider society. Yet regardless of the many opinions, two facts are essential to highlight here: 1) Mesut Özil is not a dual national; 2) a whopping 293 articles were written about Mesut Özil in four publications over the course of three months.

As a key player in the German national football team, Mesut Özil is by default a cultural product. It is also important to remember that

> "Özil is an especially important symbol in the debate over the German identity of those of Turkish descent, because he can be a 'counter-typical' symbol of Turkish-German identity that may transform the way that ethnic Germans understand Turkish-German claims to citizenship and German identity" (Kang & Banaji, 2006, p. 1105).

By meeting with President Erdogan prior to the start of the 2018 World Cup, however, Özil was seen as supporting a dictator and deemed as having gone against Germany, hindering its image and bruising its overall identity. The backlash and retaliation towards his actions sparked nationalistic rhetoric, which in its present-day form, "is much more communitarian in an ethnic of "particularist" sense, concerned with the specific identity of a cultural group which wants to defend those cultural "markers" (Schwarzmantel, 2012, p. 151). To shake hands with the leader of a country in which Germany is continually in disputes, while representing Germany in international sport at the same time, forces

Özil into a position of having to choose between the two, despite being an individual who relates to and identifies with both. As a single person, Özil can be Turkish and German at the same time. But as an international footballer, and by default a German cultural diplomat, Özil with the number 10 on the back of his jersey, must be German.

And according to all the paperwork, Özil is German. He can only play for Germany at the international level because he only holds a German passport and under FIFA regulations, he is not eligible to play for any other team. Yet in Germany, as revealed by the media analysis, he is not German enough and therefore not German. The findings of the media analysis highlight the fact that individuals are rarely questioned directly, leading to an array of opinions, perspectives, interpretations and assumptions, all of which are covered in the media and stray away from identifying the truth. Similarly, in cases where the individual is consulted and answers are provided by the individual in question, the responses are also subject to the same array of opinions and interpretations, which confuse audiences and cast doubt on each element of the story. One of the main issues with the Mesut Özil case, as frequently discussed among the media, was his continued silence. His silence therefore led to the creation of justifications, excuses and opinions on his behalf, none of which provide accurate answers, but perpetuate the discussion and fuel the support or the hatred from the public, both fans and those who do not follow football, but nevertheless defend the nation of Germany.

The sheer number of articles discussing Özil and his loyalty to Germany can also not be ignored. Clearly considered to be a hot topic, the almost daily discussions and mentions in online articles, bolstered by accompanying posts on social media, fuelled the debate not only in terms of intensity, but also in terms of time. This raises a key issue in itself.

Mass media in the 21st century inundates societies with information to the point where knowing what is fact becomes increasingly difficult. But an average individual will not read 293 articles on one topic. The average individual rarely reads an article in its entirety and in the age of social media, 59% of people share an article with their online community without having read it (DeMers, 2016).

The debate in Germany still continues in 2019, eight months after Özil's formal resignation. What began as a simple meeting between a head of state and world-renowned footballer spiralled into a racial, ethnic, religious and societal debate that has politicians, fans, footballing organisations and policy-makers questioning national identity and asking what it means to be German. Özil not only has two heritages but he also operates between two mutually exclusive footballing capacities, one as a member of the German national football team, the other as a member of Arsenal Football Club in the UK. Worth emphasising here is the fact that Mesut Özil met President Erdogan in London and gave him an Arsenal FC jersey, a clear sign that he was acting as a representative of Arsenal, but Germany was the one to take offense. Of course, Özil is a German national standing next to the president of Turkey, but he is also of Turkish heritage and paying respect to the head of the country from which his ethnic roots originate. Yet in this situation, his ownership of a German passport outweighs any other factor.

The country-wide debate surrounding Özil offers a concrete example of how national narratives can be confirmed, re-written and emboldened. In his debut book *Sapiens: A Brief History of Mankind,* historian Yuval Noah Hariri argues that "any large-scale human cooperation – whether a modern state, a medieval church, an ancient city or an archaic

tribe – is rooted in common myths that exist only in people's collective imagination" (Harari, 2015, p. 30). Myths, although they are fictional texts, form the basis of an imagined community. If enough people believe the same myth, a like-minded community begins to develop, providing a narrative in which to believe. Linked to Hobsbawm's ideas of the re-invention of tradition, "it is probably most difficult to trace where such traditions are partly invented, partly evolved in private groups (where the process is less likely to be bureaucratically recorded), or informally over a period of time." (Hobsbawm & Ranger, 1983, p. 4). "Fiction has enabled us not merely to imagine things, but to do so collectively. We can weave […] the nationalist myths of modern states" (Harari, 2015, p. 27).

But if they can be woven once, they can woven twice. Politicians weave myths on a daily basis, just as multinational corporations and global monopolies create marketing campaigns. The more a myth is known and popularised, the more it becomes a believed reality. Such is the case with the Mesut Özil debate. The media analysis revealed two underlying trends in all four publications. Whether left or right leaning, conservative or liberal, the articles fell into two categories: those that propel a myth, or the narrative of the imagined community; and those that simply discuss events without revealing opinions or aligning strongly to political lines. For example, AfD party spokesperson Jörn Koenig claimed Özil was playing badly because he was uncomfortable wearing his German tricot. Statistically, however, Özil was Germany's most valuable player in the game against South Korea, setting up more opportunities to score than any other player. Though the articles were simply reporting on what was said by the AfD, those articles speak to the community who believe the myth created by the AfD and they ultimately catalyse that myth. To those community members, Özil was unquestionably uncomfortable in his German tricot. His actions no longer aligned with the collectively

believed myth of what it means to be German. Individuals will believe what they want to believe and should something speak to their truth, then that is the only valid interpretation. It is like claiming to know the final score, before the game has even begun.

Özgür Özvatan from Humboldt University in Berlin conducted a ten-year media analysis of Mesut Özil's representation in both Turkish and German media from 2005 to 2015. His study revealed that "although Mesut Özil was still perceived as an ethnic Turk, he was stripped of being recognised as a "proper Turk" (thus an "ethnic traitor") among Turks living in either Germany of Turkey" (Metzger & Özvatan, 2019, p. 24). Despite having Turkish ethnicity, "culturally he does not fully belong anymore […and…] the symbolic handshake with German chancellor Angela Merkel seemed to be an act of granting Özil full membership of German society" (Metzger & Özvatan, 2019, p. 25). By all intents and purposes, at the end of 2015, Mesut Özil was a German and despite his Turkish background, was accepted as being German by Germany. By the summer of 2018, this was no longer the case.

It was revealed that Germany, along with Switzerland, has the strictest laws regarding naturalisation and depending on the nation the individual originates from, Germany requires them to forego that passport in exchange for the German passport. Does this mean that more is demanded of those who are naturalised in countries with stricter citizenship laws? In the case of Mesut Özil, this would undoubtedly be the case. It would seem that he is required to be more German than Germans. Media, politicians and national team officials urge the expression of "emotional attachments and make declarations of loyalty [because] the more one belongs to nation A, the less one belongs to nation B" (Metzger & Özvatan, 2019, p. 23). During the World Cup in 2014, the German

national football team was the most ethnically diverse in the nation's history and offered "timely and useful reflections about the country's identity as the old certainties of one's nationality [had] become more flexible and blurred" (Merkel, 2014, p. 246). The team, at its most ethnically diverse, came third in the 2010 World Cup and ultimately World Champions in 2014. In 2018, with only three dual nationals (five with dual heritage when including Özil and Gündogan), exited after the first round. This is not to say that the more ethnically diverse the football team, the greater the team, but if the national football team reflects the current political state of the nation, then the 2018 team reveals a tell-tale sign of the fracturing of the multiple ethnicities and heritages that currently live together. This is particularly interesting when considering Germany has the largest total number of immigrants with German citizenship of all the countries in the European Union (European Commission, 2018). Also, worth noting is that Reinhard Grindel, former member of the CDU party who served in German parliament for 16 years and who was known for speaking out against multiculturalism and Muslims in Germany, became president of the DFB in 2016. An unusual appointment considering football, and sports in general, are meant to be apolitical.[11]

But being a national footballer, at the end of the day, is a job. And like any employee in a company, there are rules to adhere to, regulations to abide by and stakeholders to satisfy. In the case of the national football team, the company, in this case, the DFB, responds to a multitude of stakeholders, one of which is the nation to which it is beholden and the expectations of the nation remain somewhat blurred when compared to those of a

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[11] Grindel resigned from his position as DFB president with immediate effect on April 2, 2019 and resigned as UEFA vice president and as a member of the FIFA Council one week later on April 10, 2019 after coming "under growing pressure at home for missteps leading the German soccer federation in the past year. Grindel resigned after reports of earning undeclared income of 78,000 euros ($87,000) from a media subsidiary. He also acknowledged accepting a luxury watch gift from a Ukrainian colleague at UEFA." (AP NEWS, 2019).

company. Perhaps the expectations need clearer definitions and footballers must be made more aware of the diplomatic role they play. But defining them would incentivise nationalism and concretise nationalistic rhetoric, in its current form. For Germany to disregard multiculturalism would be to go against the trends of 21st century globalisation, would alter Germany's position in the global rankings and only favour the right-wing political parties. And should sport want to continue to refrain from being political, the actions of any national footballing association should then not follow the wants of any political party at all. Nevertheless, footballers of the national team hold a diplomatic role and, whether or not they take a stance politically, their actions and their words do have an impact, particularly on public opinion and they inherently represent the nation in any context. In the case of Mesut Özil no longer wanting to wear the national tricot and to therefore no longer represent Germany, his decision is a clear demonstration of his disagreement with the current state of the nation. This act is not uncommon in present-day politics, one which many individuals with political roles are echoing around the world and resigning from their posts due to disagreements with the current state of affairs and disagreement with political conduct (i.e. the number of people resigning from the Trump administration in the United States).

Football holds a unique position in society and to an extent in politics. In mirroring societal trends or in helping to bring to light society's most pertinent issues, football can offer a platform on which to debate, address the problems and even find solutions. Hence football's integral role in the field of sports and cultural diplomacy. In its own way, football also has the potential to change the definition of nationalism itself. Modern-day nationalism, as earlier established in the literature review, is no product of actual 21st century modernity, because if it was, nationalism would embrace the modern-day make-

up, image and demographics of the nation. In Germany, true nationalism would embrace its multiculturalism, the way it did when the German national football team, at its most diverse, won the 2014 World Cup in Brazil. Mesut Özil was an emblem of successful integration in Germany and an inspiration to many of the German-Turkish youths growing up across the country. The main issue here, however, is that the integration did not go both ways: Mesut Özil the German-Turk had to prioritise being German. Saying his prayers and not singing the national anthem was not acceptable and meeting the Turkish president crossed the line. Had Özil been truly integrated, Germany would have allowed him to respect, honour and remain proud of his Turkish roots. "If integration is ever to be truly possible in a more progressive sense, the ethnic assumptions underlying normative national identities must be repeatedly laid bare, interrogated, and broken down" (Zambon, 2014, p. 14). In football lies this possibility and it is here where the conversation surrounding nationalism can begin to change. Footballers who are dual-nationals or of dual heritage can help to propel a narrative of inclusivity and be ambassadors of integration. The sad reality of Mesut Özil's resignation is that as a key integration ambassador, he gave up that role, which begs the question, is integration working? Or is there simply no space that allows for integration to take place?

Die Welt conducted an interview with identity researcher Ulrich Schmidt-Denter, who, in his years of research, has found that Germany makes it too difficult for those with migrant roots to integrate. Those with Turkish roots particularly, stay attached to their homelands because of the difficulties they face integrating in Germany and consequently live split lives. Should Mesut Özil, as a public figure and an emblem of integration, face such struggles, then it stands to reason that "regular" citizens would face, if not the same, even greater difficulties. Importantly, the youth footballers hoping to turn professional who

are also of dual nationality (in particular, those who are German and of another nationality), will have watched what happened with great curiosity and intrigue. What they witnessed provides little confidence for their futures and may have them turning in favour of their other nationality or no nation at all. Despite having papers that state their national identity, if they are unable to integrate culturally into society, they will most likely rely on their ethnicity and find connections to those with whom they share similarities, resulting in a new social identity that places individuals between their two nations. "Ultimately it is simply a basic human need to develop a sense of belonging, we call it social identity. One identifies oneself with groups, and one's own nation also belongs to these groups" (Naber, 2018, p. 18).[12] For nations, this sets a dangerous precedent for two reasons: firstly, should these trends continue, nations will no longer have control over the narrative, with social groups creating new identities and new narratives by and for themselves; and secondly, it creates a basis on which social security issues easily emerge.

Sport has and continues to offer paths out of hardship. Those in marginalised and underprivileged communities repeatedly turn to sport as a way of staying out of trouble and keeping on a good path. For Turkish migrants in Germany, football clubs "provide an opportunity to avoid discrimination, escape social pressures, socialize with other members of the same ethnic background and to avoid isolation" (Merkel, 2014, p. 243). But if the national sports team no longer welcome or show openness to those with migrant backgrounds, the youth divisions stand to lose a lot and numerous issues can arise when youth players do not have outlets, especially when employment and

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[12] Original quote: „Aber letztlich ist es einfach ein grundlegendes menschliches Bedürfnis, ein Zugehörigkeitsgefühl zu entwickeln, wir nennen das soziale Identität. Man identifiziert sich mit Gruppen, und zu diesen Gruppen gehört auch die eigene Nation."

education prospects are limited. If they are not accepted into society and have no way of finding the right path, the vicious cycle will continue and they will never develop an affinity to or establish an identity with Germany. Many of the youth German footballers with a Turkish background will likely turn to Turkey when the time comes to decide which team they want to play for.

Sport "provides a common reference point within a nationalist context for a large proportion of the population" (Houlihan, 1997, p. 121) and offers a ground for social commonalities. This was particularly the case during the 2010 World Cup in South Africa, where 11 of the 23 players in the German team at the time had a nonethnic German background. Along with their successful performances during the tournament, the multi-ethnic team helped to "establish a new nationalist pedagogy designed to reorient German national identity" (Zambon, 2014, p. 8) and brought about shared nationalistic displays from Germans and nonethnic Germans, collectively. Moreover, "the media used immigrant examples to 'teach the Germans how to cheer for Germany again'" (Zambon, 2014, p. 8).[13] In 2014, as the national team built up and honed its multiethnicity, Udo Merkel asked whether the popularity of a footballer like Mesut Özil was symbolic of Germany "becoming more tolerant and gradually embracing [of] its multi-cultural and multi-national composition or whether [it was] a political virtue born out of a practical necessity" (Merkel, 2014, p. 246). Özil's resignation following the 2018 World Cup offers a clear answer, one that juxtaposes the sentiments of the two tournaments prior. The resignation also puts Germany in a position of having to decide how it wants to present

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[13] Given the country's history, flag-waving was still very much associated with Nazi Germany and nationalistic propaganda in the 1930s, making modern-day Germans very wary of showing too much pride in nation, but the migrant population's support of the German national team in the 2010 World Cup helped to restore national pride in Germans. See Kate Zambon's full case study "Producing the German Civic Nation: Immigrant Patriotism in Berlin's World Cup Flag Fight" (2014) for more.

itself to the global community. After hosting the World Cup in 2006, which helped "do away with the country's fascist past," (Kassimeris, 2009, p. 763), the events in 2018 seem to suggest a dangerous trend in the opposite direction. The fallout of the events involving and surrounding Mesut Özil continue in Germany and the direct consequences remain unclear and should be monitored closely as they unfold. It is here where those involved in managing the fallout, namely the football association, the politicians and the media must be aware of what their own actions are capable of.

> "The history which bec[omes] part of the fund of knowledge or the ideology of nation, state or movement is not what has actually been preserved in popular memory, but what [is] selected, written, pictured, popularized and institutionalized by those whose function it is to do so" (Hobsbawm & Ranger, 1983, p. 13).

The myths or traditions these sectors choose to invent (or re-invent), will ultimately factor into the social and political reality of all those living in the Germany of the future. With regards to sport, the questions as to how nations will deal with their future national sporting teams will become increasingly prominent and will raise questions that require nations to take a hard look in the mirror.

7. Conclusion

The basis to this study originated in thinking about what the future of cultural diplomacy might look like with regards to sport. Does the future see sport taking a more political role? And with the rise of the right-wing, does that role spur nationalism and fall victim to the hands of those in favour of borders, regardless of the talents of the individual? At the time, the 2018 World Cup was underway and the debate surrounding Mesut Özil was highly topical and therefore propelled the research and further understanding behind this study. It sought to understand and evaluate how an individual of dual heritage can represent one nation on the international stage. By assessing European football nations' current policies on citizenship, this study aimed to assess whether the soft power of sport has the ability to change the view on immigration and identity and whether national sports teams competing on the international level help or hinder the image of a nation and its resulting perception that the players engender according to their own national, ethnic and cultural identity.

<u>The issue of representing a nation</u>

If the individual has citizenship then they are like any other citizen of that nation, even if they have multiple citizenships. In football, dual nationals are allowed to represent the nation for which they hold citizenship. Some countries require individuals to renounce their other citizenship for them to be naturalised, meaning the individual cannot represent the nation for which they no longer hold citizenship.[14]

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[14] FIFA has strict rules regarding the changing of national team. Individuals may only request to change their national team association once. A player must submit a written, substantiated request to the FIFA general secretariat and the governing body's Players Status Committee decides on that request.

Declaration of loyalty to a nation

In a study conducted in 2017 on junior elite football players with a migrant background, it was found that the "athletes justified their decision to play for a national team predominantly in a functional manner, referring to sportive prospects, future perspectives and the assessment of their own performance level" (Seiberth, Thiel, & Spaaij, 2017, p. 12). Should they have more than one option, the players choose the nation that offers the best prospects for their future professionally. "The decision to play for a national association almost always has the consequence that the players start to reflect more intensively on their ethnic and national identity" (Seiberth, Thiel, & Spaaij, 2017, p. 15) and "like other forms of loyalty, ethnic identity is experienced as a moral commitment, making rejection of conflicting moral and legal commitments mandatory" (Romanucci-Ross, De Vos, Tsuda, 2006, p. 380). Repercussions emerge first from the nation the individual rejects, as in the case with Özil who was dubbed an "ethnic traitor" in Turkey for choosing to play for Germany, as well as facing public anger from German-Turks. But repercussions also emerge from the "home" nation according to the players performance, as was also made clear in the case of Özil. The player who does not fulfil the ethnic criteria is used as a scapegoat and made responsible for the failings of the team. Overall, the repercussions stem from the nation they choose not to represent, from the "home" nation if they do not perform well and they fall victim to the sovereignty gap, where they are unable to identify with either nation.

Identity/heritage outweighing citizenship/nationality

The gap between identity and citizenship is termed by Ashraf Ghani as the 'sovereignty gap' (Overseas Development Institute, 2005) where "the disparity between citizenship and national identity risks disenfranchising citizens of migrant origin because they cannot realize their individual sovereignty to which they are entitled" (O'Connor & Faas, 2012, p. 52). When an individual suits the needs of the nation, identity and heritage are disregarded. Mesut Özil, at the time of deciding whether to play for Turkey or Germany, was a player with enormous potential that Germany very much wanted on its team. As a result, German officials "managed to arrange German citizenship for [him] within just one week" (Metzger & Özvatan, 2019, p. 17). In having the appropriate paperwork, Mesut Özil was therefore entitled to all the benefits of German citizenship, as well as being allowed to represent Germany at the international level. To the nation, "citizenship defines not only membership of the nation-state (and thereby access to its services and benefits), but also seeks to override other claims on allegiance such as family, religion and ethnicity" (Houlihan, 1997, p. 121). Among society, however, identity and heritage outweigh citizenship and are used as reasons for the individual not fitting into the mould of the "proper" citizen, particularly when the individual does something that is deemed as going against the nation. Ethnicity takes precedence and identity is used as the reason for defying nationality. In the case of Mesut Özil, who is only allowed to play for Germany, his heritage and ethnic identity are most problematic to his "Germanness."

<u>The issue of ethnicity, culture and national identity</u>

Each individual chooses how to identify themselves, whether through ethnicity, culture, nation, community or perhaps even a combination of them all, all of which hold varying levels of importance and are dependent on environmental and situational factors. An individual can also have more than one identity, but important to highlight here is that the ethnic identity will never alter. National and cultural identity are a choice. An individual's ethnic identity is one established at birth and will always be combined with any other identity. For example, an ethnically Turkish singer may first identify with German pop music culture before discovering a strong identity with Turkish traditional music, but the singer will always be Turkish. Whether the individual chooses to identify with the ethnicity is a different matter and where the difficulties lie. Individuals face challenges when deciding which identity to most identify with, in order to feel a sense of belonging or being a part of a group. A collective is formed and held together through a common belief shared by all those involved, whether it be a community, a city, a football team or a nation. Collective ethnic, cultural or national identities are more rigid than those of an individual and will place greater importance on different aspects of identity, prioritising ethnic identity over national identity, for example. It is, of course, possible that an individual is part of more than one collective, "to be simultaneously a loyal citizen of the state, a part of the superordinate political unit, and a member of an ethnic minority" (Romanucci-Ross, De Vos, Tsuda, 2006, p. 379). Some collectives can also base their identity on many identities that combine both ethnic and cultural identity, for example.

Nations, however, consider national identity to be of greatest importance, disregarding an individual's multiple identities and attachments. With the nation placing greater

emphasis on nationality, individuals who hold citizenship are expected to take on and place a certain amount of importance on national identity, as law-abiding citizens. In this case, ethnic and cultural identity are secondary to national identity. Too many ethnic and cultural identities represent threats to the overall national identity, that hinder the myth on which the nation was built and are sometimes quashed to maintain the brand image, when considered disloyal to the nation. With regards to the nation, national identity holds legal and political authority.[15]

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[15] David McCrone and Richard Keily make a strong argument on why nationality and citizenship should not be discussed together: "nationality and citizenship actually belong to different spheres of meaning and activity. The former is in essence a cultural concept which binds people on the basis of shared identity – in Benedict Anderson's apt phrase as an 'imagined community' – while citizenship is a political concept deriving from people's relationship to the state. In other words, nation-ness and state-ness need not be, and increasingly are not, aligned." (See more at McCrone & Kiely, 2000).

8. Recommendations

Debates surrounding identity tend to raise more questions than they solve, particularly in the context of globalisation, mass migration and the increasing amount of multi-national, multi-ethnic and multi-cultural societies. As societies become more fluid, the borders in which they exist become increasingly more protected. In attempting to preserve the nation, the spur of nationalistic rhetoric results in greater division than cohesion. The overall fragmentation is a direct result of the differing realities within differing sectors, classes and communities, each with their own identities, experiences and understandings of what it means to be of a nation. The fragility of the nation hangs on the opposing views of its citizens who are uncertain of their own identities.

101 years after Ernst Renan questioned the definition of a nation, Eric Hobsbawm, in 1983, wrote that we should expect the invention of tradition

> "to occur more frequently when a rapid transformation of society weakens or destroys the social patterns for which 'old' traditions had been designed, producing new ones to which they were not applicable, or when such old traditions and their institutional carriers and promulgators no longer prove sufficiently adaptable and flexible, or are otherwise eliminated: in short, when there are sufficiently large and rapid changes on the demand of the supply side" (Hobsbawm & Ranger, 1983, p. 5).

The current modern-day, developed nation state is the result of a long-standing and ever-developing myth and reinvention of traditions and the consequent national identity is based on ethnic and cultural identities that have developed over centuries. But it can no longer ignore the fact that its citizens may be of more than one nation and that what is perceived as truly of that nation, may not in fact be the case. If nationalism, in its most basic form, is to be understood as having pride in the nation, then the assumption would be that nationalists take pride in the current state of their nation. If it is possible for a

nation to be multi-cultural and multi-ethnic, then it is also possible for a national identity to share those traits. In the mass movement of people lies great potential for the invention of new tradition. In combining the many ethnicities, cultures and nationalities, entirely new identities can be formed, each with their own traditions. Traditions are malleable and have, throughout history, been shaped, adapted and applied to best suit the context at the time, yet nationalism and national identity, which themselves stem from tradition, have failed to be flexible.

Football offers an apt comparison, but also a potential indication for the future. Like a nation, football has provided a source of identity and pride for individuals and communities to be involved in and has equally been subjected to global changes and challenges. "It has been transformed into a global phenomenon, yet is still entrenched in local traditions. It is a force that brings people together, but also generates animosities and factionalism" (Shavit, 2017, p. 13). Football has sought talent in foreign nations (like Germany sought the Turkish *gastarbeiters*) and has provided opportunity and welcomed those of differing backgrounds (like Germany honouring Mesut Özil with the Bambi award for successful integration). Where football successfully harnessed its multi-ethnic, multi-cultural and multi-national facets and instilled great pride among fans, Germany has been unable to do the same during the 2018 World Cup.

Germany is caught at the crossroads of *Leidkultur* and being *multi-kulti*, but as was shown by the national football team, the two do not have to be mutually exclusive. It is indisputable that the 2006 World Cup held in Germany monumentally shifted the way Germany is perceived and helped push Germany to become not only a leading economy, but also a nation with heavy bargaining power in the political sphere. Germany now

consistently ranks in the top ten, if not top five, of the countries for power, citizenship, quality of life and with the best international image. German stereotypes have been solidified with Germany's incremental success in the World Cup, with the footballers playing a large role and the team as a whole echoing the changing demographics within the country. Moving forward, Germany will have to question what kind of a national team it wants, what message it wants the team to express and who they want as their cultural diplomats. "It is, after all, so much easier to remake political constitutions than to remake cultural identities" (McCrone, & Kiely, 2000, p. 33), but the national football team provides a strong and tangible image of the values, ethos and principles on which a nation bases itself. The national football team is pivotal to the unity of a nation, being the glue between the cracks and scoring goals when they are needed most.

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10. Appendices

Table 10.1 – Citizenship laws for top six European footballing nations

Country	Citizenship Eligibility
Germany[16]	- Born to a German parent - Born in Germany to German and/or non-German nationals (if born to non-German nationals, only children born after January 1, 2000 are eligible) - Child of an unmarried German national father only allowed if father recognises paternity according to German law - Child of one parent has been legally resident in Germany for eight years and has a right of unlimited residence or for three years an unlimited residence permit. (Children who become German citizens in this way must, however, decide between the age of 18 and 23 whether they want to retain German citizenship or the citizenship of their parents.)
Belgium[17]	- Born to a Belgian parent - Acknowledged by a Belgian - Adopted minors - Born in Belgium to Belgian and/or non-Belgian nationals - Obtaining citizenship through a parent (Minors may lose Belgian citizenship if a parent loses Belgian citizenship or if they are adopted by a foreigner.)
Portugal[18]	- Born to a Portuguese parent - Born outside of Portugal but have a Portuguese grandparent - Born in Portugal to non-Portuguese parents who had been legally residing in Portugal for five years prior to birth - Sephardic Jew ancestry - Adoption - Member of former Portuguese colony
Switzerland[19]	- Born to married parents, one of whom is Swiss - Born to unmarried Swiss woman - Born to unmarried Swiss father only if father acknowledges paternity before the child turns 22 - At least one grandparent is Swiss or holds a Swiss resident card
France[20]	- Born in France - Can claim citizenship at the age of 16 when born in France to foreign citizens and have made France their main residence for five consecutive years since the age of 11

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[16] Auswärtiges Amt DE. (2018)
[17] Belgium.be. (2018)
[18] Portugalist. (2018)
[19] Admin.ch. (2018)
[20] Expatica.com. (2018)

	• Children can receive citizenship at 18 years old if they have lived in France since the age of six, attended a French school and have a sibling who obtained French citizenship • Born to a French parent while abroad • Adopted by French citizen Citizenship is granted without the five-year waiting period if an individual: • Has served in the French military • Qualifies as a refugee • Has contributed 'exceptional services' to France • Has come from a country where French is the official language and has attended a Francophone school for at least five years
Poland[21]	• Born to at least one Polish parent • Born on the territory of the Republic of Poland and parents are unknown, hold no citizenship or their nationality is undefined • Child acquired Polish citizenship if found in the territory of Republic of Poland and parents are unknown • Minors who are adopted before the age of 16 by a person or persons holding Polish citizenship

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[21] Migrant.info.pl. (2018)

Table 10.2 – Naturalisation laws for top six European footballing nations

Country	Naturalisation
Germany	An individual: • Must have lived in Germany on a residence permit for at least 8 years • Must have lived in Germany on a residence permit for 7 years and attended an integration course (this becomes 6 years on special integration circumstances) • Must prove German language proficiency of at least B1 • Must be financially able to support themselves and their family without any help from the state • Must be a law-abiding citizen with no criminal record • Must pass a citizenship test • Must renounce any previous citizenships Through marriage: • The foreign national spouse can only apply for naturalization when the couple has been married for at least two years and have lived in Germany for at least three years • Foreign nationals must still meet all naturalization requirements and pass the citizenship test
Belgium	• Individuals can submit a voluntary and personal application for Belgian nationality • Nationality declaration • Must have principal residence in Belgium • Individuals can apply for naturalisation directly to the House of Representatives, or through the Registrar in the municipality where they have their main place of residence • Foreigners who marry a Belgian do not automatically receive Belgian nationality. They must be living with their Belgian spouse at the time of application
Portugal	Individuals • can apply for citizenship after living in Portugal for six years • must be over 18 • must not have been convicted of a serious crime punishable of up to three years under Portuguese law • must speak Portuguese at A2 level Through marriage: • Foreigners married to a Portuguese national for three years or longer can apply for Portuguese citizenship • Couples are not required to live in Portugal for those three years
Switzerland	Individuals can apply for Swiss citizenship only if they: • have lived in Switzerland for at least 10 years (years spent in the country between age 10-20 count double)

	• can speak one of the national languages to a minimum of B1 and written level of A2 • have a C residence permit • are integrated in the swiss way of life • are familiar with Swiss customs and traditions • comply with Swiss rule of law • do not endanger Switzerland's internal or external security All applicants are interviewed Individuals married to a Swiss citizen or child of one Swiss parent can apply for citizenship if they: • have lived for at least three years and who have lived in Switzerland for a total of five years • have been married for six years and have "close ties" to Switzerland while living abroad (the spouse must have had Swiss citizenship before getting married) Third-generation immigrants are eligible if they: • are born in Switzerland • are between 9-25 years old • hold a C residence permit • have attended at least five years of regular schooling in Switzerland • have parents who lived in Switzerland for at least ten years, including five years of Swiss schooling and hold a valid residence permit
France	Individuals must • Be over 18 • Be living in France • Have lived in France for five continuous years • Be able to prove they have integrated into French society through knowledge of the French language, culture and citizenship responsibilities Individuals are entitled to French citizenship after four years of marriage to a French citizen if: • they are still married • the spouse retains his/her French citizenship • the individual has a good knowledge of the French language • In some cases, five years are required if the couple cannot prove they have lived together continuously in France for at least three years since the wedding If married abroad, the marriage must first be registered in the French civil registry
Poland	Polish citizenship is granted to an individual who has resided continuously in Poland on the basis of a permanent residence permit or a long-term EU resident permit for: • Three years and has a stable and regular source of income in Poland and legal title to the occupied dwelling

	• Two years and has been married to a Polish citizen for at least three years or holds no citizenship • at least 10 years and has a stable and regular source of income in Poland along with legal title to the occupied dwelling Citizenship is also granted if an individual: • has resided continuously in Poland for at least 2 years on the basis of a permanent residence permit which was obtained in connection with refugee status granted in Poland • is a minor foreigner with one parent who is a Polish citizen and the other parent, who does not hold Polish citizenship, has agreed to this recognition • is a minor foreigner with at least one parent whose Polish citizenship has been restored, if the minor resides in Poland on the basis of a permanent residence permit or a long-term EU resident permit and the other parent who does not have Polish citizenship has agreed to this recognition

Table 10.3 – Dual Nationality laws for top six European footballing nations

Country	Dual Nationality
Germany	Only allowed if: • Individual is from an EU country or the former Soviet Union • Individual is from a country which does not allow you to give up your citizenship • Individual is an ethnic German • Individual has parents from the U.S • Individual has obtained permission from the German authorities to retain another citizenship
Belgium	• Allowed • If an individual voluntarily acquired a foreign nationality, he/she is not required to give up Belgian nationality • If an individual is a Belgian citizen and automatically receives another nationality (= without having taken any steps to do so, e.g., at birth because a parent has a different nationality), they will not lose their Belgian nationality because of this and can therefore have two or more nationalities • Individuals of another nationality who obtain Belgian nationality, are not asked to renounce their original nationality
Portugal	• Allows dual citizenship • Individuals are not required to renounce citizenship of their home country
Switzerland	• Allowed • Whether a naturalised person loses previous citizenship depends upon the other country in question.
France	• Allowed • Individuals are not asked to give up original nationality upon becoming a French citizen
Poland	• Allowed • The individual has the same rights and obligations in respect to Poland as a person who only has Polish citizenship • An individual applying for Polish citizenship does not have to renounce their country of origin

Chart 10
Media analysis – political leanings of newspapers/magazines

Political leanings of top five news sources

left-leaning

right-leaning