

Who Belongs to the Nation?

Sport, Migration and Citizenship Changes¹

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Summary

In this article we demonstrate that states and sport federations stretch the rules and justifications for 'national belonging' for highly skilled migrant athletes in order to be allowed to represent the nation in the Olympics or national teams. An increasing number of athletes who represent the state do not belong to 'the nation'. The correlation between citizenship, nation and state has been called into question over the last few decades. States increasingly accept 'imported' or migrated talent to promote the name and fame of the nation. On the one hand, this increases the freedom of mobility and options for talented athletes. However, on the other hand, if nations wish to increase their chances in sport by allowing non-nationals to earn their medals, something is lost in the nation. This stretching of the concept of belonging can be seen as a global continuum where, on one side of the spectrum there is maximum of historical ties and ancestral relationships, that includes *jus sanguis* and *jus soli* and on the other side of the spectrum there is no-prior relationship with the adopted nation. We propose six categories of relationship between migrant athletes and the nation. Within these categories there is, however, room for variation. Though not entirely similar, the six categories resemble Rainer Bauböck's idea of 'thin' and 'thick' conceptions of citizenship (1999). The categories are: (1) "thick" or ideal type of citizenship; (2) Colonial Citizenship, where migrant athletes – or their parents were born in the colonial territories; (3) Socio-economic citizenship; where athletes are part of *jus nexi* of their new homes. This often brings to mind recent labor migration regimes; and (4) Lost, emerging and overlapping states and nations. These are cases when states disappear or dissolve like in the case of former Yugoslavia and the Soviet Union. Often athletes 'choose' to represent the new emerging nations, like Croatia or Serbia in the case of former Yugoslavia. But others are allowed to represent an entirely different nation that is not related to their region of origin. Some football players from former Yugoslavia, for example, represented Switzerland in the 2014 world cup; (5) Citizenship for sale, in which the migrant athletes have no prior relationship with the countries they represent and finally; (6) Travelling Loyalties, where athletes played for at least three different countries mix two or more of these categories or. This is –according to me- the most 'thin' form of citizenship.

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In 2006 South Korea's short track skater Ahn Hyun-soo won three gold medals for his mother country. Injuries kept him out of the 2010 Vancouver Olympics, and at age 26 he was getting old to be a short track skater. With the deepest, most talented short track team in the world, Korea didn't need him after 2010. Therefore, Ahn went searching for a new Olympic allegiance after a falling-out with the South Korean skating federation. He and his father examined naturalization for top athletes in several countries — with the United States and Russia being the final two possibilities. In 2011 Ahn Hyun-soo became a Russian citizen, changed his name to Viktor Ahn and pledged to compete for his adopted homeland at the Sochi Games in 2014. After joining the Russians, Ahn steadily worked his way back to the top and won three titles for Russia at the European championships. President Vladimir V. Putin of Russia was said to have been especially pleased.²

The case of a South Korean Athlete taking up Russian citizenship in exchange for money, status and the possibility to compete at the highest level (Olympics) may be seen as an extreme example of 'citizen swaps' or 'talent for citizenship exchange' (Shachar 2011; Kostakopoulou and Schrauwen 2014) of highly talented athletes. States increasingly trade their most valuable and prestigious asset — their citizenship — for medals and national prestige. There were no prior ties between Viktor Ahn and Russia. He does not have any Russian ancestors, nor did he speak Russian. However, in this article we argue that states increasingly offer one of their most valuable assets to talented people: citizenship rights and passports. It is not an exception anymore. But was it ever? More historical cases show, that even before the Second World War, there were cases of citizenship changes and passport swaps in the context of sports. Still, the more common notion about citizenship and athletes is usually that they are part of the nation. National pride takes center stage in international competition, such as the Olympics and FIFA World Cup soccer. The number of medals that are won per country are counted as an indication of the country's (economic or military) strength and reputation. Olympic athletes and players of national football teams often become symbols of national pride and prestige. They sing the national anthem before their matches or after they have won an Olympic medal. These athletes show their medals and cups with pride to the nation after they have returned to their home country from a World Cup or the Olympic games. More often than not, the success of these athletes is received as the success of the nation. The King, premier or president invites successful athletes and teams to his official residence and he honours them with awards or other decorations. It is not uncommon to see images of athletes with tears in their eyes, as well as people in the national audiences during the celebrations of great success. On television it looks like that the nation, the state and the athletes are one. Nevertheless, in the case of Viktor Ahn, there was no prior relation with the nation. He only changed his passport and his name.³ In short, this example challenges the ritual affirmation of citizenship. This raises the question whether we are heading towards the end of Olympic Nationality (Peter J. Spiro 2012).

Top athletes have a unique skillset. They belong to a tiny minority of labour migrants — together with ICT- workers, health professionals, talented researchers at universities — who may seek employment

² <http://www.businessinsider.com/viktor-ahn-russia-2014-2?IR=T> and http://www.nytimes.com/2014/02/10/sports/olympics/ahn-rejected-us-to-skate-for-russia.html?_r=0 as seen at 27-06-2016.

³ He stated: "First of all, the name Viktor is associated with the word 'victory'. It's symbolic, as I want this name to bring me luck. Secondly, I know of another Korean named Viktor, who is very popular in Russia and is well-known in Korea — Viktor Tsoy. I want to be as famous in Russia as he was. And third, I was told that Viktor is a name, which is easy to remember for Russian-speakers." <http://www.businessinsider.com/viktor-ahn-russia-2014-2?IR=T> as seen at 27-06-2014.

on a global market. They may have the same motivations for migration as other labour forces, including money, good education for their children and access to healthcare. In addition they may be motivated by the availability of excellent sport facilities and top-coaches. Unlike other elite migrants, however, their migration and changing of passports and/ or citizenship is often made public in mass media and biographies. Therefore they form an ideal type of elite migrants which roots and migrants routes can be identified and described. However, elite athletes do not operate in a free and global market of exclusive migrants. In particular, their options to play for different national teams are constraint with earlier migration regimes, colonial ties, cold war issues and nationality regulation of The Fédération Internationale de Football Association (FIFA) and the International Olympic Committee (IOC).

In this article, we stress that states and sport federations stretch the rules and justifications for 'national belonging'. An increasing number of athletes that represent the state do not belong to 'the nation'. This stretching can be seen as a global continuum where on the one hand there is no-prior relationship with the adopted nation, as in the case of Viktor Ahn and on the other hand there is an ideal type of citizenship and belonging where the (grand) parents and the athlete were born and raised in the country that he or she represents. This resembles Rainer Bauböck's idea of 'thin' and 'thick' conceptions of citizenship (1999). The 'thin' conception of citizenship refers to a legal membership status with negative liberties and passive citizenship. This could be referred to as the libertarian perspective on citizenship. In this perspective, citizenship is a minimal contract between the state and its members. The state should not interfere with moral or cultural (and indeed economic) values and legislation. But at the same time the citizen is not required to become political active or be part of any cultural community. At the other extreme he describes the 'thick' conception of citizenship, that includes cultural identity, moral duties and heroic virtues. This could be seen as the communitarian perspective on citizenship. However, in the case of thin and thick citizenship conceptions in sport; the 'thin' version of citizenship becomes a bit more 'thick' in that these sporters do represent the 'nation', albeit with no prior connection or identification as in the case of Viktor Ahn.

This stretching of migration regulations by the International Olympic Committee (IOC) and the The Fédération Internationale de Football Association (FIFA) is partly related to larger colonial and postcolonial migration histories. It is a consequence of existing citizenship conception and migration regimes. These differ from state to state. Usually, there are three interrelated concepts of citizenship: (1) Citizenship acquired through descent (*jus sanguinis*). This first type of citizenship, is the kind of citizenship that was prevalent in Germany for a long time. If your parents, or if one of your parents were German you were eligible to German citizenship. In this sense many Eastern European Germans maintained their formal citizenship status during the Cold War. If they were able to cross the Iron curtain, they were immediately accepted as German citizens. However, refugees from Eastern Europe who could not show that one of their parents were German would not automatically be granted German citizenship. (2) Citizenship by birth in the territory (*jus soli*). This type of citizenship was made famous by the US. U.S. citizenship is automatically granted any person born within and subject to the jurisdiction of the U.S. (3) The stakeholder principle (or *jus nexi*). This principle is proposed as an alternative (or a supplement) to birthright citizenship. Individuals who have a "real and effective link" (Shachar 2009, 165) to the political community, or a "permanent interest in membership" (Bauböck 2008, 35) should be entitled to claim citizenship. This new criterion aims at securing citizenship for those who are truly members of the political community, in the sense that their life prospects depend on the country's laws and policy choices. This often applies to migrants who work and live in their new countries for a minimal number of years (often 5-7). There are some counterintuitive results of the distinction between *jus sanguinis* and *jus soli*:

while a regime of pure *jus sanguinis* systematically excludes immigrants and their children, though the latter may be born and bred in their parents' new home, it includes descendants of expatriates who may never have set foot in their forebears' homeland. On the other hand, a regime of *jus soli* may attribute citizenship to children whose birth in the territory is accidental while denying it to those children who have arrived in the country at a very young age.

It is important to understand that the present rules for acquisition of citizenship at birth inevitably create multiple citizenship. Dual nationality merges at birth in two cases: first, in a gender neutral system of *jus sanguinis*, when children of mixed parentage inherit both their parents' nationalities and second, from a combination of *jus soli* and *jus sanguinis*. Only if all states adopted either pure *jus soli* or *jus sanguinis* from only one parents' side could multiple citizenship be consistently avoided. Yet gender discrimination in citizenship has been outlawed by norms of international and domestic law and those countries which adhere the *jus soli* within their territory mostly attribute citizenship *jus sanguinis* to children born to their citizens abroad. Given these facts, there is no possible rule which could be adopted by all states in order to avoid multiple nationality. In other words, in the existing membership regime there is always room for athletes and states to represent two or more states. Dutch national soccer player Jonathan de Guzman, for example, could have played for Jamaica (maternal ancestry); the Philippines (paternal ancestry); or Canada (where he was born) or the Netherlands (where he started his career; and was legible to play after naturalization). His brother Julian represents Canada.

The correlation between citizenship, nation and state has been called into question over the last few decades. States accept 'imported' or migrated talent to promote the name and fame of the nation. On the one hand, this increases the freedom of mobility and options for talented athletes. However, on the other hand, if nations wish to increase their chances in sport by allowing non-nationals to earn their medals something is lost in the nation. In this article we describe the global continuum from thin citizenship to thick citizen in relation to citizenship changes of highly talented athletes. At one extreme we present examples of citizenship changes where the athlete has no prior relationship with the country that he represents, like in the case of Viktor Ahn. This is referred to as the 'thin conception' of citizenship. At the other extreme we find the 'thick conception' of citizenship, which only refers to athletes who are born and raised in the country and whose (grand) parents were also born in that country.

In this article we propose six types of categorisation. The first type of categorisation we describe examples of (1) "thick" or ideal type of citizenship. In this type refer to the ideal type where *jus sanguinis* and *jus soli* come together. In these cases athletes and both their parents are born in the country they represent. There is no migration. However, this type also includes the example where citizenship is based on *birthright or descent*. In fact –as stated above already- the present rules for acquisition of citizenship at birth inevitably create multiple citizenship. In other words, even within the 'ideal type' of citizenship regulation, there is room for variation and paradoxically room for migration and citizenship as well.

In the second category, 'Colonial Citizenship,' neither the athletes nor their parents are born in the country they represent, but they are born in its (former) colony. In the ideal type of this category we find athletes whose parents and they themselves are born in the colony and who eventually represent their mother country in the Olympic Games or national teams. However, there are grey areas here as well. This might be the case when one of the parents is from the mother country and the other parent was born and raised in the colony.

In the third category, 'socio-economic citizenship' we aim at cases where migrants –or their ancestors claim *jus nexi* or a citizenship that is based on permanent interest in membership. These examples include first, second and more generations of labour migration who have settled in their countries of arrival. Many of those groups enjoy some kind of dual or multiple citizenship and therefore they are often eligible to choose which nation they wish to represent. Their offspring's often claim dual citizenship and the IOC and FIFA have developed special rules to cater for these cases.

"Lost, emerging and overlapping states and nations," is the fourth category. These are cases when states disappear or dissolve like in the case of former Yugoslavia and the Soviet Union. Often athletes 'choose' to represent the new emerging nations, like Croatia or Serbia in the case of former Yugoslavia. But others are allowed to represent an entirely different nation that is not related to their region of origin. Some football players from former Yugoslavia, for example, represented Switzerland in the 2014 world cup;

The fifth type of citizenship - 'citizenship for sale' - represents examples where there is no prior relationship between the athletes and the countries they represent. They are not born in the country, nor are their parents or grandparents. There are no colonial relations nor any other forms of relationship, for example through education. The athletes and the states they represent share a formal contract where the athletes get a passport and formal citizenship (and at times money and training facilities) in return for expected medals and improvement of the national team.

In the last and sixth category of citizenship 'travelling loyalties', we present examples where athletes have represented three or more countries. Often the legitimization is grounded in the earlier categories. This is the most 'thin' type of citizenship. Nevertheless, when these migrant athletes achieve exceptional results earn medals they often become part of the nation in the eyes of the public. Despite failing usual requirements as *jus sanguis*, *jus soli* or *jus nexi*. In this article I present these ideal types of a gradually changing line from 'thick citizenship' to 'thin citizenship'. Naturally these definitions are fluid and overlap at times. The 'grey areas' are filled with contemporary cases as well as cases in global history.

“Thick” or ideal type of citizenship

In general the public does not discuss the patriotic feelings of athletes that represent the nation state. The athletes often state –in line with the expectation- that it is an honour to represent the nation where they are born. Often they would add that they ‘give something back’ in exchange for the sport and trainings facilities they enjoyed. It seems self-evident that people represent the nation where they are born (birthright) or the group they belong to (descent). But if we look just a bit further below that surface some counterintuitive examples emerge.

Let’s start with a simple and most common example. Most athletes who represent their states are born in the state they represent. More often than not, their (grand) parents are also born in that state. Here the ideal types of *jus soli* and *jus sanguinis* come together. Nevertheless, states have different preferences to define citizenship and belonging and what is more, people migrate. What happens if you are born in Germany after the 1990s, your mother is born in Germany as well, but your father is born in the USA? In this case you may acquire German (through birthright and descent) and American citizenship (through descent). This happened to the talented football player Julian Green. Jürgen Klinsmann, the German coach of the American football team in 2014 was able to attract German soccer players, with American fathers (who had worked for the American military service in Germany). Despite, the German citizenship of these players, they were allowed an American passport as well; as one of their parents was American. Klinsmann has made the team his own by aggressively recruiting "dual nationals" (players who have dual citizenship with America and other countries). Before playing for the USA, Green was unable to speak English and had never been to the USA. ⁴ Another example is the Canadian football player Bobby de Guzman. He could have played for Jamaica (maternal ancestry); the Philippines (paternal ancestry); or Canada (where he was born). His choice was Canada.

In other words, within the simple framework of ‘*jus sanguinis*’ and *jus soli* some counterintuitive results emerge. Even within this framework of ‘thick citizenship’ where the players did not migrate themselves, could play for country they were born in, but their parents did not come from (Bobby de Guzman) or they played for a country where they could not speak the language and where they had never been prior to their selection for the national team (Julian Green). But the framework of belonging can be extended to the colonies as we will see in the next paragraph.

Colonial Citizenship

In the examples of Viktor Ahn and Becky Hammon in the introduction, we noticed that there was no prior relation between the Olympic candidates and the countries they represented. This is slightly different in cases where candidates cannot claim birth-right citizenship nor *jus sanguinis*, whereby the candidates are born in (former) colonies of the country they represent. Colonies are an often used example of stretching strict citizenship definitions.

There were many different types and (neo) colonial relations. The legal separation of the thirteen colonies from Great Britain took place in 1776. More than a century later, in 1867, with passage of the British North America Act, the Dominion of Canada was officially established as a self-governing entity within the British Empire. Nevertheless, the United States, Canada and Britain continued to

⁴ A similar example emerge with the Dutch football player Lars Veldwijk. His father was born in South Africa, but migrated to the Netherlands where Veldwijk was born and raised. He plays for the subtop club PEC Zwolle. There are very thin chances that he will made it to the Dutch national squad. However, South Africa is now recruiting him to play for the National team.

foster close political and cultural relations in periods thereafter. Migration from Britain to Canada and return migration played an important role in nurturing these close relations. This was also reflected in the composition of the Olympic ice hockey team in the beginning of the twentieth century. The British ice hockey team had finished third (1924), and fourth (1928) in the Olympics. However, the British teams were, "largely composed of Canadian Army officers and university graduates living in the U.K."⁵ In 1936 it was decided that their team must be British-born this time, and while only one player on the team was born in Canada, nine of the thirteen players on the roster grew up in Canada, and eleven had played previously in Canada. The Canadian Amateur Hockey Association (CAHA), upon discovering that the rosters of the British and French teams were made up of primarily Canadians whom they believed were ineligible, lodged a protest, and suspended the players in question. As a result, the International Ice Hockey federation voted unanimously to ban British players Alex Archer and James Foster. However, before tournament play began, Canada withdrew their protest. Still unhappy with the state of affairs were the Americans, who believed the rules were not being followed, and the French who were very angry that Canada did not repeal their protest with them. To most Canadians, however, the British team was a crowd of traitorous blighters made up of Canadian ringers who should have been wearing the Maple Leaf — including Gordon Dailley, a Canadian born in either Calgary or Winnipeg (there are conflicting records), who'd moved to England only a couple of years before the Olympic Games.

An interesting figure that confuses the *jus soli* and *jus sanguis* forms of belonging in the context of a colony is Norman Pritchard (1875-1929). He was born in Calcutta as the son of English parents, George Peterson and Helen Maynard Pritchard. In 1883 he was baptized within the jurisdiction of the Senior Marriage Registrar, Calcutta. The Jewish Indian historian and journalist Gulu Ezekiel claims that Pritchard was *Indian* based on the fact that he was born and raised in India and lived there for many years.⁶ And therefore he was the first Asian-born athlete to win an Olympic medal. Nevertheless, the late British Olympic historian, Ian Buchanan argues Pritchard was a member of an old colonial family and although he was born in India, he was undisputedly British, based on descent. The mystery over which country he was representing is deepened by the fact that in the competitions in England, his name was entered as a member of both the Bengal Presidency Athletic Club of India and the London Athletic Club. In addition, it should be noted that of the nations that participated in the Paris Olympics, only a handful of countries had registered their National Olympic Committees. These did not include either India or Great Britain and it was not till the 1908 Olympics that athletes were officially registered by their countries. Until then, they were free to register as individuals. The International Olympic Committee, in its archives and on its website, continues to credit his two medals to India. But disputes and debates persist over the earliest Olympics as authentic records were not maintained at the time.⁷

In these cases migration and the eligibility to play for either the country they were born in, or the country they (or their parents) migrated to played a decisive role. One unexpected side effect of the Scramble for Africa was that prospective players who were born and raised in Africa eventually were allowed to compete for their mother countries. An excellent example is the Portuguese football hero Eusébio da Silva Ferreira. He was born in the Mafalala neighborhood, Lourenço Marques (now Maputo), Portuguese Mozambique on 25 January 1942. His parents were Laurindo António da Silva

⁵ https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Ice_hockey_at_the_1936_Winter_Olympics#cite_note-Duplacey-1 as seen on 2-08-2016.

⁶ http://www.telegraphindia.com/1080807/jsp/opinion/story_9654464.jsp as seen on 25-08-2016.

⁷ At early Olympics, Irish-born athletes won numerous medals for the United States and Great Britain. See: <http://library.la84.org/SportsLibrary/JOH/JOHv6n2/JOHv6n2f.pdf>

Ferreira, a white Angolan railroad worker from Malanje and Elisa Anissabeni, a black Mozambican woman. He was Elisa's fourth child. Raised in an extremely poor society, he used to skip school classes to play barefoot football with his friends in improvised pitches and using improvised footballs. His father died from tetanus when Eusébio was eight years old, so Elisa almost exclusively took on the parental care of young Eusébio.

Mozambique was a colony, Portuguese East Africa, until 1975. Eusébio was signed by Benfica in 1961. Soon afterwards he was naturalized and went on to become a key player in the Portuguese national team. In England in 1966, he lit up the World Cup, outshining Pelé as the star of the tournament. That 1966 team, nicknamed "Os Magriços," (the gaunt) is hailed as the greatest Portugal ever produced. And the core of Os Magriços came from Africa. Besides Eusébio, there was the team's captain, Mário Coluna (who later became Mozambique's minister for sport), the extraordinary forward Matateu, his brother Vicente Lucas, Hilário da Conceição, and Alberto da Costa Pereira. This extraordinarily gifted generation could have made Mozambique a major force in world football, but there was no Mozambican state or national side in 1966. Os Magriços reflected Portuguese dictator Salazar's attempt to justify continuing colonialism despite decolonization elsewhere by proclaiming that its African subjects were also Portuguese. While his fellow Mozambicans at home remained subject to harsh colonial rule that greatly limited their social and political rights, Eusébio was named by Salazar as a "national treasure" (Paul Darby 2007; 2007; 2005).

A more recent example of this category is the Dutch baseball team. The Dutch Caribbean has very strong baseball traditions. Each territory had its own baseball federation and in the past, the Netherlands Antilles and Aruba have fielded their own teams in international competitions. Since the 2013 World Baseball Classic, however, the Netherlands participates as the Kingdom of the Netherlands, the formal name of the sovereign state that includes both the Dutch Caribbean and the Netherlands proper.⁸

In the post-colonial era a new type of migrant representative emerged. Countries like the United Kingdom, France and the Netherlands increasingly accepted athletes from colonial background to represent them. Many of them are, nevertheless, were born in the countries they represent. Often (one) of their parents migrated from the (former) colonies to the motherland. In the Netherlands, Frank Rijkaard and Ruud Gullit were born in the Netherlands. Their fathers migrated to the Netherlands and married local Dutch spouses. When the Dutch won the 1988 European football cup, the team was celebrated for its 'multicultural' and 'multi-ethnic' character and representation. This also happened when the French won the 1998 World cup.

It's not only the colonial mother countries that may profit from colonial relations and ancestry. At times the former colonies may also profit from their former associations. In the 2014 World Cup in Brazil, Algeria arrived with 16 (out of 23 = almost 70%) players that were born and raised in France. They were eligible to play for Algeria as well as France (dual citizenship), but either they were not good enough for the French team or chose to play for the national team of their ancestors.

Nevertheless, despite the fact that colonialism played a role in these cases, one might argue that they earn their citizenship based on birthright and descent as well. In other words they might still claim 'thick citizenship'. The case of Eusebio (or the Aruban baseball players) is different, because he and his parents were not born in Portugal but in its colony. In these cases, I would argue that that

⁸ See for a list of top players that are eligible to play for the Dutch national team: http://www.baseball-reference.com/bio/Curacao_born.shtml as seen 1-08-2016.

the claim for citizenship is 'thinner', but 'stretched' in the direction of colonial territory. A somewhat 'in between' category emerges when member from former colonies migrate to the mother country and marry local spouses.

Socio-economic citizenship

In recent history Europe encountered a strong increase number of migrants from mainly Morocco and Turkey. These migrants –or their ancestors claim *jus nexi* or a citizenship that is based on permanent interest in membership. Their offspring often claim dual citizenship and the IOC and FIFA have developed special rules for these situations. The German born player for the German National team, Mesut Ozil, is the son of Turkish migrant workers. Because of his background (parents descent as well as birthright) he was allowed to play for the Turkish as well as the German national team. FIFA has announced that football players who have played for one national team, cannot switch teams and play for another. However, players are allowed to change their soccer nationality, if they have played for the national youth teams of another country. Currently, it not only *jus nexi* of the Turkish and Moroccan migrants that allows citizenship rights. Football player themselves migrate to other countries and after five years of 'contribution' to their new countries, they are allowed to play in the National team, provided they have not yet played in official national matches for their birth countries. The Brazilian striker Diego Costa started to play in Portugal and Spain in 2006, where he signed a contract with Portuguese Braza and later Spanish Athletic Madrid. In September 2013, the Royal Spanish Football Federation submitted an official request to FIFA, asking permission to call up the *Brazilian* Striker Costa for the *Spanish* national team. He was granted Spanish citizenship due to his seven years of residency in that country. Article 7 of the Regulations Governing the Application of Statues describes that a player who plays for a continuous period of over five years after reaching the age of 18 in the territory of the relevant nation, can play for that national association in international football, provided that he/she has not played in official matches for another country. This is relevant here, because Costa had already played two matched for Brazil, but these were friendly matches. Again, in the eyes of the broader public, especially the Brazilians, this was not without consequences. On 29 October 2013, Costa declared that he wished to play international football for Spain, and notified his intentions in writing to the Brazilian Football Confederation (CBF). Following the news, Brazilian coach Scolari commented: "A Brazilian player who refuses to wear the shirt of the Brazilian national team and compete in a World Cup in your [his] country is automatically withdrawn. He is turning his back on a dream of millions, to represent our national team, the five-time World champions in Brazil." (Simon 2014).⁹

Like in the cases within the framework of colonial citizenship we may divide between thinner and thicker forms citizenship. Ozdil was born in Germany, but his parents were not born in Germany. He was allowed German citizenship based on birth-right. However, Da Costa and his parents were born in Brazil. He was allowed to play for Spain because he had played in the Spanish competition for five years. It is interesting to note that in this case FIFA sets the rules for membership based on *jus nexi*, not Spain.

⁹ Another Brazilian case is the Brazilian goalkeeper Guilherme. He got his Russian citizenship in 2015., as the Brazilian has lived in the country since 2007. He was selected for the European cup in 2016, but did not play.

Lost, emerging and overlapping states and nations

Contrary to general day to day belief, states do not last forever. In recent history we have seen the collapse of the Soviet Union, Yugoslavia, Czechoslovakia and other states. These states were replaced by new states, like Ukraine, Azerbaijan, Estonia, Latvia, Lithuania and others as in the case of the former Soviet Union. Yugoslavia dissolved into smaller nation states like Serbia, Croatia, Kosovo, Macedonia, Montenegro and Slovenia. In 1989 the most promising Yugoslavian football team, including Boban, Prosinečki, Savićević, Mihajlović, Šukerbo grew up with the same dream becoming World Champion. This team became the world youth champions in Chile and played together until 1990, when war broke out and Yugoslavia started to fall apart. First the Croatian players left, then the trainer Ivica Osim resigned because the Serbians bombed his home town of Sarajevo and finally the team was banned from the European championships in Sweden under pressure from the international community. This meant the end of the promising Yugoslavian squad.

On two occasions, the IOC has allowed individual athletes to compete in the Olympics because they were unable to enter as there was no National Olympic Committee available to them. The first time this happened was at the 1992 Summer Olympics in Barcelona. Athletes from what remained of Yugoslavia (Serbia, Macedonia and Montenegro) were not allowed to compete because of UN Security Council Resolution 757. The IOC negotiated the possibility of these athletes, in non-team sports, competing under the Olympic Flag, which was allowed. They were known as Independent Olympic Participants (IOP). In the same year, twelve of the fifteen former Soviet Republics competed together as the Unified Team and marched under the Olympic Flag in the Barcelona Games, where they finished first in the medal rankings. The Unified Team also competed at the Albertville Winter Games earlier in the year (represented by seven of the twelve ex-Republics), and finished second in the medal ranking at those Games. Only the Baltic states of Estonia, Latvia and Lithuania entered separate teams. The 12 other republics – Armenia, Azerbaijan, Belarus, Georgia, Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, Moldova, Russia, Tajikistan, Turkmenistan, Ukraine and Uzbekistan – entered under the name of the Unified Team (EUN), and competed under the Olympic Flag. However, at medal ceremonies for individual competitors, the national flags and anthems of their (new) countries were used.

In 2014 World Cup Football, Switzerland fielded seven migrant players. They were allowed to play for Switzerland for a variety of reasons. The midfielder Tranquillo Barnetta, is of Italian descent and holds dual citizenship. In addition, Gokhan Inler's parents were born in Turkey but he was born in Switzerland. But the most striking feature of Switzerland's team in 2014 was the number of player from former Yugoslavia. Four players had roots in Kosovo, two came from Bosnia and two were from Macedonia. In addition, Granit Xhaka, had previously played for Albania. Ironically, he faced his elder brother in the match against Albania in the European championship in 2016. Only 38 per cent of the players of the 2014 selection were born in Switzerland.¹⁰

¹⁰ http://www.swissinfo.ch/eng/euro-2016_switzerland--12-nations--one-team/42215610

As seen on 25-08-2016.

Citizenship for Sale?

The most extreme examples of 'thin citizenship' are cases where there is no parental ancestry, nor birthright claim to citizenship. Victor Ahn is definitely a good example of a 'thin citizenship'. He was not born in Russia and he shared no Russian ancestry, nor did he speak Russian prior to his change in citizenship. In another high profile case, the USA basket player Becky Hammon accepted Russian citizenship in order to play in the Olympics for the Russian team. Hammon was one of the most talented female basketball players in the USA. In March 2007, USA Basketball announced a pre-selection pool of 21 players for the 2008 USA Olympic team. Hammon's name was not on the list. In June 2007, Hammon signed a contract with CSKA, a club in Moscow. Eventually, in 2008, she was allowed to sign up for the Russian team in exchange for a multi-million dollar contract. Hammon had been granted Russian citizenship, despite the fact that she is not of Russian descent, she speaks no Russian and she is not a full-time resident. This was a profitable arrangement for both parties. In this case, it was Russia who decided over the citizenship issue, not the IOC. (Schwarz 2008, Fagan 2008; and a more analytical approach to this high profile example, Shachar 2011; 2090-2091).

However, Russia is not the only country that recruits talented athletes to promote the nation. Qatar is now recruiting young talented soccer players in Africa to play for the small Arabic state. In order to comply with the rules of FIFA, these young players will have to play for at least five years in Qatar and become Qatari citizens. This includes changing their names into Muslim names. Qatar has recruited hundreds of African talented football players. But the selections for the national team will be made only just before the 2022 World Cup. In addition, Joseph K. Adjaye provides a list of names of African athletes who switched citizenship from Africa to Qatar and other countries (Joseph K. Adjaye, 2010, 30). This is a fairly new development where the host country has no moral, political or historical relation with the countries from where they recruit new players (Rook Campbell, 2010).

In the last Summer Olympics in 2016 in Rio de Janeiro, Azerbaijan and Qatar –amongst others– portrayed themselves as states that were willing to buy medals and success instantly. Azerbaijan sent 56 athletes to the Olympic Games in Rio de Janeiro. But foreign athletes who changed their citizenship to compete under the Azerbaijani flag made up for more than 60 percent of the delegation. Transfer of allegiance, 'leg drain' or 'muscle drain', is a fairly common phenomenon in the international sporting world, but for Azerbaijan, it would seem that it has become a matter of state policy.¹¹ Twenty-three of Qatar's thirty-nine athletes were not born in Qatar. Its handball team of fourteen players includes eleven foreign-born athletes.¹² This is in itself not a new phenomenon, but its scale is striking.

Thick thin remarks

Travelling loyalties

Some top athletes have become experts in using existing rules and negotiating with countries to exchange their skills for citizenships, passports and money. Lascelles Brown (born October 12, 1974 in May Pen) was born in Jamaica. Brown was a member of the Jamaica national bobsled team from 1999 to 2004 competing at the 2002 Winter Olympics in Salt Lake City, as a brakeman for Winston Watt. He continued training for bobsleigh at Calgary's Canada Olympic Park, where he met and married his wife Kara, a Canadian. He applied for Canadian citizenship on July 28, 2005; it was awarded to him by special exemption just prior to the 2006 Winter Olympics, enabling him to

¹¹ <https://www.meydan.tv/en/site/culture/16889> as seen on 25-08 2016.

¹² <https://www.thestar.com/sports/olympics/2016/08/16/at-the-rio-olympics-some-athletes-find-success-in-swapping-passports.html> as seen 25-08-2016

compete for Canada at the games in Turin. Brown competed at the 2010 Winter Olympics together with Lyndon Rush on their home track at the Whistler Sliding Centre, winning bronze in the four-man event. At the start of the 2010 season, Brown became a competitor for Monaco, and was partnered with Monégasque Patrice Servelle. He apparently was well paid for his services. In a Vancouver Sun report, Brown revealed why he switched countries for the second time. It is believed that Brown is making significantly more money competing for Monaco than he would if he had remained part of Bobsled Canada. He stopped representing Monaco, returning as a competitor for Canada in 2012. He was able to do so because of his dual citizenship.¹³ Lascelles Brown combined both thick citizenship (born and raised in Jamaica) and thin citizenship (representing Monaco for the money) and an 'in between' version of the citizenship rules (representing Canada, as he lived there and got married).

In soccer similar cases have occurred. The famous soccer player Laszlo Kubala (1927-2002) and the striker Alfredo Di Stefano (1926-2014), played for three different national teams. Kubala played for Czechoslovakia, Hungary and Spain, whereas Di Stefano played for Spain, Argentina and Columbia. Nevertheless, their migration history was less opportunistic and less money driven, but more politically motivated. Kubala was born in Budapest, as were his parents, who came from mixed backgrounds. His mother, Anna Stecz, a factory worker, had Polish, Slovak and Hungarian roots, while his father, Pál Kubala Kurjas, a bricklayer, belonged to the Slovak minority of Hungary. In 1946 he moved to Czechoslovakia, allegedly to avoid military service, and joined ŠK Slovan Bratislava. In 1947 Kubala married Anna Viola Daučík, the sister of the Czechoslovakian national coach, Ferdinand Daučík. He played 6 times and scored 4 goals for Czechoslovakia between 1946 and 1947. In 1948 he returned to Hungary, allegedly to avoid military service again, and joined Vasas SC. In January 1949, as Hungary became a socialist state, Kubala fled the country in the back of a truck. Initially, he arrived in the United States zone of Allied-occupied Austria and then moved on to Italy, where he played briefly for Pro Patria. He was eventually signed to Barcelona in 1950. After adopting Spanish nationality he played 19 times and scored 11 goals for Spain between 1953 and 1961.

Alfredo Di Stefano was born in Buenos Aires. He was the son of Alfredo Di Stéfano, a first-generation Italian Argentine (his father Michele migrated to Argentina from Nicolosi (Italia) in the 19th century), and Eulalia Laulhé Gilmont, an Argentine woman of French and Irish descent. He played six times with the Argentine national team. In 1949, a footballers' strike in Argentina prompted Di Stéfano and many other Argentinian players to defect to a breakaway Colombian league that was outside the remit of FIFA and therefore not obliged to pay transfer fees, but able to pay big wages to some of the world's best players. Between 1949 he played four matches for Columbia, but these matches were not recognized by FIFA. In the 1950's, Di Stefano started to play for Real Madrid in Spain. He acquired Spanish citizenship in 1956 and made his debut for them on 30 January 1957 in an international friendly in Madrid, scoring a hat-trick in a 5–1 win. He played four World Cup qualifying matches for Spain in 1957. In 1961, Di Stéfano (36), helped Spain qualify for the World Cup of 1962. He was unable to attend the World Cup himself due to injuries and his age (36) by that time.

Thick and Thin remarks

Conclusion

In this paper we have proposed five categories of relationship between migrant athletes and the nation. These cases resemble Rainer Bauböck's idea of 'thin' and 'thick' conceptions of citizenship (1999). At one extreme we presented examples of citizenship changes where the athlete has no

¹³ http://www.wikiwand.com/en/Lascelles_Brown as seen on 2-08-2016.

prior relation with the country that he/she represents, like in the case of Vicktor Ahn. This is referred to as the 'thin conception' of citizenship. In these cases migrant athletes have no prior relationship with the countries they represented. Interestingly, however, they start to represent the nation in an international highly prestigious event. They wear the colors that particular nation and they might even sing the national anthem. In other words, they had no prior relationship with the country they represent, but once they represent the nation they are part of it, despite the public debate this may cause. At the other extreme we find the 'thick conception' of citizenship, which refers only to athletes who were born and raised in the country and whose (grand) parents were also born in that country. The 'in between' categories are the most interesting; but also difficult to define. In this paper I propose the category of 'Colonial Citizenship', where migrant athletes are or were part of the larger *jus soli* of the country or colonial empire. This consists of at least two sub-categories. One category includes Europeans who migrated to North America. Their (grand) children learned how to play ice-hockey. The British ice-Hockey team in the 1920's and 1930's consisted mainly of Canadian officers and students in Britain who were Canadian born but had British ancestors and names. The second category consists of athletes who had no prior ancestry with the motherland, other than that they were born in a region that had become part of a colony. This was the case with the Portuguese footballer Eusebio and others who were born in Mozambique. In more recent cases we see that people from colonies migrated to their mother countries and their descendants are often born in the mother country and therefore can claim a *jus soli* background and start playing for the mother country. The Dutch National soccer team that won the 1988 European Cup and the French National team that won the 1998 World cup are key examples of teams in which descendants of former colonies played a vital role. In the third category we categorize 'recent migrant regimes' where athletes are part of *jus nexi* of their new homes. This includes descendants of recent labour migration in Europe, mainly from Morocco and Turkey. In this category I included migrants that come from states that were dissolved like Yugoslavia and the USSR. These national players became part of new nations or migrated to another existing country. For the fourth category we discussed situations where states disappeared, like in the case of the former Soviet Union and Yugoslavia. In the fifth and last category I summarized a few extreme cases where migrant athletes were a mix of two or more of these former categories. Here, as well as in the early categories, it becomes clear that the main question: 'who belongs to the nation?' cannot be answered easily. Categories of belonging are blurred. However, I notice an increasing interest and attempts by nations, international sport federations and audiences to debate these issues. A part of the answer may be found in the history of the Olympics. Until 1908 it was possible to compete with mixed teams and to enter the field as an individual, not necessarily representing a state or nation. Nevertheless, this will take time as long as National Olympic Committees as well as national media and the audiences tend to follow 'national players' more than others.

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