



Building Europe with the Ball

Turning Points in the
Europeanization of Football,
1905–1995

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Introduction: Studying the Europeanization of Football in Historical Perspective

In April 2005, UEFA (the Union of European Football Associations), the governing body of European football, presented a project called 'Vision of Europe', which proposed a strategy for the 'direction and development of European football over the next decade'.¹ At the same moment, in the field of sport history, the focus on Europe became increasingly important. Despite a number of earlier published volumes on the professionalization of football, the development of its institutions and its mediatization, this was the beginning of a new era, since most previously conducted research had been carried out within a national framework, and even edited collections for the most part assembled groups of national studies.² In the meantime, the development of cultural, global and postcolonial history helped to broaden analytical frameworks and opened new perspectives for football historians, especially promoting projects on global exchanges in sport.³

The idea was not to exclude the national perspective, but to enlarge it.⁴ In this sense, research soon focused on the role of sports organizations⁵ and the networks that exist between international sports leaders.⁶ Researchers also tried to revisit specific historical periods such as the Cold War, when sports fields were not only places of confrontation⁷ but also sometimes areas of exchange.⁸ Through those works, even though they were not fully focused on a continental framework,⁹ historians have opened some new perspectives, notably to ask *how* sports became more 'European'.¹⁰ One of the principal aims of the 2011 volume edited by Alan Tomlinson, Christopher Young and Richard Holt was, for instance, to offer precious material to help understand the transformation of European sport during the second part of the twentieth century.¹¹ However, this collection was not focused only on one sport, or on a single theme (organizations, mega events, etc.),

so it could not fully explain the development process of a 'European' sports field. Nevertheless, it created new perspectives, particularly by genuinely considering the role of sport in the integration process. Following this trend, the recent publication on the European history of basketball in Peter Lang's Euroclio series – which focused specifically on the history of European integration of the sport¹² – constituted an important step towards taking processes of Europeanization more seriously in sports history.

Football studies in a historical perspective: A brief state of the art

From 2008 to 2009, researchers specializing in football also joined this trend. In fact, football is by far the most studied sport, partly because it is popular everywhere on the continent even where it is not the 'national sport', but also because it had already become widespread from Lisbon to Berlin by around 1900. Thus, we know now that the first football promoters, such as Walther Bensemann, were truly cosmopolitans 'moving with the ball' between 1890 and 1910.¹³ Paul Dietschy has recently asked if 'a "Europe of football" [did] exist in the 1930s.'¹⁴ Although he did not give a definitive answer to his question, he outlined an interesting panorama that helps us understand the tension between regional and continental connections during this period. In fact, though strong continental connections did exist at that time,¹⁵ notably around FIFA (Fédération Internationale de Football Association), regional connections were probably still the most important football events. More precisely, different scales operated concurrently: regional, national, super-regional and continental.

In the last decade there has been much published on the development of European football in the first part of the twentieth century, not least by Dietschy himself. In his *Histoire du football* (2010), he put down some significant milestones for a better understanding of how a European football emerged in the interwar period, though other researchers such as Laurent Barcelo,¹⁶ Jürgen Mittag¹⁷ and Antoine Maumon de Longevialle¹⁸ had laid

the groundwork in this regard. These studies outlined some key elements in the existence of a genuinely 'European' football and also started to open up new perspectives on what then happened during the 1950s and 1960s, with the creation of UEFA and a range of new European competitions.

Important progress was made through the FREE project (Football Research in an Enlarged Europe) from 2011 to 2015. This was the first time that a major research programme had been dedicated to European football, based on an interdisciplinary understanding of the game and funded by the European Union. One of the key investigators was Albrecht Sonntag, who had called for more European studies in football three years earlier.¹⁹ The historical element was discussed in all of the eight events during FREE but was particularly in the centre of the pitch during the congresses held in Besançon (September 2012) and Stuttgart (February 2013), respectively, which focused on European competitions (super-regional and continental) and transnational actors (players and leaders) as well as on European networks/organizations (such as FIFA and UEFA) and the European cultural memory of the game.

In parallel, some young researchers – several of whom took part in the FREE project – tried to focus their research more on the European framework and notably on the period from the 1930s to the 1970s. Fabien Archambault analysed the development of European football during the 1950s,²⁰ while Grégory Quin has researched the strong connections established between football leaders from 1904 to 1954, especially around FIFA.²¹ More recently through his work on youth football, Kevin Marston has established new standpoints around football leaders' views and more especially around the creation of a European Youth Tournament.²² In addition, Philippe Vonnard focused on the creation of the European Champion Clubs' Cup in the middle of the 1950s.²³

On the basis of this brief and inexhaustive survey of the field, we suggest that a Europeanization process was underway from the first moments of the game's establishment. First used in the political sciences from the 1990s²⁴ and more recently in the domain of history,²⁵ Europeanization can be defined as 'the process of change in [the] domestic arena, in terms of policy substance and instruments, process and politics as well as polity and institutions resulting from European integration or the European level

of governance more generally.²⁶ If both political scientists and historians agreed in regarding Europeanization as 'a gradual political, economic, cultural and social process of convergence, leading towards an increasingly similar development of European societies',²⁷ historians propose to 'focus mainly on the emergence of European institutions and their growing influence on domestic politics'. European integration, it has been argued, 'was less referred to as a cause than as a result of Europeanization – which, admittedly, could henceforth be the starting point for a huge variety of successive evolutions'.²⁸

In football studies, the concept was first used by sociologists and political scientists,²⁹ and especially by Alexander Brand and Arne Niemann.³⁰ Their studies have established some key points. First, they have suggested that Europeanization is a work in progress and known resistances can explain differences between countries. Secondly, they have also pointed out the crucial difference between 'UEFA-ization', in other words the consequence of UEFA's decisions on European football, and Europeanization, a broader process that involves the creation – beyond political regimes – of a relative homogeneity between continental countries in different domains. Thirdly, as also indicated by William Gasparini,³¹ they have indicated that it is a two-way process divided in two complementary perspectives: bottom-up and top-down.

In 2011, a collection entitled *The Europeanization of Football*, edited by Borja Garcia, Arne Niemann and Wyn Grant went further still in its conclusions.³² The aim of this book was to show how football became more European, but its core was built around a very recent history of football. Although it is crucial to understand what happened in this period, the short-term perspective limited the broader understanding of European processes. For example, the idea of an important European championship for clubs was not new in the 1990s; in fact the idea had been in the air for a long time. So, what conditions made it possible to realize the project in the 1990s?

This question could in fact be directed at the work of all of these researchers. Although they insist on the idea of a long-term perspective, history is used as an introduction to analysis of contemporary issues rather than as having explanatory value in its own right. For example, Alexander Brand,

Arne Niemann and Georg Spitaler indicated in a 2010 publication³³ that Austria first encountered Europeanization in the interwar period through taking part in competitions like the Mitropa Cup and the International Cup. They then immediately moved on to address changes that happened in the mid-1990s. They remained silent about the crucial period between the 1940s and 1990s, when European competitions and UEFA itself were both established and developed. Moreover, they explained the individuality of Austria and Germany's patterns of Europeanization through differences in their national footballing cultures. While they were correct that Germany did not participate in the Central European competitions in the 1930s, their vision remains narrow; in fact Germany was probably one of the major actors in European football in the 1930s and 1940s, in regard to both the number of matches played by their national team and their contribution to FIFA's budget. Moreover, its main leaders, such as Ivo Schricker, Peco Bauwens and Felix Linnemann, played a major role in the development of European football and particularly in the organization of FIFA.³⁴

Thus, in our view, it is important to consider Europeanization historically, over the longer term and also to enlarge the concept to take into account all its dimensions on the football field: its competitions; its continental organizations; the networks built between football leaders; and its connexions with the political field, both national and continental. Furthermore, if an important change did happen during the 1990s,³⁵ we do not want to underestimate other turning points since the very beginning of the twentieth century, all of which were decisive for the establishment of a genuinely 'European' football.

Firstly, based on the conclusions of Jürgen Mittag and Benjamin Legrand in their 2010 article,³⁶ we think that a broad comprehension of long-term history could help demonstrate the strengths of continental football and explain the persistence of football exchanges across the seismic political and social shifts of the twentieth century. Secondly, we want to deepen comparison between the Europeanization of football and what happened in other spheres. In fact, this type of approach can help reveal the persistent and specific European development of football and finally permit a full understanding of the importance of the game for the European integration process.

Enlarging the frame and renewing the perspective

Taking into account the current literature and in order to create discussions between both young and more experienced researchers, a conference entitled 'Playing to Build Europe: The Formation of a European Football Space, 1919–91' was held in Lausanne in February 2015. The event was organized at the University of Lausanne by the Institute of Sport Science (ISSUL) and Institute of International Studies in History and Politics (IHEIPI), in collaboration with two institutes specializing in the history and sociology of sport: the International Centre for Sports History and Culture (ICSHC) at De Montfort University and the Institut für Europäische Sportentwicklung und Freizeitforschung (IESF) at the Deutsche Sporthochschule in Cologne.

Our aim through this conference was first to allow for the development of a better understanding of what happened in European football from the interwar period to the 1980s, and particularly during the second part of the twentieth century – a period which is still under-researched. In fact, from the 1950s to the 1990s, football seemed to engage in new steps around the creation of UEFA. Since its very beginning, UEFA could be considered as a bridge between eastern and western countries, then divided by the Cold War. Of course, the super-regional connections did not disappear. New competitions such as the Alpine Cup were created and former tournaments like the Mitropa Cup and Balkan Cup were reorganized. Opposition was overcome, as when the British associations, Germany and Italy rejected the idea of a European cup for nations, but the new tempo of European exchanges continued and their regular and extended basis offered an image of a continent unified by football.

A second goal sought by the organizers was to continue the European development of football within the European integration process, and more generally with the change in European society across the century. It is of course a truism that it is not possible to understand the developments of these exchanges in football without keeping in mind that they were influenced by the development of travel, an increase in the use of the game by states (as a tool of 'soft power'),³⁷ the importance of media coverage and also by the connections – direct or indirect³⁸ – between football actors

and other European organizations. This use of historical context, however, helps us not only to understand the possibility of the development of the game, but also to situate football in the European integration process that touched several fields (economic, politic, cultural, scientific, technical and sports). Here, the *démarche* was inspired by the approach developed by Aaron Beacom at the beginning of the current century,³⁹ then followed by authors like Stuart Murray and Geoffrey Allen Pigman.⁴⁰ Their aim was to better integrate perspectives of international relations within sport studies. A good example of this perspective is to compare the architecture of UEFA with the other European organizations created during the same period. In fact, UEFA was probably one of the rare European organizations composed of both eastern and western countries.⁴¹ Assumptions about any uniformity in the European integration process must therefore be carefully re-examined⁴² given the particularity of the sports field, as the French historian Robert Frank has pointed out.⁴³ This 'relative autonomy'⁴⁴ needs to be better understood because it delineates the importance of football to the European integration process, notably by maintaining exchanges between East and West during the Cold War.

Stimulated by the proposal made by Roland Robertson and Richard Giulianotti to elaborate phases in the development of the world game⁴⁵ from an empirical point of view, five periods of Europeanization of the game may briefly be distinguished.

The first period extends from 1890 to 1920, as historians have already indicated,⁴⁶ following the diffusion and establishment of the game to all the corners of the continent. The initiation of national associations and the first European exchanges between them, notably within FIFA (created in 1904), meant that structures could be created that facilitated this European scale of the game, particularly during the First World War, a time of important cultural exchange.

The second period, from 1910 to the beginning of the 1940s, saw football become a popular and professional practice. At the same time, national associations developed themselves, acquiring permanent secretaries and more stable organizations, alongside the creation of true 'traditions' of football exchanges, notably led by regional competitions. Moreover, the interwar period saw football first used in the political sphere as a tool for

diplomacy and the promotion of politics, by democracies and totalitarian regimes alike.⁴⁷

During the third period, between the 1930s and the 1960s, football became more European, as regional competitions, like the Mitropa Cup (created in 1927) and the first real European competitions in the 1950s, enhanced continental exchanges. It is important to emphasize that war did not stop the trend, not least because the German Nazi regime envisaged and tried to impose a new European model of sports governance. In the meantime, together with the first attempts at an integration process, football leaders established stronger continental connections around the first European tournaments (the Fairs Cup, European Champion Clubs' Cup and European Championship) and continental organization (UEFA) from the late 1940s onwards.

The fourth period lasted from the mid-1950s to the beginning of the 1980s. At this moment, competitions offered new possibilities for spectators to follow and promote the game. During the 1960s, UEFA began to develop a genuinely European policy with the organization of a course for coaches and referees, discussions with other European organizations like Eurovision, and the creation of new competitions such as the Cup Winners' Cup. Though the regional competitions still existed, the European scale of the game became more important during the 1970s and 1980s. That is why some authors have considered these European tournaments as continental 'Sites of Memory'.⁴⁸

As political scientists⁴⁹ and sociologists⁵⁰ have already indicated, the fifth period, starting in the 1980s, is based on an even greater opening to commercialization,⁵¹ led by the investment of new firms and private media companies. This step forward was revealed by the transformation of the European Champion Clubs' Cup into the UEFA Champions League.⁵² This new situation marked the decline of the super-regional competitions – the last of which, the Mitropa Cup, ended at the beginning of the 1990s. If Manuel Schotté is right when he indicates that the development of a 'European' football did not erase the national football spaces,⁵³ these new conditions did create what Raffaele Poli has described as the 'dualization' of European football's economy⁵⁴ – in other words, a bigger separation between the richest championships and the others.

The objective of this volume is to gather new empirical reflections on several of these periods, considering them as different types of turning points, and especially trying to illuminate areas that historians have not investigated until very recently. The period studied begins in 1905, a time when European football saw its first structuration through the creation of FIFA (which took place in the previous year), the establishment of the first international competitions (such as the Pyrenees Cup) and ideas (discussions were held about the creation of a new championship at the FIFA Congresses of 1905 and 1906). It ends in the middle of the 1990s, a crucial moment for European football, with the change in European competitions (the establishment of the UEFA Champions League and extension of the European Championships) and the Bosman ruling. This period was also a time of discussion about the affiliation within UEFA of countries created after the demise of the Soviet Union. It saw the confirmation of the investment of private broadcasters and the development of low-cost airline companies, which both offered new opportunities for spectators to see football games all over Europe. Our book is entirely focused on the Europeanization of men's football, a decision in part shaped by the periodization of this collection, especially since women's football has developed more rapidly in recent decades, meaning it does in itself constitute a genuine turning point⁵⁵ that is deserving of more than just an isolated chapter in a broader volume such as this.

In this volume, we want to highlight underexplored issues around the development of crucial mechanisms for the popularity of the game and its genuine continental expansion. This could help us to understand *why the European scale of the people's game become so important*. This collection will, we hope, prompt reflection and new ways of thinking about the links between the political construction of Europe and the development of a European sphere of football. It may also prompt further insight into the question: Why and how is football still maintaining a fragile idea of unity throughout Europe? Overall we intend that this volume will make a significant contribution to the historiography of football in the European perspective. And further, we hope it will encourage greater discussion between political scientists and historians, which could lead to new developments in our knowledge of European football.

Studying the Europeanization of football in a long-term perspective

The aim of Part I of the volume is to question the first European turning point, which happened around the interwar period. The authors show that the first European connections were being created from the beginning of the 1910s and increased during the 1920s and 1930s. Chapter 1, by Paul Dietschy, can be considered as a prologue to the book. In fact, Dietschy offers a fascinating view of the first European exchanges during the *Belle Époque*. In particular, he underlines that before the First World War, a strong internationalism in football already existed and discusses the first ideas of competitions developed within FIFA. In Chapter 2, Grégory Quin takes this situation into account and questions the relationships that existed within European football during the interwar period. He confirms existing suggestions that more connections existed between European countries in the 1920s and 1930s. He also shows, however, that the interwar period can be seen as a 'Golden Age' of regional arenas in football, particularly in regard to the domination of Central European countries, which organized the most important competitions. In the later 1930s, these countries could be seen as the rivals of the British. Chapter 3, by Matthew Taylor, carefully re-examines the question of the isolation of British football in relation to continental Europe. Many scholars have tended to identify a dichotomy in the first half of the twentieth century between British and continental football, given the attitude of formal and official reticence on the part of the British. However, there has been relatively little detailed research on the interconnections between football in the 'birthplace' of the sport and continental players, clubs, federations and officials. These three chapters confirm that the first three decades of the twentieth century were crucial in establishing European connections, but the structures then in place were not sufficient to actually create European-wide competitions or organization. However, the subsequent decades offered crucial change with the establishment of the first European tournaments.

Part II focuses on the next turning point in the Europeanization of the game between the 1930s and the 1960s. However, the paper also indicates

that the change has to be understood in a long-term perspective, because the regional connections established during the interwar period still existed in the fifties. In fact, over many years, different types of 'continental competitions' existed in parallel. In Chapter 4, Nicola Sbeti focuses specifically on the 'Italian question' at FIFA after the Second World War. The Italian Football Federation (FIGC), thanks to the diplomatic ability of Giovanni Mauro, the help of Jules Rimet and an unexpected friendly match against Switzerland, succeeded in maintaining its affiliation to FIFA, despite the hostility of the American, Czechoslovakian and English football federations, amongst others. Sbeti shows how European countries negotiated the end of the Second World War and argues that former connections played a role in the return of Italy to international football. Xavier Breuil then examines in Chapter 5 what happened to football in the eastern part of Europe during the same period. He asks whether the new Cold War context altered the nature of relationships between European countries. One of Breuil's main points is to show that the football field was more than a simple opposition between East and West. He underlines the particularities of the Europeanization of football that concerned all European countries, even those from its eastern region. This situation is well analysed in Chapter 6, through Kevin Tallec Marston's contribution on the origins of the International Youth Tournament. This event began in 1948 through the impetus of the Football Association (FA). Sir Stanley Rous then introduced the idea to FIFA and competition remained under the world governing body's patronage from 1949 until 1956, when it was handed over to the newly founded UEFA. Marston shows that this event was one of the first tournaments in Europe to be organized after the Second World War and was seen by some of its promoters (including Stanley Rous) as a possible bridge between East and West. By 1954, the majority of European countries were taking part in the competition. Moreover, when UEFA took over the competition in 1956 they came into dispute with FIFA, demonstrating that new European football elites had emerged within UEFA that had a new vision for continental football. These three contributions explain what happened after the Second World War. If former connections still existed, then new ones also appeared, as indicated by the development of European football structures, particularly the creation of UEFA. This union permitted

the establishment of a European approach to football and would initiate a new continental turning point in the game.

Part III examines the consequences of this new structure for European football from the 1950s to the 1980s. In fact, the existence of a European organization and European competitions created a tension between national, super-regional and continental levels. In Chapter 7, Philippe Vonnard explores the establishment of the men's European Champion Clubs' Cup and the Inter-Cities Fairs Cup in the mid-1950s. Firstly, Vonnard outlines why these competitions were established at that particular point in football history. Secondly, he shows how their existence allowed UEFA to develop its structure. At the end of the 1950s, UEFA was clearly a European organization that had started to develop a continental policy towards the game. Hence, it began to engage its relationships with other European organizations such as Eurovision, another European competition. This is also well indicated in Chapter 8, with Manuel Schotté's contribution underlining through the example of the 1995 Bosman ruling that relationships between UEFA and the European Union had existed from the end of the 1960s. Schotté shows that this new regulation was not a real revolution, contrary to the conventional assumption in football history. He also discusses the autonomy of sporting federations on the European scene and shows that UEFA – by then well established – created new relationships between football and other European actors. Finally, in Chapter 9, Jérôme Berthoud and Stanislas Frenkiel discuss how the structure of football in Europe has influenced the practice of elite football in other continents and how this situation influenced European practice itself. They focus on the perception of Cameroonian and Algerian players when they arrived in Europe. In fact, given the conjunction of severe economic problems in the 1980s that deeply influenced the organization of football in their countries as well as the new economic development of football through several European championships, more and more players chose to move to Europe. This last chapter underlines the importance of a transnational perspective (and particularly exchanges between continents) to understanding the development of European football.⁵⁶

To conclude the book, Yohan Ariffin, Senior Lecturer in Political Science at the University of Lausanne, has written an afterword based on

his reading of the nine contributions. A specialist in the theory of international relations,⁵⁷ his recent subjects of study are quite original, in particular a 2015 edited collection (with Jean-Marc Coicaud and Vesselin Popovscki) that focused on emotion in international relations⁵⁸ and his current project on the history of world's fairs. This afterword is an opportunity to offer another point of view on football; it helps to consider the game through a more transnational and interdisciplinary perspective and to promote future fruitful collaborations between history and political science.

Notes

- 1 UEFA, 'Vision of Europe. "The Direction and Development of European Football over the Next Decade"', Report by UEFA, April 2005, p. 1 <<http://www.uefa.com/newsfiles/374875.pdf>> accessed, 10 January 2016.
- 2 For an example see Richard Holt, Pierre Lanfranchi, J. A. Mangan, eds, *European Heroes: Myth, Identity, Sport* (London: F. Cass, 1996); James Riordan, Arnd Krüger and Thierry Terret, eds, *Histoire du sport en Europe* (Paris: L'Harmattan, 2006); Liz Crolley and David Hand, eds, *Football and European Identity: Historical Narratives through the Press* (London: Routledge, 2006).
- 3 Examples of transnational perspectives in sport studies include: Alan Klein, 'Towards a Transnational Sports Studies', *Sport in society*, 10/6 (2007), 885–95; Susan Bandy et al., eds, *Gender, Body and Sport in Historical and Transnational Perspectives* (Hamburg: Kovač, 2008); Pierre Singaravélou and Julien Sorez, eds, *L'Empire des sports: Une histoire de la mondialisation culturelle* (Paris: Belin, 2010); Matthew Taylor, 'Editorial – Sport, Transnationalism, and Global History', *Journal of Global History* 8/2 (2013), 199–208; Nicolas Bancel, Stanislas Frenkiel and Thomas Riot, 'Special Issue – Postcolonial Sports. International Perspectives', *The International Journal of the History of Sport* 32/7 (2015), 847–979.
- 4 In fact, this tendency to present national case studies continues and still produces interesting work. See for example the special issue: 'Forum European Sport and Challenges of its Recent Historiography', *Journal of Sport History*, 38/2 (2011), 181–236.
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- 7 Many articles or books have been written on the East-West confrontation during the Cold War. See notably, Stephen Wagg and David Andrews, eds, *East Plays West, Sport and the Cold War* (London: Routledge, 2007).
- 8 Arié Malz, Stefan Rohdewald and Stefan Wiederkehr, eds, *Sport zwischen Ost und West. Beiträge zur Sportgeschichte Osteuropas im 19. und 20. Jahrhundert* (Osnabrück: Fibre, 2007); Christoph Bertling and Evelyn Mertin, eds, *Freunde oder Feinde? Sportberichterstattung in Ost und West während des Kalten Kriege* (Gütersloh: Medienfabrik Gütersloh, 2013); Heather Dichter and John Andrew, eds, *Diplomatic Games: Sport, Statecraft, and International Relations since 1945* (Lexington, KY: University Press of Kentucky, 2014).
- 9 Paul Dietschy and Richard Holt, 'Sports History in France and Britain: National Agendas and European Perspectives', *Journal of Sport History* 37/1 (2010), 83–98.
- 10 See the special issue: 'Towards a New History of European Sport?', *European Review* 19/4 (2011).
- 11 Alan Tomlinson, Christopher Young and Richard Holt, eds, *Sport and the Transformation of Modern Europe: States, Media and Markets, 1950–2010* (Oxford: Routledge, 2011).
- 12 Fabien Archambault, Loic Artiaga, and Gérard Bosc, eds, *Le continent basket. L'Europe et le basket-ball au XXe siècle* (Bruxelles: Peter Lang, 2015). Notably part four entitled 'For a European History of Basketball'.
- 13 Pierre Lanfranchi and Matthew Taylor, *Moving with the Ball: The Migration of Professional Footballers* (Oxford: Berg, 2001).
- 14 Paul Dietschy, 'Did a "Europe of Football" Exist in the 1930s?', *Sport in History* 35/4 (2015), 515–30.
- 15 See the papers from the special issue of *Sport in History*, 35/4 (2015).
- 16 Laurent Barcelo, 'L'Europe des 52: l'Union Européenne de Football Association (UEFA)', *Guerres mondiales et conflits contemporains*, 228/4 (2007), 119–33.
- 17 Jürgen Mittag, 'Europa und der Fussball. Die europäische Dimension des Vereinsfußballs vom Mitropa-Cup bis zur Champions League', in Jürgen Mittag and Jörg-Uwe Nieland, eds, *Das Spiel mit dem Fussball. Interessen, Projektionen und Vereinnahmungen* (Essen: Klartext, 2007), 155–76.
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- 19 Albrecht Sonntag, 'Une passion partagée, des identités ambiguës. Enjeux européens du football contemporain', *Politique européenne* 26/3 (2008), 191–209.

- 20 Fabien Archambault, 'La difficile gestation d'une Europe du football dans les années 1950', in Pamela Anastasio and Charles Bossu eds, *Facciamo l'Europa. Aspetti dell'integrazione culturale europea (1957–2007)* (Rome: Unione Internazionale degli Istituti di Archeologia, 2012), 85–96.
- 21 Quin Grégory, *Une première élite du football européen (1904–1956), ou les prémices d'un champ footballistique européen* (UEFA Research Grant Programme, Research Report, 2012).
- 22 Kevin Marston, 'A Lost Legacy of Fraternity? The Case of European Youth Football', in Richard Holt and Dino Ruta, eds, *Routledge Handbook of Sport and Legacy: Meeting the Challenge of Major Sporting Events* (London: Routledge, 2015), 176–88.
- 23 Philippe Vonnard, *La genèse de la Coupe des clubs champions européens. Une histoire du football européen (1920–1960)* (Neuchâtel: CIES, 2012); Philippe Vonnard, 'A Competition that Shook European Football! The Origins of the European Champion Clubs' Cup (1954–1955)', *Sport in History* 34/4 (2014), 595–619.
- 24 Many authors have used this concept. For a brief summary see notably: Johann Olsen, 'The Many Faces of Europeanization', *JCMS* 40/5 (2002), 921–52; Claudio Radaelli, ed., *The Politics of Europeanization* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2003); Paolo Graziano and Maarten Vink, eds, *Europeanization. New Research Agendas* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2007).
- 25 Martin Conway and Kiran Klaus Patel, eds, *Europeanization in the Twentieth Century: Historical Approaches* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2010). Mathieu Osmont et al., eds, *Europeanization in the 20th Century. The Historical Lens* (Bruxelles: P.I.E. Peter Lang, 2012).
- 26 Alexander Brand and Arne Niemann, 'The Europeanization of German Football' in Alan Tomlinson and Christopher Young, eds, *German Football. History, Culture, Society* (Routledge: London, 2006), 127.
- 27 Johannes Grossmann, Jacqueline Niesser and Tobias Schneider, 'Toward a European Society? Convergence and Divergence in 20th Century Europe. Synthesis of the Summer School', Report of the Summer School 'Towards a European Society? Convergence and Divergence in 20th Century Europe (Politics, Economy, Society and Culture)' organized by The German Historical Institute Paris, 2011.
- 28 Grossmann, Niesser and Schneider, 'Toward a European Society'.
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PART I

The First Europeanization: A Pre-European Football Sphere (1910s to the 1940s)