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Football, nationalism and globalisation: A comparison of English and Italian football between 1930 and 2010

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Abstract: This paper compares the relationship of football and globalisation in England and Italy between 1930 and 2010 along three dimensions. It explores the national origins of players, managers (coaches) and owners in both countries over the longue durée of high modernity. The paper demonstrates that football became an international game within a wider global context almost immediately after its codification in England in 1863. However, it was also strongly affected by nationalistic templates. There was a powerful assumption that clubs, players, supporters, managers and owners would exemplify specific national characteristics. This affected the development of football in both countries from the 1930s to the 1970s. In England, players and managers were predominantly English and almost exclusively British in this period. This pattern was reinforced by strict immigration rules developed around the time of World War I.

A similar pattern was evident in Italy. Serie A players were overwhelmingly Italian between 1930 and the late 1980s. Indeed, between 1965 and 1980, non-Italians were completely banned from playing football in Italy despite the provisions for the free movement of labour in the Treaty of Rome (1957). The pattern for coaches in Serie A followed a significantly different trajectory. In the 1930s and the 1950s there was a large proportion of coaches in Serie A from outside Italy, particularly from neighbouring countries such as Hungary, Austria and Yugoslavia. This reflected the much less nationalistic policy for the recruitment of Serie A coaches during this period.

Keywords: football, globalisation, nationalism, England, Italy

Introduction

This paper analyses the juxtaposition and inter-connections between football, nationalism and globalisation. It will show that national templates have exercised a powerful impact upon the dynamics of globalisation since the emergence of the game in its modern form in the mid-nineteenth century. In particular, the paper compares the relationship of football and globalisation in England and Italy. These countries have been, and remain, two of the major European professional football leagues. The paper assesses the relationship of football and globalisation along three dimensions, exploring the national origins of players, coaches (managers) and owners in the two countries. Much of the recent sociological literature on globalisation and football has focused on relatively recent changes (see Elliott & Weedon, 2010; Littlewood, Mullen & Richardson, 2011; McGovern, 2002; Poli, 2010). The present analysis ex-

amines long term changes within the *longue durée* of high modernity. The trajectories of globalisation within professional football in the two countries are explained as the result of a combination of both the long-term structural properties of the two national contexts and a range of specific historical conjunctural factors.

The analysis involves a combination of three theoretical approaches that are common within economic sociology but less well known in the sociology of sport. The first involves the exploration of social change through the intersection of long term structural properties of societies and conjunctural episodes that are empirically variable. This style of analysis was initially propounded by the French *Annales* school which pioneered the combination of historical, demographic and sociological methods of research (see Burke, 1972; Le Roy Ladurie, 1978; Braudel, 1979). The second involves the use of contingency theory which is anchored in organisational sociology (see Morgan, 2007). This is based upon the insight that there is no best way to organise a corporation that can be deduced from theoretical first principles. Rather, there are a set of empirical possibilities dependent upon a wide range of contextual factors. These ideas have gained greater currency within the wider field of economic sociology in recent years and emphasise the need for generalisations to be derived from inductive reasoning based on empirical case studies as well as upon conventional theoretical abstractions (see Whitley, 2000; 2007).

The third element involves the use of comparative national case studies (see Harkness, van de Vijver & Mohler, 2003; Hoffmeyer-Zlotnik & Wolf, 2003) to explicate sociological variations empirically. This approach is rooted in survey methodology and emphasises the need for systematic quantitative data for effective comparative analysis. Such a heuristic orientation has been developed extensively in the field of economic sociology (see Penn, 1990; 2006c; 2010; Penn & Lambert, 2009) but less so in the sociology of sport.

These three approaches share certain key theoretical methodological assumptions. The first is that there are important empirical variations in the nature of contemporary social phenomena which are both historical and geographic in nature. These variations cannot be reduced to the imposition of a pre-conceived set of abstract *a priori* principles. Secondly, these three approaches support the analysis of systematic empirical data and not the selection of a few concrete examples that (inevitably) fit. The present paper will utilise this combined approach to explore the globalisation of football in Italy and England. It will examine changes in football through the prism of nationalism – a factor often neglected in contemporary sociological accounts of football.

Football from its inception: Nationality and nationalism

Football in its modern form was codified in England in the mid-nineteenth century. This was an era of burgeoning nationalism in both Europe and Latin America. The

impetus for nationalism originated during the French Revolution (see Thomson, 1990) and developed with the unification of Italy and Germany (see Beales & Bigini, 2003; Hargreaves, 1991). It accelerated after the demise of the Ottoman, Russian and Austro-Hungarian empires in 1918 and increased once again after 1945 with the de-colonisation of Asia, Africa and the Caribbean (see Springhall, 2001).

From its inception football has been powerfully affected by nationalism and national templates. Football clubs are primarily regulated by national federations and compete in national leagues.¹ Traditionally football players, managers (coaches), owners and spectators all came from the same nation. National forms of social organisation were the axial principle for football historically and remain powerful today.

Football became international² when these national federations formed international governing bodies such as the International Olympic Committee in 1894 and the Fédération Internationale de Football Association (FIFA) in 1904. These organisations quickly developed international football competitions. Initially this involved Olympic competitions for men from 1908 and subsequently Football World Cups for men after 1930. Nevertheless, these competitions took place within overarching national templates: teams participated on the basis of nationality and still do. As new nations have emerged over time, they have also sought affiliation to these international bodies and to participate in international competition. The newest nation, South Sudan, played a football international against Uganda within months of its independence in 2011. The emergence of international football at the end of the nineteenth century and in the early twentieth century paralleled the wider growth of international political organisations such as the International Committee of the Red Cross, the League of Nations and the International Labour Office.

Football remains both national in its organising principles **and** international in that national organisation inevitably entails international forms of competition and regulation. The competitive logic of the national templates that underpin international contests within football are seen in their purest form when two national teams line up before international matches and the respective national anthems are sung and their flags flown.

Football and globalisation

In recent years there has been considerable debate amongst social scientists about the globalisation of football, a great deal of which is speculative and overly abstract (see Giulianotti, 1999; Giulianotti & Robertson, 2009; Turnbull, Satterlee & Raab, 2008).

1 Welsh clubs like Cardiff City and Swansea City in the English football leagues, Monaco in the French Ligue and Berwick Rangers in the Scottish Football League Division 3 are notable exceptions.

2 The first official football international took place between England and Scotland in 1872 and the Home International competition between England, Scotland, Wales and Ireland was inaugurated in 1883.

These approaches are teleological in orientation; globalisation is generally seen as a unilinear, eschatological and unidirectional process (see Robertson, 1992). Systematic empirical data to support these conjectural approaches are, however, generally absent from these accounts. Rather, a succession of examples is selected to fit such explanations.

For heuristic purposes, it is necessary to distinguish two main phases to globalisation in football. Football became a global game very swiftly from the mid-nineteenth century onwards. The Football Association (FA) was created in 1863 in London and codified the laws of the game in that year. Football spread rapidly to the rest of the UK.³ It also spread further afield as a result of British commercial imperialism in the final third of the nineteenth century. Football clubs were created by merchants,⁴ textile manufacturers⁵ and those involved in the construction of the South American railway system⁶ (see Murray, 1996). However, this dispersion of football took place within a system of nation states which formed the context for subsequent international competitions such as the South American Championship (now the Copa América) and the Mitropa Cup (a precursor to the Champions League played between club teams in Central Europe between 1927 and 1992). Indeed, international competition in football was an essential component of the nationalistic template dominant in the late nineteenth century. It continues to resonate powerfully in the contemporary era.

More recently a new form of globalisation has begun to emerge and football has been seen as an exemplar of these changes (see Giulianotti & Robertson, 2004; 2009; Maguire, 1999; Ritzer & Andrews, 2007). The newest phase of global football incorporates a series of inter-related elements. Central to this has been the emergence of global television coverage of club and international competitions (see Boyle & Haynes, 2004; Rowe, 2011; Sage, 2010). This has promoted and enhanced the development of global footballing brands such as Manchester United, Real Madrid, Barcelona and Juventus. These clubs are supported by global fan bases. There is also global sponsorship of club competitions and World Cups involving companies like *Coca Cola*, *McDonalds*, *Visa* and *Sony*.⁷ Nevertheless, national templates remain very powerful. As yet there is little evidence of the emergence of supra-national leagues and concomitant global competition.⁸ This is in contrast with Rugby Union in the southern hemisphere where clubs from Australia, New Zealand and South Africa currently compete in the Super 15 league. Indeed, club competitions within football remain predominantly national in scope. International club competitions like the

3 The Scottish FA was founded in 1873, the Welsh FA in 1876 and the Irish FA in 1880.

4 AC Milan.

5 Barcelona.

6 Peñarol and Rosario Central.

7 All are major sponsors of the 2014 Football World Cup.

8 The FIFA World Club Championship is the only possible exception and it is not a league competition at all.

UEFA Champions League and the Copa América are predicated upon **prior** success in national leagues.

However, a notable feature of the development of this latest phase of the globalisation of football has involved the increasingly diverse national origins of football players in the five major European leagues in England, France, Germany, Italy and Spain (see McGovern, 2002; Littlewood et al., 2011; Storey, 2011). This has been paralleled by the increasing diversity of coaches (managers), owners and, to a lesser degree, of spectators themselves.

The empirical cornerstone of the present paper involves an examination of the contours of these changes within English and Italian football since 1930.⁹ English and Italian football have been major forces in European football over the last century. The English league was created in 1888 and Italy's Serie A in 1929. The paper involves a matched longitudinal comparison of the two countries since 1930 and is designed to provide rigorous and systematic comparative data on the national origins of players, managers/coaches and owners over this period.

Methods and data used

There are no complete continuous data sets on the nationality of players, managers or owners in either England or Italy. The data used in this analysis were located from various sources. For England the data for the 1930s and 1950s were taken from the two respective FA Cup Final teams between 1930 and 1939 and between 1950 and 1959. This involved 22 players and 2 managers each year. In the period from 1871 – when the FA (Football Association) Cup was inaugurated – until the 1960s, the FA Cup constituted England's most important club competition. Winning the FA Cup was the pinnacle of achievement for players, managers, supporters and owners. It was valued more highly than winning the First Division Championship. Its mystique after World War II was enhanced as it was the only club match to be shown live on television in England. This lasted until 1983. However, after the advent of European club competition and in particular the European Cup in the late 1950s, league position increasingly became the benchmark of club success in England. Nowadays winning the English Premier League is seen as the most prestigious domestic club competition.

The data for the 1970-71 season were taken from the *Rothman's Football Yearbook 1971-72* (Camkin, 1971). The squads of each of the 22 English First Division teams in that season were operationalised as all players who played five or more league games during the 1970-71 season. The data for the 2010-11 season were initially taken from the squads notified to the Premier League for that season in August 2010 and corroborated subsequently by the *European Football Yearbook 2011-12* (Hammond, 2011).

9 The present paper builds upon previous empirical research into English and Italian football (see Penn, 2004; 2006a; 2006b).

The Italian data all derive from Serie A clubs. The information for the 1930s and 1950s were taken from the *Dizionario del Calcio Italiano* (Sappino, 2000) for the 10 championship-winning squads during these decades. The data for the 1988-89 season were taken from all the Serie A squads in that year as catalogued in the *Annuario del Calcio Mondiale, 1988/89* (Presti, 1988) and for the 2010-11 season from the journal *Calcio Italia* (2010). In all cases the nationality (or nationalities) of the players, managers (coaches) and owners were calibrated using a range of historical and contemporary sources.¹⁰

The samples of players, managers (coaches) and owners from England and Italy were broadly similar. In most cases they are taken from the two respective top tier league competitions. This was used for all four Italian sub-samples as well as for England in 1970/71 and 2010/11. The English data for the 1930s and 1950s were derived from the two FA Cup Final teams in these decades. This reflected the higher status of such teams during these decades. All but one of these teams¹¹ were members of the top tier of English football during this period.

The time scale for the matched comparison was the same as far as possible. Serie A only began in 1929 and the 1930s therefore marked a shared point for commencing the analysis. The 1950s and the contemporary period were also periods in common in the analysis. The data for 1970-71 in England and 1988/89 in Italy were designed to accommodate the banning of foreign players in Italy between 1965 and 1980. Overall these quantitative data provide a clear picture of the national origins of players, managers (coaches) and owners in top tier football in both countries over the period from 1930 to 2010.

Trajectories of nationality within English football since 1930

This section explores the trajectories of nationality and national origins within English football. In particular it examines patterns of national origins amongst players, managers and owners of English top-tier professional football clubs since 1930.

The data for players and managers in the 1930s and 1950s were derived from the two FA Cup Final teams in each year during the decades 1930 to 1939 and 1950 to 1959. Most of the 220 Cup Final players between 1930 and 1939 were English (see Table 1). Indeed, almost three quarters of the players were English and almost all the others were Scottish. There had been a longstanding connection between the top English clubs and Scotland dating back to the late nineteenth century (see Sanders, 2009). Blackburn Rovers, Darwen and Preston North End employed large numbers of Scottish players as professionals in the 1880s (see Francis, 1925). By 1910, 19.3% of English Football League players were Scots (Vamplew, 1988). Teams like New-

10 I would like to thank Professor Alex Baroncelli of the Università Cattolica, Milano for his assistance with this part of the research.

11 West Bromwich Albion in 1931.

castle United, Sunderland and Preston continued to recruit large numbers of Scots before and after the First World War (Lanfranchi & Taylor, 2001).

Table 1: National origins of players in English Top Tier football (Percentages)

	1930s	1950s	1970/71	2010/11
English	73.6	70.0	73.2	34.7
Scottish	24.1	16.4	17.2	3.5
Welsh	2.3	6.4	3.2	2.5
Irish	-	5.0	5.2	7.5
African	-	-	-	9.4
South & Central American	-	1.4	-	5.6
Other	-	0.9	1.2	36.8
N	220	220	343	481

This pattern reflected the strength of Scottish football in the period before 1914. Scotland was the home of tactical innovation in the last quarter of the nineteenth century (see Sanders, 2009). The Scottish passing game proved superior to the more traditional dribbling style prevalent amongst the earliest English teams. Between 1872 and 1887 Scotland won 10 of the annual international fixtures with England. This included a 7-2 victory at Hampden Park in 1878. England only secured two victories during the same period. This dominance continued during the 1920s as Scotland won six of the encounters between 1920 and 1929, including a 5-1 defeat of England at Wembley in 1928.

Scottish players appeared regularly in English FA Cup Finals during the 1930s. Preston North End fielded 7 Scots in both their 1937 defeat by Sunderland and their victory over Huddersfield Town in 1938. During the 1930s England managed only two victories over Scotland internationally. Interestingly virtually no English players moved in the opposite direction to Scottish clubs at this time. The main exception was Sid Puddefoot who moved from West Ham to Falkirk in 1922 for £5000.

As a result of the multi-national nature of the United Kingdom – mirrored in the organisational structure of the British game into four national federations (England, Scotland, Wales and Northern Ireland¹²) – top-tier football players in England in the 1930s were both multi-national in origins and exclusively British. No players from outside the UK appeared in any of the 22 FA Cup Final teams during the 1930s (see Table 1).

The pattern in the 1950s was very similar: around three quarters of the players in the 10 Cup Finals between 1950 and 1959 were English, 16% were Scottish and 6% Welsh (see Table 1). There were also four players born outside the British Isles who featured in these games. The Robledo brothers, who played for Newcastle Unit-

12 Since 1921.

ed in the 1951 and 1952 Cup Finals¹³, were both born in Chile to a Chilean father and an English mother but migrated to Yorkshire as very young children. Indeed, George Robledo played for Chile in the 1950 World Cup Finals despite speaking no Spanish! Bert Trautmann, who played in goal for Manchester City in the 1955 and 1956 Cup Finals, was a German prisoner-of-war in England who had refused repatriation in 1948. In 1949 he signed for Manchester City amidst considerable protest at the hiring of a decorated former German paratrooper. Nonetheless, he became a great favourite with the fans after making 545 appearances for the club.

This picture of predominantly English and overwhelmingly British players in the top-tier of English football remained essentially the same in the early 1970s. Almost three quarters of the players in English First Division squads¹⁴ during the 1970-71 season were English and a further 17% were Scottish (see Table 1). There were very few players from overseas. Two (Viljoen at Ipswich Town and Smethurst at Chelsea) had been born in South Africa and Clyde Best (West Ham United) was from Bermuda. Arentoft (Newcastle United) came from Denmark and Kemp (Blackpool) was born in Italy to an Italian mother and a British soldier in the 8th Army. In total, foreign-born players constituted around 1% of the total numbers of players in the English First Division in the 1970/71 season.

The dominance of British players in English top tier football from the 1930s to the 1970s was a function of several inter-related factors. English football was highly insular from its inception in 1863 until the late 1950s. The English FA were contemptuous of FIFA and did not participate in the three World Cups during the 1930s. Rather, they preferred to take on the top European teams at home and beat them. This occurred in 1932 with the visit of the Austrian Wunderteam and in 1934 at the Battle of Highbury when England defeated the recent World Cup Winners, Italy, in a notoriously violent encounter.

This insularity was bolstered by the closed nature of the British labour market for professional footballers. The 1914 British Nationality Act and the 1919 Aliens Act provided strict guidelines for the employment of foreign players (Holmes, 1988). Overseas players were denied access to English football.¹⁵ This was illustrated dramatically when Arsenal signed Rudy Hiden – the Vienna AC goalkeeper – in 1930. He was denied entry to Britain by immigration officers. These legal barriers were strongly supported by the Players' Union and the FA. In 1931 the FA created a comprehensive set of eligibility rules for non-British players, including a two-year resi-

13 George Robledo played in both and his brother Ted played in the 1952 Final.

14 Data taken from *Rothman's Football Yearbook, 1971-72*.

15 Dominion and colonial players had unrestricted access although few were signed. The reasons for this require further research. The situation for southern Irish players after partition in 1922 and independence in 1948 was essentially the same as that for dominion players (see Byrne's *Green is the Colour*, 2012).

dential qualification that was maintained until the mid-1970s¹⁶ (see Lanfranchi & Taylor, 2001).

The picture by 2010 was significantly different. Only around a third of the players in Premier League squads were English (see Table 1). Just over half came from outside the British Isles. These players came from a wide variety of countries in Africa, Latin America and Europe.

These patterns were mirrored by the national origins of managers in England. During the 1930s most managers of teams in FA Cup Finals were English (see Table 2). The rest were Scottish. Indeed Scottish managers tended to import Scots as players. This situation remained essentially the same in the 1950s and in the 1970/71 season. Managers were predominantly English and the rest were mainly Scottish.

Table 2: National origins of managers in English Top Tier football

	1930s*	1950s	1970/71	2010/11
English	16	16	18	6
Scottish	3	3	3	4
Welsh	-	1	-	1
Italian	-	-	-	3
Other	-	-	1	6

* The 1933 FA Cup winners [Everton] had no manager at the time of the final.

The pattern for managers of teams in the English Premier League in 2010 paralleled the increasingly diverse global origins of players. English (30%) and Scots (20%) accounted for half of the total (see Table 2). Overall, almost two thirds of managers were British. In addition there were 3 Italians, 2 Frenchmen as well as an Israeli and a Spaniard.

Table 3: National origins of owners of English Premier League clubs 2010/11

English	10
UK Overseas Trusts	3
American	6
Russian	2
Egyptian	1
Abu Dhabi	1
Latvia	1

This increasing globalisation of players and managers in England was mirrored in the increasingly diverse national origins of the owners of Premier League clubs (see Table 3). In the 1930s, 1950s and 1970s, the owners of top tier English clubs were

16 Britain’s entry into the European Common Market in 1973 meant that players from Continental Europe had free access to the UK labour market.

overwhelmingly English. By 2010/11 just over half were connected to the UK, either directly or as offshore owners (see Nauright & Ramfjord, 2010). The latter included ENIC at Tottenham Hotspur (Bahamas), Davies at Bolton Wanderers (Isle of Man) and Blackburn’s Jack Walker Trust (Jersey). A further quarter were from the USA, notably Glazer who owned Manchester United, Hicks and Gillett, owners of Liverpool and Lerner at Aston Villa. Other US owners included Kroenke who part-owned Arsenal and Short at Sunderland. These American owners were relatively new to English football but all – apart from Short – had extensive experience of owning major US sports franchises.¹⁷ Other foreign owners included Al-Fayed (Egypt) at Fulham, Usmanov (Russia) at Arsenal, Belekou (Latvia) at Blackpool, Abramovich (Russia) at Chelsea, Yeung (Hong Kong) at Birmingham City and Mansour (Abu Dhabi) at Manchester City.

Trajectories of nationality within Italian football since 1930

Italian football was strongly influenced by Britain in its early development. This was encapsulated in the names of two of its earliest clubs – AC Milan and Genoa – both of which were founded by Englishmen as Cricket and Football Clubs. Both clubs still retain their anglicised spellings in tribute to these roots. By the early 1920s there were a number of British, Austrian and Hungarian nationals playing football in Italy. This changed abruptly when Mussolini’s Fascist Government took control of Italian football in the mid 1920s and adopted a series of ultra-nationalist, autarkic policies (see Martin, 2004). In 1926 all foreigners were banned from playing in Italy as a result of the Carta di Viareggio (Charter of Viareggio).

Table 4: National origins of players in Italian Top Tier football [Percentages]

	1930s	1950s	1988	2010/11
Italian	91.1	85.2	85.1	56.6
South American	6.7	5.5	6.6	19.2
African	-	-	-	3.6
Other	2.2	9.3	8.2	20.7
N	179	183	329	590

Serie A – Italy’s top tier league – first began in 1929 and throughout the 1930s an overwhelming proportion of players for the championship winning clubs were born in Italy (see Table 4). However, 12 (6.7%) were from South America and 4 (2.2%) had been born in either Fiume or Istria. The latter two areas had been incorporated into Italy after the collapse of the Austro-Hungarian Empire at the end of the First

17 Glazer owned the Tampa Bay Buccaneers (National Football League, NFL), Lerner the Cleveland Browns (NFL), Kroenke a range of sports clubs including the St Louis Rams (NFL) and Colorado Rapids (Major League Soccer) and Hicks and Gillett a range of NHL teams as well as Hicks’ involvement with the Brazilian football club Corinthians.

World War (see Monzali, 2009). Both Fiume and the littoral of Istria were predominantly Italian-speaking regions in the first four decades of the twentieth century but players born in both areas before 1918 were technically born outside Italy, although they were seen as *bona fide* Italians by the Italian political and sporting authorities at the time. After the Italian defeat in the Second World War, Fiume and Istria became part of Yugoslavia. Today Fiume (renamed Rijeka) lies in Croatia and Istria is divided between Slovenia and Croatia.

Many of the South Americans playing in Italy during the 1930s were categorised as *rimpatriati* (returnees). They were children of Italian emigrants to Argentina, Uruguay and Brazil. Italian emigration to Latin America was even greater than the exodus to the United States despite the latter migration receiving much greater attention by novelists and film-makers (see Ratti, 1931; Rosoli, 1978; Pozzetta & Ramirez, 1992). As Gabaccia (2000) put it in her seminal study of the Italian diaspora “Italians enjoyed far superior job opportunities in Latin America” (78). One important aspect differentiating Italian immigrants’ experiences in Latin America compared to North America was the fact that they fitted easily into the dominant ethnic and racial categories of the time.¹⁸

Brazil currently has around 25 million Italo-Brazilians, mainly concentrated in and around São Paulo in the south east of the country. Uruguay has an even greater proportion of people with Italian ancestry (see Devoto, 1993; Goebel, 2010; Od-done, 1966). It is estimated that they constitute around 40% of the contemporary Uruguayan population. There was also widespread Italian emigration to Argentina between the 1880s and 1960s (see Baily, 1999; Devoto, 2007; Faini & Venturini, 1994; Germani, 1970; Korn, 1983; Lewis, 2003).

The close links between Italian football and the Italian diaspora in Latin America were seen in the fact that five of the twenty two players from Argentina and Uruguay that took part in the inaugural World Cup Final in 1930 in Montevideo were subsequently transferred to Italian Serie A clubs. Mascheroni, who had represented Uruguay, moved to Ambrosiana [Mussolini’s preferred name for Inter Milan] and went on to play for the Italian national team. Argentina’s star player, Luis Monti, went to Juventus and won 18 caps for the *Azzurri*. Indeed, he played for Italy in their World Cup victory over Czechoslovakia in Rome in 1934.¹⁹ Such players were classified as *rimpatriati* in order to circumvent the banning of foreign players by the FIGC (Federazione Italiana Giuoco del Calcio) in its Carta di Viareggio.²⁰ Pozzo, the Italian

18 See Roediger (2005) and Guglielmo and Salerno’s (2007) analyses of how Italians struggled to throw off their non-whiteness in the USA. This compares with Italians’ reception as creoles in South America.

19 There were four Argentines (De Maria, Orsi, Monti and Guaita) and one Brazilian (Filo) in the 1934 Italian World Cup squad (see Gordon & London, 2005).

20 The Carta permitted the inclusion of two *rimpatriati* per club until its abolition at the end of the Second World War (see Foot, 2006)

manager of the 1934 and 1938 World Cup winners, responded to international criticisms of his use of rimpatriati with the orthodox contemporary view that “according to Italian law, the sons of Italians born abroad are considered Italians” (Pozzo, 1960, 124).²¹

There was a very similar pattern amongst players in Serie A during the 1950s (see Table 4). Most players for the championship winning clubs were Italian (85.1%) and over a third of foreigners came from South America. Many had Italian ancestry and were now classified as *oriundi* (immigrants with family roots in Italy). Some became Italian internationals, most notably the Argentines, Maschio and Sivori; the Brazilians, Sormani and Altafini and the Uruguayans, Ghiggia and Schiaffino (Papa & Panico, 2002). These two Uruguayans had been World Cup winners in 1950. Most of these Latin American players were strikers, as were almost all the Scandinavian players in Serie A such as the Swedes, Nordahl and Gren and the Danes, Hansen, Praest and Sørensen.²²

However, whilst most players in Serie A *Scudetto* (title-winning) teams were Italian in the 1930s and in the 1950s, the picture was very different for coaches (see Table 5). In the 1930s, four of the winning coaches were either Hungarian or Austrian.²³ This was partly a function of their geographic proximity and partly because both countries were the powerhouses of technical innovation in football during the inter-war years. In the case of Hungary this continued until the Hungarian uprising in 1956. Indeed, three of the title-winning coaches during the 1950s were also Hungarian²⁴ as well another who was from Yugoslavia²⁵ (see Table 5).

Table 5: National origins of coaches in Italian Top Tier football

	1930s	1950s	1988	2010/11
Italian	5	6	15	18
Hungarian	3	3	-	-
Other	2	1	3	2

The poor performances by Italy in a succession of World Cups between 1950 and 1962 led to a complete ban on foreign players in Italy between 1965 and 1980. Despite the successful Italian campaign in Mexico in 1970 when the *Azzurri* lost in the World Cup final to Brazil, the national team reverted to mediocrity during the 1974

21 This principle of Italian nationality based on *ius sanguinis* continued until the demise of Fascism (see Gordon & London, 2005).

22 The precise regulations covering the employment of foreign football players in Italy changed almost every year during the 1950s. Each successive change narrowed the number of foreigners who could be signed (see Foot, 2006).

23 Veisz (Hungary) won the Scudetto with Inter in 1929/30 and with Bologna in 1935/6 and 1936/7. Felsner (Austria) won with Bologna in 1938/9.

24 Czeizler with AC Milan in 1950/1, Sarosi with Juventus in 1951/52 and Bela Guttman with AC Milan in 1954/5.

25 Brocic with Juventus in 1957/8.

and 1978 World Cup competitions and the ban on foreign players in Serie A was rescinded in 1980.

There were similar proportions of South American players in the 1988/89 season (6.6%) as had been evident in the 1950s (5.5%). However, the geographical origins of the other foreign players in Serie A in 1988/89 were more diverse than earlier. In particular, there was an influx of players from Germany, Holland, Sweden, Belgium, England and Yugoslavia. Overall, most players in Serie A in 1988/89 were Italian (85.1%) as was also the case for coaches (83.3% Italian).

The situation in 2010/11 had changed significantly for players in Serie A (see Table 4). Only 56.6% of players were Italian. There had been a large increase in the proportion of South American players to 19.2% and a further 24.3% were of various other nationalities.²⁶ African players constituted 3.6% of Serie A squads in 2010/11, itself a new phenomenon in Italy and one which reflected the improvement in the quality of African football. It also contributed to the increasingly serious spread of racism amongst spectators in Serie A.²⁷ In 2010/11 most coaches were Italian (18 out of 20). The two foreign coaches comprised Benitez (Spanish) at Inter and Mihajlovic (Serbian) at Fiorentina.

During the period between 1930 and 2010, there were no foreign owners of Serie A clubs, with the one exception of Vicenza where ENIC²⁸ purchased a stake in the late 1990s.²⁹ This reflected the wider lack of internationalisation within the Italian economy (see Hall & Soskice, 2001). Traditional patterns of corporatism and autarky inherited from the Fascist period continued to affect the nature of ownership amongst Italian companies throughout the post – Second World War era. During the summer of 2011 Thomas DiBenedetto – an American of Italian ancestry – headed a US consortium that purchased a majority stake in AS Roma. This is the only Italian top tier team currently with foreign ownership. Italian football clubs remain overwhelmingly Italian in ownership – a pattern that reflects the wider structures of ownership in Italy (see Ciofi, 1962; Salvati, 2000).

Conclusions

The trajectories of globalisation in English and Italian football since 1930 have followed distinct and differing paths. In the case of the nationality of owners of top tier clubs in

26 Almost all of these were from other European countries

27 In November 2005, Zoro playing for Messina against Inter attempted to stop the match as a result of racist abuse from opposition supporters. In April 2009 Mario Balotelli (Inter) received considerable racial abuse from Juventus supporters. In March 2012 there was racist chanting at the Rome derby between Lazio and Roma fans. In this case both sets of supporters targeted their respective opponent's black players.

28 ENIC also owned the majority of shares in Tottenham Hotspur during this period as well as a stake in Rangers.

29 This was sold in 2005 and Vicenza has not featured in Serie A since 2001.

both countries, the pattern in Italy has remained overwhelmingly determined by nationality throughout the period but it has changed significantly in England recently. Previously almost all the owners of English clubs were also English. By 2010/11, 14 Premier League clubs had some kind of overseas ownership and 9 had exclusively foreign owners. Many of these owners were from the USA and had close links with American professional sports teams. Currently AS Roma also has US owners, with similar backgrounds in the ownership and management of American sports teams. It remains to be seen whether Italy will follow a similar path to England in terms of foreign ownership of top tier football clubs. As yet this has not occurred.

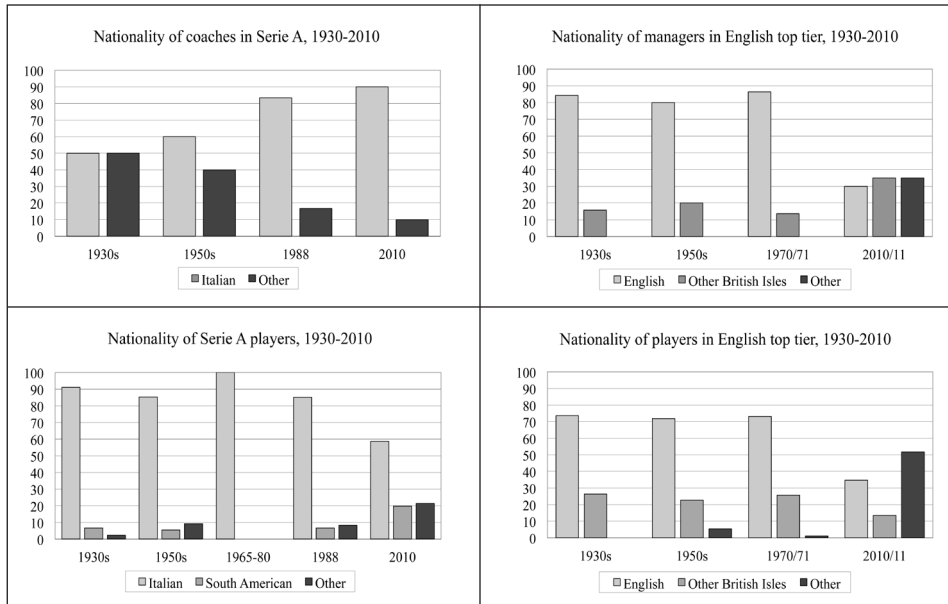


Figure 1: Trajectories of players and coaches/managers in Serie A & the English top tier, 1930-2010

The trajectories for managers and coaches have also followed distinct paths in the two countries (see Figure 1). In England, most coaches between the 1930s and the 1970s were English: the remainder were predominantly Scottish. This pattern had changed by the 2010/11 season. Only half the managers were English or Scottish. However, the other Premier League managers were from a wide range of foreign countries, including Italy, Spain, France and Israel.

In Italy, on the other hand, the proportion of foreign coaches **declined significantly** over the period between 1930 and 2010 (see Figure 1). In the 1930s and 1950s, 40% of Serie A championship-winning coaches were non-Italian. Most of them were Hungarian but there was also an Austrian and a Yugoslav. In 1988/89 and in 2010/11 almost all the coaches in Serie A were Italian. This trajectory for coaches in Italy therefore follows a path of **decreasing** globalisation and mirrors local norms surrounding the ownership of clubs in Italy. This contrasts clearly with the pattern in

the English top tier, where there has been a dramatic **increase** in the number of non-British managers.

The trajectories for players in Italy and England have been powerfully affected by the differing historical contexts in the two countries. There has been a long-standing flow of Scottish – and to a lesser extent Welsh and Irish – players into the top tier of English football. In the 1930s, 1950s and in 1970/71 the majority of players were English and the rest predominantly Scottish. This was originally the result of the dominance of British football before the First World War. Subsequently it was sustained by arrogance and insularity but later these attitudes were reinforced by the explicit banning of non-British players from playing professional football in England. This was part of a wider xenophobic restriction of access to Britain for international migrants embodied in the Aliens Act (1905) and the introduction of compulsory passports as a cornerstone for restrictions after 1914. It also mirrored the peculiarities of Britain's imperial legacy. From 1905 to 1962 citizens of the Commonwealth and from the Empire, as well as those from the Irish Free State (later Eire and currently the Irish Republic) were exempt from these statutory immigration controls imposed on foreigners. This situation had changed dramatically by the 2010/11 season (see Figure 1). Only a third of players in the Premier League were English and less than half were British.

The pattern in Italy followed a different trajectory. In the 1930s most players in Serie A were Italian and the rest had strong ethnic/patrilineal links with Italy. This applied to the South American rimpatriati who featured both in Serie A championship teams and in Italy's successful World Cup squads in 1934 and 1938. The profile in the 1950s was very similar: most players in Serie A were Italian but there was a wider spread in the geographical origins of foreign players. In particular, there was a strong influx of Scandinavian players, as well as a continued flow of South American oriundi, into the Italian top tier.

Between 1965 and 1980 foreign players were banned from Italian football (see Figure 1). However, by the 1988/89 season the earlier pattern had reasserted itself: most players were Italian and foreign players came from an increasingly diverse set of national origins, including Holland and West Germany as well as Latin America. The situation in 2010/11 was very different. Less than 60% of players in Serie A squads were Italian. Around 20% were from South America, which was a far higher proportion than were present – much more controversially – in the 1930s and 1950s.

Overall the trajectory for players in Serie A followed a **broad U-curve** (see Figure 1). Globalisation of players increased in the 1950s, stopped completely between 1965 and 1980, resumed in the 1980s and increased by the 2010/11 season. Nevertheless, the extent of globalisation of players in Italy was significantly **lower** than in England where only a third of Premier League players were English by 2010. There remains a strong cultural expectation amongst Italians that the majority of players in Serie A should remain Italian.

This paper has explored the dialectic between globalisation and national forms of social organisation of football in England and Italy. It has shown that the global connections between the two national contexts have been affected by close political, economic and social connections between both countries and other nations. In the case of England, this centred upon both the close links between England and Scotland, Wales and Ireland both in terms of their common economic and supra-national space and the exclusion of foreigners before the UK's accession to the European Common Market in 1973. In the case of Italy it was premised upon the patrilineal links between Italy and Italian emigrants in South America and their descendants.

It is clear that the respective trajectories of the national origins of players, coaches/managers and owners differed both **within** England and Italy and **between** the two countries over the period between 1930 and 2010.

The analysis has revealed the complexity and subtleties of the inter-connections between nationalism, internationalism and globalisation. All three have been integral to the development of football. However, there is evidence of a changing form to this triadic relationship. The latest phase involves an intensification of the globalisation of players in the two countries but far less evidence of it amongst owners of clubs in Italy when compared to England. The trajectories for coaches are also significantly different between the two countries.

There was no evidence of a single, determinate, unilinear pattern of globalisation across the three dimensions examined. Generalisations based on the national origins of players do not necessarily equate with isomorphic patterns for coaches/managers or for owners. These conclusions suggest strongly the need for contingent, empirical, historically-contextualised explanations of the processes of change in European football rather than the generalised, unidirectional accounts that have dominated recent discourse.

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