

RESEARCH ARTICLE

Politicization of Football and International Relations in Europe (Case Study: Stances of Football Institutions in Europe in the Conflict of Russia-Ukraine)

Yohanes Ivan Adi Kristianto
Faculty of Social and Political Sciences,
Universitas Tidar
ivan@untidar.ac.id

Muhammad Fachrie
Faculty of Social and Political Sciences,
Universitas Tidar
muhammadfachrie@untidar.ac.id

Eki Melina Widanti
Faculty of Economy,
Universitas Tidar
ekimelina@untidar.ac.id

Wijoseno Cahyo Atmojo
Faculty of Social and Political Sciences,
Universitas Tidar
cahyowijoseno@gmail.com

Abstract

Football, one of the most popular sports in the world, has never been separated from political aspects. In Europe, at least since the World War, football has been used by governments as a propaganda tool. At other times, football is the first to initiate entry into the world of politics, such as UEFA's decision to involve football clubs and the national team of Turkey in competing with European football clubs and national teams. Recently, the security conflict between Russia and Ukraine has given rise to political support by several football confederations in Europe. This research aims to identify the chain of politicization that occurs between the Russia-Ukraine conflict and the political attitudes of football confederations in Europe, using issue linkage theory. Next, this

research, using European solidarity theory at the macro level, analyzes the implications of this chain of politicization for European integration. The research method applied in this research is basic research using secondary data. This research finds that on the issue of the Russia-Ukraine security conflict, this issue controls the dynamics of football politics in Europe. Meanwhile, European solidarity occurs at the institutional level with a political orientation.

Keywords: Issue linkage, European solidarity, UEFA, FA, Football

I. Introduction

Football is one of the most well-known sports in every community. According to Statistics and Data (2022), football is still the most popular sport throughout the world. From 2010 to 2020, football was ranked first as the world's most popular sport with more than 4 million fans. (Statistics and Data, 2022) This number surpasses cricket, which is in second place with around 2.5 million fans. The high popularity of football positions this sport as a strategic sport, both for business and political purposes. (Power, Widdop, Parnell, Carr, & Millar, 2020)

In Europe, football has been infiltrated by political interests since the 1930s. In this period, ultranationalist sentiment increased due to Nazi populism in Germany and the existence of England as the antithesis. Football matches involving both or their respective partner countries often demonstrate intense matches since both are considered representatives of the country, which means they represent the interests of the two countries that are at war. For instance, in 1933, before the match between England and Italy, a



British state official pressured the players of the English national team to win the match at all costs. (Benoit, 2008)

An indicator of the attachment of European football to politics can be perceived from Türkiye's joining the Union of European Football Association (UEFA). Even if Türkiye did not yet have an incorporation agreement with the European Union (EU), the country still decided to join UEFA in 1962. Türkiye's participation is claimed to have implications for Türkiye becoming increasingly identified with Europe. This, indirectly, strengthens the case for Türkiye to make it easier to join the EU. Türkiye has engaged in the Euro competition, in addition to obtaining visa-free facilities through the Schengen scheme. (McManus, 2017)

In another case, St. Pauli, a football club in Germany, has been established as a club that conveys progressive values. Proponents of St. Pauli often voice their opinions regarding political ones, especially progressive affiliations, during the club's matches. They also structurally hold activities outside of matches that support progressive values. For example, they conduct "Anti-Nazi" congresses, visits to the Yad Vashem memorial site, cross-ethnic and gender football training, and an annual friendly tournament commemorating the liberation from Auschwitz. (Perdana, 2016) Through the three case studies, it can be perceived that football as one of the popular sports in the world is relatively related to political matters.

The recent security conflict between Russia and Ukraine is not only related to

political aspects but also other aspects. To illustrate, aspects of the economy, business, and trade are experiencing relatively significant pressure. In 2023, the Eurozone and the United States were expected to face a recession. The Eurozone experienced an economic decline of around 1.2-1.4% compared to 2022. This is due to conflicts that affect the number of sales and costs that must be covered. (Prohorovs, 2022) Apart from the economic aspect, the Russia-Ukraine conflict also has implications for the dynamics of football in Europe.

The most visible indication that football is influenced by the Russia-Ukraine conflict is the prohibition of Russian football clubs from participating in competitions between member clubs of the UEFA Champions League (UCL), UEFA European League (UEL) and UEFA Conference League. Meanwhile, the Russian national football team (known as Our Boys) was also not allowed to take part in Euro 2020, Women's Euro 2022 and the 2022 World Cup in Qatar. Attempts by the Russian Football Union (RFU), the Russian Football Association, to negotiate with UEFA and the Fédération Internationale de Football Association (FIFA) did not result in positive outcomes. (Buckingham, 2022) A similar experience occurred to Roman Abramovich, owner of Chelsea Football Club, who was forced by the English Premier League Board to relinquish ownership of Chelsea, following the British Government's closure of the Russian businessman's business access. (McVitie, 2022)

Based on the cases above, the existence of football often intersects with



political matters, including European football. To continue research on the politicization of football that has previously existed, this research aims to enrich the discourse on the politicization of football, especially after the outbreak of the security conflict between Russia and Ukraine. This research specifically focuses on the politicization of football due to the Russia-Ukraine conflict using the theory of issue linkage as this approach rarely has been utilized by scholars. In addition, this research deepens the discussion by analyzing the political reasons for the utilization of issue linkage as well as the reasons for involving only certain actors in this approach in the Russia-Ukraine conflict. Additionally, this research aims to analyze the implications of the linkage issue that occurred in European football due to the Russia-Ukraine security issue on the dynamics of European solidarity. To achieve the research purposes, two questions investigated in this research are: 1) how does issue linkage occur, from political and economic issues related to security conflict between Russia and Ukraine to football issues; 2) what are the further implications of the issue linkage tactics implemented by these political actors?

II. Theoretical Framework: Issue Linkage

The issue linkage theory is efforts or bargaining activities to resolve a problem or achieve an interest by linking issues or a problem being discussed with one or more other issues. (Koremenos, Lipson, & Snidal, 2001)

Issue linkage is applied by state actors when they encounter problems in cooperation or conflict, such as distribution problems, and enforcement problems, and the number of actors in cooperation or conflict is too considerable. Firstly, the distribution problem occurs when one or several of the political actors involved believe more disadvantaged than others. The same thing can happen if the benefits of the actors involved are not evenly distributed among the actors involved. Secondly, law enforcement problems appear when one or some political actors do not comply with previously established agreements. Thirdly, numerous actors involved can impact to problems due to varying preferences to be compromised (Koremenos, Lipson, & Snidal, 2001)

Ernst Haas (1980) divides strategies in issue linkage into three approaches: tactical issue linkage, fragmented issue linkage, and substantive issue linkage. (Haas, 1980) Tactical issue linkage is defined as a tactic of connecting two issues that are not related at all. Meanwhile, fragmented issue linkage is defined as a tactic to maintain or strengthen existing cooperation by adding issues outside of existing agreements. For instance, the Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN), which initially united itself to dispel communism, gradually expanded cooperation between its member states to trade and socio-cultural issues to perpetuate the ties. Lastly, substantive issue linkage is a strategy to raise new issues as a result of intellectual discoveries.



III. Methodology and Data

This research is qualitative. Creswell (2009) defines qualitative research as research that prioritizes exploration and analysis of meaning. (Cresswell, 2009) In qualitative research, data is not sought in a laboratory, but is natural or is already available in nature to be observed. This qualitative research strategy focuses on case studies. This strategy focuses on analyzing a phenomenon or event that is limited by area and time. (Kusumastuti & Khoiron, 2019)

Meanwhile, the secondary data obtained comes from books, journal articles, and articles in credible mass media. (Rahmadi, 2011) The selected data is statements from formal institutions such as the European Union and football associations in European countries. These data were taken to be analyzed using discourse analysis.

IV. Discussion

a. Europe's Position in the Russia-Ukraine Conflict

To claim that Europe has a position in the Russia-Ukraine conflict, the terminology "Europe" has to be clarified first. Europe in various discussions is interpreted in various ways. Until recently, there is no absolute agreement regarding the definition of Europe. Triandafyllidou and Gropas (2023) found that defining Europe can be framed in terms of history, identity, and politics. (Triandafyllidou & Gropas, 2022) The meeting point between these three aspects is the common fate of experiencing a period of great war, specifically

the Great War and World War. The existence of the European Union (EU) strengthened politically that they were united as a result of the two wars. In this discussion, Europe is narrowed down to countries that were or are still members of the EU and were involved in the Great War and World War. Thus, the EU and countries such as the United Kingdom, Spain, France, and Germany can be categorized as Europe.

Next, how does Europe perceive the situation in Ukraine? Europe explicitly supports Ukraine and condemns Russia's expansive actions. In early February, the EU firmly utilized the diction of "must stop" the war and "stand with Ukraine under any circumstances". This political manifesto reflects that Russia is on the side that initiates the war. In other words, this means that Russia is the trigger for the problem. Statements of "support under any circumstances" possibly impact political and economic risks, however, Europe is firm in its stance. (Council of the European Union, 2023)

The statement by President of the European Council Charles Michel stating that the EU supports humanitarian, political, economic, and military aspects further confirm Europe's stance. Even though Europe is not in the war directly, support for the Ukrainian military confirms that Europe is behind Ukraine. In addition, Europe stated that it was coordinating with the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) and the G7. This political intention emphasizes the firmness of Europe's position in this conflict. (Council of the European Union, 2023)



European support and stance in the Russian-Ukrainian conflict is consistently manifested. From March 2022 to February 2023, the EU gradually impose sanctions on Russia. Of all the sanctions formally stated, the majority of sanctions are in the form of prohibitions on trade relations such as export-import activities between EU member countries and Russia. Other sanctions that are also quite highlighted are restrictions on financial transactions with Russia and the mobility of high-profile Russian citizens, such as Roman Abramovich. (Council of the European Union, 2023)

Once Europe's position is explicitly recognized, the next question is, how can the political, security, and economic issues related to the conflict between Russia and Ukraine impact socio-cultural issues, specifically football in Europe?

b. Shifting Issues: From Economy and Security to Football

In issue linkage logic, a problem can spread to other problems intentionally. The Russia-Ukraine conflict involving European football can be identified from UEFA's strategic steps in responding to Russian attacks on Ukrainian territory. According to García (2007), both the EU and UEFA represent Europe with different governments. (García, 2007) Both organizations agree to cooperate in promoting European values. Therefore, what UEFA applies relates to Europe's stances.

First, on the first day the conflict between Russia and Ukraine emerged, UEFA, via its official website, immediately issued a statement condemning the Russian attack and

expressing UEFA's solidarity with Ukraine. (UEFA, 2022) Even though UEFA only acts as a European football association, taking an active position and issuing statements on social issues is categorized as a political communication effort. (Valerevna & Rakhmatovna, 2022)

The shift in issues was reinforced by UEFA's follow-up statement which stated that its stance in the Russia-Ukraine conflict is based on European values. (UEFA, 2022) These values, which consist of human rights, democracy, freedom, equality of dignity, and legal compliance, were formalized by the European Union. (European Union, 2023) This formalization is emphasized by the statement of the former President of the European Commission who stated that the EU is a community of values. (Voloshin, 2014) This fact demonstrates that UEFA implicitly recognizes the authority of the European Union as a supranational organization that has a political stance.

Furthermore, UEFA not only recognizes the EU's authority but also follows EU values through legal corridors. In the agreement between the European Commission and UEFA on June 9, 2022, UEFA promised to base all its activities on European values as manifested in the Charter of Fundamental Rights of the European Union. (European Commission, 2022) By having this collaboration, UEFA also explicitly adheres to European values. In other words, the EU and UEFA tend to walk along the same corridor. The connection between political institutions and football federations shows that there is a



tactical issue linkage, namely an effort to connect two issues.

Second, the shifting issue is strengthened by statements from football federations or representations from European countries. *The Deutsche Fussball Liga (DFL)* or German league administrator through its official website strongly castigated the Russian attack and conveyed its concern for Ukraine as the country most affected. (Deutsche Fussball Liga, 2022) The French Football Federation (FFF) applied the same thing by putting pressure on FIFA to act in response to the Russia-Ukraine conflict. According to FFF, football will never be neutral. (Perform, 2022)

Third, the strategy of tactical issue linkage can be found in the asset freeze and entry ban for Roman Abramovich, owner of Chelsea Football Club (FC) by the UK government.¹ This sanction impacts Chelsea's activities where the club is unable to carry out player buying and selling activities, infrastructure development, and other activities involving club finances. The UK government argues that the asset freezing purpose is to prevent Chelsea's profits from flowing to the Russian government. (Steiner, Ingle, & Hytner, 2022)

Furthermore, freezing assets enhances negative sentiment towards Abramovich. (Ratten, 2022) The consequence of this increasing negative sentiment is that the English Football Association (FA) is following the steps of the UK government. However, The

FA still allows Chelsea to compete until the end of the season (Brien, 2022).

c. Politics Behind Official Statements

To sharpen this discussion, the reasons why football institutions in Europe are involved in the Russia-Ukraine conflict are interesting to analyze. The authors argue that the existence of distribution problems triggers this involvement.



Fig. 1. Donbas Region, Area Targeted by Russia
Source: Aljazeera (2022)

Before discussing distribution problems, we need to first notice what occurs in the conflict using a geographical approach. In **Figure 1**, the Donbas region, which is part of Ukraine, is directly adjacent to Russia and the Sea of Azov. This sea separates the region from Crimea, a region that in the early 2010s was annexed by Russia from Ukraine. The Donbas region is flanked in three directions by Russian

¹Abramovich is the owner of Chelsea until mid-2022. Chelsea is then owned by Tedd Boehly until recently.



territory. This means that, geographically, this area is closer to Russian territory than Kyiv.

Is there any significance to this geographical proximity? One point that requires to be underlined is that the Donbas region is unwritten as a buffer zone between the two poles of the multipolar situation in the world today, namely Russia and the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO). (Widiasa, 2018) The EU generally does not refer to NATO, which was spearheaded by the United States (US), as a partner. However, when encountering the Russian Federation, the EU prefers NATO to be involved in mainland Europe to balance Russia's power. (Turke, 2019) Thus, in other words, this buffer area must not be controlled by Russia so that Europe remains distant from Russia as a polar one. The Donbas attack poses a threat to Europe because Russia is getting closer to European territory.

Two, relations between Ukraine and the EU since the early 2000s have been characterized by processes of push and pull. These processes are provoked by the EU's significant investment in the form of foreign direct investment (FDI), dominated by investment from the Netherlands, Cyprus, Germany, Italy, France, Poland, and Austria. (Bulakh, Ivashchenko, & Lytvyn, 2018) However, with a large investment, the EU still has not included Ukraine in its EU membership since Ukraine is a grey zone that must be protected by the EU and Russia. (Herbst, 2016) This means that Russia's attack violates the agreement established between the EU and Russia not to "touch" Ukraine.

Furthermore, if Ukrainian territory is annexed, the EU and several of its member countries will not be able to rely on some of their investments in Ukraine. As the investment between Ukraine and Europe is interdependent, Ukraine also has the potential to reduce its dependence on the EU. (Zhang & Hock, 1996) On the contrary, Russian attacks can impel Ukraine to become even more dependent on Russia. (Walter, 2022) These points are what, according to the EU's perspective, create an imbalance of benefits and losses resulting from the Russia-Ukraine conflict.

Third, Russia is one of the largest oil suppliers in the world as well as the largest supplier to EU member countries (40% of total oil imports). The effect of Russia's aggression on Ukraine is an increase in crude oil prices. For example, at the beginning of 2022, Brent crude oil was only US\$ 80, but by mid-2022 the price had reached US\$ 120. (Kalogiannidis, Chatzitheodoridis, Kalfas, Kontsas, & Toska, 2022) The increase in crude oil prices does not consider the effect of sanctions from other countries on Russia. This increase in oil prices adds to the losses caused by Russia's attack on Ukraine for EU member countries. The reasons above underlie why tactical issue linkage involving aspects of football in Europe is implemented by the EU and its member countries.

d. Why Chelsea and Abramovich?

In the previous section, Abramovich and Chelsea FC are mentioned as being among those affected by the linkage issue carried out by political actors in Europe. Interestingly, apart from Abramovich, three Russian tycoons,



Dmitry Rybolovlev (AS Monaco FC and Cercle Brugge KSV), Valeriy Oyf (SBV Vitesse Arnhem), and Maxim Demin (Bournemouth FC) are close to Russian President Vladimir Putin possess football clubs in Europe as well. (Krishnan, 2022) However, why is it only Roman Abramovich who is under pressure from Europe, especially the British government and the FA?

highest position. On this basis, Abramovich received great pressure from sports organizations and political institutions. Chelsea FC's progress, if still owned by Abramovich, represents a "victory" for Russia in the field of sport amidst a conflict situation. The prevention of Russia's victory through Chelsea FC proves Europe's strategy of using tactical issue linkage.

Tab. 1. Market Value and Achievements European Clubs Owned by Russians

No.	Club	Market Value 2019 (in million)	Last Standing in League (2019)	Best Achievement in European Competition (in last 5 years)
1	Chelsea (England)	€ 1020	3	Champion
2	AS Monaco (France)	€ 324	17	Group stage
3	Vitesse Arnhem (Belgium)	€ 39,68	10	Not achieved
4	Bournemouth (England)	€ 243,35	14	Not achieved

Source: Transfermarkt (2024)

To examine the reasons why only Abramovich is treated differently, **Tab. 1.** assists in comparing the difference in status between Chelsea FC and the other 3 clubs owned by the Russian tycoon. **Tab. 1.** demonstrates that financially Vitesse Arnhem is far below the other three clubs. Meanwhile, AS Monaco FC and Bournemouth FC are not far apart, namely around 80 million Euros. In contrast to the others, Chelsea FC's income far exceeds that, reaching 1,020 million Euros.

Still looking at **Tab. 1.**, referring to the achievements of each club being compared, Chelsea FC is relatively the club that achieved the highest achievements. In terms of market value and achievement indicators (domestic and European level), Chelsea FC is in the

e. Implications: Solidarity in Europe

The next question is what are the further implications of the issue linkage tactics implemented by these political actors. The authors argue that the involvement of football in the Ukraine-Russia conflict influences the emergence of European solidarity actions.

The concept of European solidarity originates from the terminology of solidarity. This terminology is often adopted from studies of social movements. Solidarity is set as the prime capital for carrying out collective actions, and joint actions to convey certain ideas. In the study of social movements, the meaning of solidarity can be interpreted as something positive and negative. (Oikonomakis, 2018)

In the social and political sciences literature, both Böckenförde in Michalski (2006) and Chiocchetti in Chiocchetti & Allemand (2019) coincide that the term "solidarity" does not yet have a specific and clear explanation. (Böckenförde, 2006) Even so, Chiocchetti tries to explain the meaning of solidarity in four points. (Chiocchetti, Allemand, & Allemand, 2018)



First, solidarity is the same as a feeling of a "sense of belonging" in a group. Second, solidarity emerges when there is a measure of symbiotic mutualism between the parties involved in a phenomenon. Indeed, these first two points do not specify the indicators explicitly. Third, solidarity can also be defined as an obligation for parties involved in a problem to aid. The last point, solidarity can be related to social security policies. (Chiocchetti, Allemand, & Allemand, 2018) From the description of these four points, the red line is the feeling of togetherness or shared responsibility, which is manifested in cooperative actions between the parties involved.

Meanwhile, more specifically, Böckenförde in Michalski (2006) mentions European solidarity, which is defined as a sense of responsibility to protect fellow Europeans. (Böckenförde, 2006) Slightly different from the previous definition, Böckenförde emphasized that European solidarity is closely related to the political community, specifically meaning the European Union. European solidarity strengthens European integration which is manifested in the European Union. Furthermore, there are at least four aspects that underlie and bind the sense of responsibility to protect, namely the same religion, the connection between cultural heritage, the same history, and the same values.

Accordingly, European solidarity can be defined as a sense of togetherness and responsibility to protect and cooperate with fellow Europeans based on shared religion, history, values, or cultural relations. The

transfer of the Ukrainian-Russian political security conflict to football has an effect on European Solidarity, which can be indicated by how European football institutions display symbols of solidarity in football matches.



Fig. 2. Views of La Liga Matches after the Outbreak of the Ukraine-Russia Conflict.

Source: Real Madrid (2022)

La Liga, the official Spanish league competition, campaigned for its support for Ukraine by displaying the Ukrainian flag (see Fig. 2.) throughout at least the remainder of the 2022/2023 league season.

The campaign to display the Ukrainian flag at every LaLiga match refers to European solidarity considering the indication of support for Ukraine by LaLiga. In February 2022, LaLiga stated explicitly that all forms of the campaign were an expression of rejection of armed conflict and support for harmony and peace in Ukraine. (Warrier, 2022)



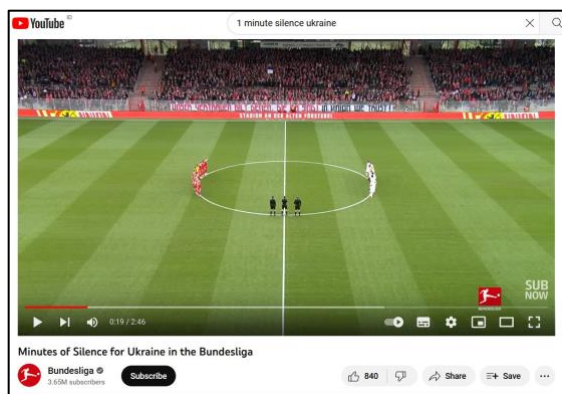


Fig. 3. Views of Bundesliga Matches after the Outbreak of the Ukraine-Russia Conflict.

source: Bundesliga (2022)

An attempt to declare solidarity is also implemented in the Bundesliga by conducting a minute of silence before the match starts (see Fig. 3.). Minute of silence is a custom or tradition in football to demonstrate empathy for a humanitarian phenomenon or condolences for a tragedy by remaining silent for one minute before the opening whistle of the match. (Foster & Woodthorpe, 2012)

The display of the Ukrainian flag and the implementation of the minute of silence are arguably political steps to show 'feeling together' which ultimately frame European solidarity for Ukraine. (Muna, Prisanto, Ernungtyas, Irwansyah, & Putri, 2020) This political communication strategy is an attempt to show Ukraine and the world that Europe stands behind Ukraine which can be interpreted as a form of solidarity.

It may be debatable whether the solidarity is the tactical issue linkage itself or the implication of the linkage. However, we think that the solidarity comes as a response to the linkage since the statement of UEFA comes first before the solidarity reactions.

V. Conclusion

To summarize, the history of the politicization of football in Europe that had occurred since the Great War continued until the emergence of the security conflict between Russia and Ukraine in 2022. The politicization of football in this conflict, according to the issue linkage theory, occurred as Europe suffered losses politically and economically from the Russian attack. The potential for Russia to approach geographically through the attempted annexation of the Donbas, the decrease in the amount of foreign investment by European countries in Ukraine, and the increase in crude oil prices are causing disruption problems for Europe.

To overcome these distribution problems, European countries implement tactical linkages by utilizing European football institutions. The intention is to isolate Russia through football. One of the consequences of Russia's isolation is the emergence of attempts to demonstrate European solidarity at official football matches in Europe.

At last, through this research, political discourse is not limited to security aspects alone, but also socio-cultural aspects. This research still opens opportunities for further research to cover the shortcomings of this research, such as analyzing European solidarity at the societal level or determining whether solidarity comes after the issue linkage or solidarity itself is part of the issue linkage.



Works Cited

- Aljazeera. (2022). *Russia plans to seize Donbas, southern Ukraine: Military official*. Retrieved from Aljazeera: <https://www.aljazeera.com/news/2022/4/22/russia-says-it-plans-to-seize-donbas-southern-ukraine>
- Benoit, M. (2008). The Politicization of Football: The European Game and The Approach to The Second World War. *Soccer & Society*, 9(4), 532-550. doi:<https://doi.org/10.1080/14660970802257606>
- Böckenförde, E. (2006). Conditions for European Solidarity. In K. (. Michalski, *What Holds Europe Together?* (pp. 30-41). Central European University Press.
- Brien, J. (2022). *Premier League Release Statement After UK Action Against Chelsea Owner Roman Abramovich*. Retrieved from Mirror.co.uk: <https://www.mirror.co.uk/sport/football/news/breaking-premier-league-statement-abramovich-26435486>
- Buckingham, P. (2022). *Isolated and in Crisis – Russia’s War in Ukraine Has Damaged Football at Home Too*. Retrieved from theathletic.com: <https://theathletic.com/3407507/2022/07/10/russia-football-ukraine/>
- Bulakh, T. M., Ivashchenko, O. A., & Lytvyn, O. Y. (2018, Dec). The evaluation of investment cooperation of Ukraine with EU countries. *СТАТИСТИКА ТА СУМІЖНІ ГАЛУЗІ ДОСЛІДЖЕНЬ*, 83(4), 50-56. doi:[https://doi.org/10.31767/su.4\(83\)2018.04.06](https://doi.org/10.31767/su.4(83)2018.04.06)
- Bundesliga. (2022). *Minutes of Silence for Ukraine in the Bundesliga*. Retrieved from Youtube: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=kZT11R8rXL4>
- Chiocchetti, P., Allemand, F., & Allemand, é. (2018). *Competitiveness and Solidarity in the European Union: Interdisciplinary Perspectives*. London: Taylor & Francis.
- Council of the European Union. (2023). *EU response to Russia's Invasion of Ukraine*. Retrieved from Europa: <https://www.consilium.europa.eu/en/policies/eu-response-ukraine-invasion/>
- Cresswell, J. (2009). *Research Design: Qualitative, Quantitative, and Mixed Methods Approaches*. London: SAGE Publications Ltd.
- Deutsche Fussball Liga. (2022). *The DFL condemns the Russian attack on Ukraine in the strongest possible terms*. Retrieved from DFL.de: <https://www.dfl.de/en/news/the-dfl-condemns-the-russian-attack-on-ukraine-in-the-strongest-possible-terms/>
- European Commission. (2022). *Commission Decision: On the adoption of the Arrangement for Cooperation between the European Commission and the Union of European Football Associations (UEFA)*. Retrieved from Europa: https://sport.ec.europa.eu/sites/default/files/2022-10/C_2022_3721_1_EN_ACT_part1_v2.pdf
- European Union. (2023). *European Union: Aims and Values*. Retrieved from Europa: https://european-union.europa.eu/principles-countries-history/principles-and-values/aims-and-values_en
- Foster, L., & Woodthorpe, K. (2012). A golden silence? acts of remembrance and commemoration at U.K. football games. *Journal of Sport and Social Issues*, 36(1), 50–67.



- doi:<https://doi.org/10.1177/0193723511433866>
- García, B. (2007). UEFA and the European Union: From Confrontation to Co-operation? *J Contemporary European Research*, 3(3), 202–223. Retrieved from J Contemporary European Research: <https://aei.pitt.edu/7878/1/garcia-b-10i.pdf>
- Haas, E. (1980). Why Collaborate? Issue-Linkage and International Regimes. *World Politics*, 32(3), 357-405. doi:<https://doi.org/10.2307/2010109>
- Herbst, J. E. (2016). Forsaken Territories? The Emergence of Europe's Grey Zone and Western Policy. In D. S. (Eds.), *The Eastern Question: Russia, The West, and Europe's Grey Zone* (pp. 189–217). Center for Transatlantic Relations.
- Kalogiannidis, S., Chatzitheodoridis, F., Kalfas, D., Kontsas, S., & Toska, E. (2022). The Economic Impact of Russia's Ukraine Conflict on the EU Fuel Markets. *International Journal of Energy Economics and Policy*, 12(6), 37-49. doi:<https://doi.org/10.32479/ijeep.13493>
- Koremenos, B., Lipson, C., & Snidal, D. (2001). The Rational Design of International Institutions. *International Organization*, 55(4), 761-799. Retrieved from <https://www.jstor.org/stable/3078615>
- Krishnan, J. (2022). *5 Football Clubs Owned by Russian Oligarchs as Roman Abramovich Sets Precedent*. Retrieved from <https://www.mirror.co.uk/sport/football/news/abramovich-football-clubs-russian-owners-26383286>
- Kusumastuti, A., & Khoiron, A. (2019). *Metode Penelitian Kualitatif*. Semarang: Lembaga Pendidikan Sukarno Pressindo.
- McManus. (2017). *Turkey Finds Its European Connection through Football*. Retrieved from ft.com:www.ft.com/content/0021e62e-fbeb-11e5-8f41-df5bda8beb40
- McVitie, P. (2022). *Abramovich was Disqualified by Premier League but Chelsea Still Able to Play Matches*. Retrieved from [goal.com:https://www.goal.com/en/news/abramovich-disqualified-by-premier-league-but-chelsea-still-able-to-play-matches/blt90f8a7928687e053](https://www.goal.com/en/news/abramovich-disqualified-by-premier-league-but-chelsea-still-able-to-play-matches/blt90f8a7928687e053)
- Muna, C., Prisant, G. F., Ernungtyas, N. F., Irwansyah, I., & Putri, S. A. (2020). Empati Dan Homofili Dalam Komunikasi Politik Pemenangan Pemilihan Legislatif. *Scriptura*, 9(2), 82–90. doi:<https://doi.org/10.9744/scriptura.9.2.82-90>
- Oikonomakis, L. (2018). Solidarity in Transition: The Case of Greece. In D. d. (Eds.), *Solidarity Mobilizations in the 'Refugee Crisis* (pp. 65-98). London: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Perdana, K. (2016). Football as a New Form of Political Communication for St. Pauli Football Club Supporters. *Dinamika Global*, 1(2), 44-57. doi:<https://doi.org/10.36859/jdg.v1i02.20>
- Perform, S. (2022). *French Football Federation President Calls for Russia to be Excluded from 2022 World Cup*. Retrieved from [as.com:https://en.as.com/en/2022/02/27/soccer/1645972573_112268.html](https://en.as.com/en/2022/02/27/soccer/1645972573_112268.html)
- Power, M. J., Widdop, P., Parnell, D., Carr, J., & Millar, S. R. (2020). Football and Politics: The Politics of Football. *Managing Sport and Leisure*, 25(1-2), 1-5. doi:<https://doi.org/10.1080/23750472.2020.1723437>



- Prohorovs, A. (2022). Russia's War in Ukraine: Consequences for European Countries' Businesses and Economies. *Journal of Risk and Financial Management*, 15(7), 1-15. doi:<https://doi.org/10.3390/jrfm15070295>
- Rahmadi. (2011). *Pengantar Metodologi Penelitian*. Banjarmasin: Antasari Press.
- Ratten, V. (2022). The Ukraine/Russia conflict: Geopolitical and international business strategies. *Thunderbird International Business Review*, 265-271. doi:<https://doi.org/10.1002/tie.22319>
- Real Madrid. (2022). *Real Madrid 3-1 FC Barcelona | #ElClásico HIGHLIGHTS | LaLiga 2022/23*. Retrieved from Youtube: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=kHPKJd1lrR4>
- Statistics and Data. (2022). *Most Popular Sports in the World – (1930/2020)*. Retrieved from statisticsanddata.org: <https://statisticsanddata.org/most-popular-sports-in-the-world/>
- Steiner, J., Ingle, S., & Hytner, D. (2022). *Chelsea Players Fearful for Future After UK Freezes Abramovich's Assets*. Retrieved from The Guardian: <https://www.theguardian.com/football/2022/mar/10/roman-abramovich-unable-to-sell-chelsea-after-uk-freezes-assets>
- Transfermarkt. (2024). *All about Market Values*. Retrieved from Transfermarkt: <https://www.transfermarkt.com/navigation/marktwerte>
- Triandafyllidou, A., & Gropas, R. (2022). *What is Europe?* London: Routledge.
- Turke, A. I. (2019). The NATO - EU Relations. In G. Zoltán, & A. M. (Eds.), *Regional and Bilateral Relations of the European Union* (pp. 1-279). Dialóg Campus.
- UEFA. (2022). *UEFA Statement*. Retrieved from UEFA: <https://www.uefa.com/insideuefa/m ediaservices/mediareleases/news/0272-14859cdcb35b-0839ba115681-1000--uefa-statement/>
- Valerevna, P. N., & Rakhmatovna, K. F. (2022). THE CONCEPT OF "POLITICAL DISCOURSE. *European Scholar Journal*, 3(3), 88-91. Retrieved from <https://scholarzest.com/index.php/esj/article/view/1988>
- Voloshin, G. (2014). *The European Union's Normative Power in Central Asia*. London: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Walter, J. D. (2022). *Mengapa Kawasan Donbas di Ukraina Begitu Penting Bagi Putin?* Retrieved from DW.com: <https://www.dw.com/id/mengapa-kawasan-donbas-di-ukraina-begitu-penting-bagi-vladimir-putin/a-61559600>
- Warrier, S. (2022). *No to War Message to be Displayed in La Liga Matches*. Retrieved from Mykhel.com: <https://www.mykhel.com/football/no-to-war-message-to-be-displayed-across-all-la-liga-matches-185002.html>
- Widiasa, R. (2018). Bingkai Identitas dalam Konflik Geopolitik: Intervensi Militer Rusia di Ukraina. *Intermestic: Journal of International Studies*, 3(1), 60-76.
- Zhang, Z., & Hock, O. C. (1996). Trade interdependence and direct foreign investment between ASEAN and China. *World Development*, 24(1), 155-170. doi:[https://doi.org/10.1016/0305-750X\(95\)00120-2](https://doi.org/10.1016/0305-750X(95)00120-2)

