

## UNIVERSITY OF GEORGIA

**NUMBER:** INTL 4676  
**TITLE:** Soccer & Politics

**INSTRUCTOR:** Dr. Cas Mudde ([mudde@uga.edu](mailto:mudde@uga.edu))  
**OFFICE:** IA Building 324  
**OFFICE HOURS:** Wednesdays, 9:30 – 11:30, online; sign up on Elc

**TERM:** Spring 2023  
**DATE & TIME:** Tu-Th, 9:35-10:50  
**ROOM:** Caldwell Hall 102  
**TWITTER:** #INTL4676 (@CasMudde)

### Introduction:

Soccer, or football as it is commonly called in outside of the United States, is the only truly global sports. It has an estimated 4 billion supporters, which means that more than half of the world population is a soccer fan! Moreover, unlike the second-most sports in the world, cricket, soccer is the most popular sport in the vast majority of countries around the world. Even in the US, where it is still lagging behind the “Big Four” (football, baseball, basketball, hockey) in terms of revenue, soccer is the most-played sports by both girls *and* boys.

It is popular to argue that politics should be kept out of sports, but the reality is that politics and sports are always connected. Given the central place of soccer in societies around the world, it should come as no surprise that politics and soccer are closely connected too. Politics influences and reflects the context in which soccer operates but soccer can also affect politics. Hence, many politicians try to use soccer for their own political gain – from buying soccer teams to flaunting their (alleged) support for them.

In this course we will look at the intersection between soccer and politics from a global perspective. We will look at the politics *in* and *of* the sport, its clubs, and its fans. But we will also use soccer as a lens to look at important aspect of politics, such as activism, class, gender, nationalism, sexuality, and war. Because, as the famous Liverpool FC coach Bill Shankly used to say, “football is not a matter of life and death. It is much more important than that.”

### Readings:

We will use only one book in this course, which is non-fiction literature rather than an academic text. Although there are many versions of the book, which seem largely the same, I recommend that you buy this one.

**Simon Kuper, *Soccer against the Enemy: How the World's Most Popular Sport Starts and Fuels Revolutions and Keeps Dictators in Power*. New York: Bold Type Books, 2020, 3<sup>rd</sup> edition (SATE).**

In addition to this book, various other readings will be assigned to specific classes. These texts will be made available on ELC, well ahead of the relevant class.

I will also use a few episodes of my podcast [RADIKAAAL](#), which focuses on the radical aspects of music, politics, and sports, and is available for free on almost all podcast platforms.

### **Course objectives:**

- ★ To introduce student to the key intersections between soccer and politics, such as the use of soccer by politics and the political aspects of soccer.
- ★ To show that politics is not reduced to key institutions (e.g. parties, parliaments) but is all around us.
- ★ To better understand key concepts of politics (such as gender and nationalism).
- ★ To gain a more comprehensive understanding of politics.

### **Teaching Methodology:**

- ★ Short lectures
- ★ **Class discussions**
- ★ Documentaries and movies

### **Course Evaluation:**

- ★ Class participation (20%)
- ★ Club report (10%)
- ★ Midterm Exam (20%)
- ★ Qatar 2022 Paper (30%)
- ★ Final Exam (20%)

**Class participation (20%):** includes the preparation, i.e. the reading of and the reflecting on the compulsory readings for each class, and participation in discussion in the classroom – and, sometimes, online on the ELC course page. You are expected to regularly participate in the class discussions in an active, civil, positive, and well-informed manner.

There will be a few specific participation activities, including online reflections on the movies we will watch (on the ELC Discussion Board) and in-class group discussion of the key text of the course (SATE). These will be discussed in detail on January 12.

**Club report (10%):** you will write a short essay (max. 800 words) on the politics of a soccer club of your choice. While no academic sources are required, the use of them is strongly encouraged (if available). The deadline is **January 31, 11:59 PM**. You can email it to me.

**Midterm exam (20%):** the in-class midterm exam will test your knowledge of the key concepts, events, institutions, issues, and theories that have been covered in the course until the date of the exam (**February 28**). The midterm exam will include multiple choice and short answer questions.

**Qatar 2022 paper (30%):** you will write a research paper (max. 2,000 words) on the politicization of the 2022 Qatar World Cup in one particular country. You are expected to independently research the topic and use at least **two required readings** and (at least) **four additional academic sources**. You *may email* a 1-2 bullet point summary of your paper for feedback by March 30. The deadline for submission of the final version is **April 14**, by email (by noon).

**Final Exam (20%)**

You have an in-class final exam that will assess your knowledge of all the material discussed since the Midterm. The exam will consist of multiple choice and short-answer questions as well as an essay question. Date: **May 8, 8:00 AM**.

**Grading:**

Letter Grade	Points
A	93 – 100 points
A-	90 – 92 points
B+	87 – 89 points
B	83 – 86 points
B-	80 – 82 points
C+	77 – 79 points
C	73 – 76 points
C-	70 – 72 points
D+	67 – 69 points
D	63 – 66 points
D-	60 – 62 points
F	59 and below

### **Classroom Attendance and Activity**

Classroom attendance is not mandatory. **However**, there are various reasons why (regular) attendance is highly recommended. First, and foremost, students learn so much more when they come to class and participate in the class discussions. Second, participation is a significant part of your final grade and will be based *primarily* on your in-class performance (i.e. the quality and regularity of your contributions to the class discussion). Third, it is always easier to learn together rather than alone.

### **Some Specific Course Ground Rules**

**1. It is not my practice to give incompletes.** However, if there is suitable reason – subject to my approval and supported by appropriate written documentation – an exception to the “no incompletes” rule may be possible. With respect to these first ground rules, *if you have problems in completing assigned work, please let me know about it.*

**2. Laptops, tablets, phones, etc. are not allowed!** Be ready with pen and paper to make notes during the class. If you use any of these banned devices in class, you will be punished with a deduction of **10 points** of your *final grade!*

3. I do not expect that your views on and perceptions of the often controversial themes discussed in class are identical with those of your classmates or me, either now or at the completion of the course. This course is a place for the free (and perhaps even heated) exchange of ideas. Thus I expect you to **challenge viewpoints** that differ from your own, but I also expect you to **substantiate your arguments** on the basis of the readings, lectures and discussions.

4. If you need to use outside **reference works**, please consult Joel Krieger, et. al., *Oxford Companion to Politics of the World* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001) as a place to start for political terms or concepts – **do not use Webster or other dictionaries for political science definitions.** For outside research sources, please use Galileo. Please do **not** use the notoriously unreliable Wikipedia until or unless this source emphasizes accuracy as much as it does volume and speed.

5. If you believe that you should have received a better grade, please provide **an explanation** to me *in writing* and *within a week* of receiving the grade. I will then grade your *whole* exam/paper again and issue a “new” grade, which will be either the same, a higher, or a lower grade.

6. Please use proper etiquette when emailing me (see ELC course page). **Emails with questions that can be answered by reading the syllabus will not be answered.** Remember, I am a human being, and only work **Monday to Friday, 9-5** (excluding holidays). Hence, I will respond to your emails (only) during this period, irrespective when *you* send your email!

### **Academic Integrity**

As a University of Georgia student, you have agreed to abide by the University's academic honesty policy, "A Culture of Honesty," and the Student Honor Code. All academic work must meet the standards described in "A Culture of Honesty" found at: <http://www.uga.edu/honesty>. Lack of knowledge of the academic honesty policy is not a reasonable explanation for a violation. Questions related to course assignments and the academic honesty policy should be directed to the instructor.

### **ChatGPT**

Unauthorized use of artificial intelligence software or word mixing software to write your paper or disguise plagiarized work is considered unauthorized assistance in this course

### **Visual or Audio Recording**

In the absence of written authorization from the UGA Disability, students may **not** make a visual or audio recording of any aspect of this course. Students who have a recording accommodation agree in writing that they:

- Will use the records only for personal academic use during the specific course.
- Understand that faculty members have copyright interest in their class lectures and that they agree not to infringe on this right in any way.
- Understand that the faculty member and students in the class have privacy rights and agree not to violate those rights by using recordings for any reason other than their own personal study.
- Will not release, digitally upload, broadcast, transcribe, or otherwise share all or any part of the recordings. They also agree that they will not profit financially and will not allow others to benefit personally or financially from lecture recordings or other course materials.
- Will erase/delete all recordings at the end of the semester.
- Understand that violation of these terms may subject them to discipline under the Student Code of Conduct or subject them to liability under copyright laws.

### **Disability Statement**

UGA is committed to the success of all learners, and we strive to create an inclusive and accessible online environment. In collaboration with the [Disability Resource Center](#), we work with students who have documented disabilities to access reasonable accommodations and academic supports. For more information or to speak with a Disability coordinator, please call the Disability Resource Center at (706) 542-8719, TTY only phone (706) 542-8778.

### **Well-being, Mental Health, and Student Support**

If you or someone you know needs assistance, you are encouraged to contact Student Care & Outreach in the Division of Student Affairs at 706-542-7774 or visit <https://sco.uga.edu/>. They will help you navigate any difficult circumstances you may be facing by connecting you with the appropriate resources or services.

UGA has several resources to support your well-being and mental health: <https://well-being.uga.edu/>

Counseling and Psychiatric Services (CAPS) is your go-to, on-campus resource for emotional, social and behavioral-health support: <https://caps.uga.edu/>, TAO Online Support (<https://caps.uga.edu/tao/>), 24/7 support at 706-542-2273. For crisis support: <https://healthcenter.uga.edu/emergencies/>.

The University Health Center offers FREE workshops, classes, mentoring and health coaching led by licensed clinicians or health educators: <https://healthcenter.uga.edu/bewelluga/>

### **Other Important Resources for Students**

UGA has a vast array of resources to support students facing a variety of challenges. Please don't hesitate to come speak with me or contact these resources directly:

**Office of Student Care & Outreach** (coordinate assistance for students experiencing hardship/unforeseen circumstances) – 706-542-7774 or by email [sco@uga.edu](mailto:sco@uga.edu)

**Counseling and Psychiatric Services (CAPS)** - 706-542-2273 (during regular business hours) *After Hour Mental Health Crisis:* 706-542-2200 (UGA Police—ask to speak to the CAPS on-call clinician).

**Relationship and Sexual Violence Prevention** – 706-542-SAFE (Please note, faculty and staff are obligated to report any knowledge of sexual assault/relationship violence to UGA's Equal Opportunity Office. The advocates at RSVP can provide student confidentially).

### **Third-Party Software and FERPA:**

During this course you might have the opportunity to use public online services and/or software applications sometimes called third-party software such as a blog or wiki. While some of these are required assignments, you need **not** make any personally identifying information on a public site. Do not post or provide any private information about yourself or your classmates. Where appropriate you may use a pseudonym or nickname. Some written assignments posted publicly may require personal reflection/comments, but the assignments will not require you to disclose any personally identifiable/sensitive information. If you have any concerns about this, please contact your instructor.

### **Important Dates:**

January, 31	Deadline Club Report
February, 23	Library Visit
February, 28	Midterm Exam (in class)

March, 6-10	SPRING BREAK (no class)
March, 21	Watch Party (in the evening)
March, 23	NO CLASS
April, 11	Watch Party (in the evening)
April, 13	NO CLASS
April, 14	Deadline Qatar 2022 Paper
May, 8	Final Exam, 8:00 AM (in class)

**Finally:**

*THE COURSE SYLLABUS IS A GENERAL PLAN FOR THE COURSE; DEVIATIONS ANNOUNCED TO THE CLASS BY THE INSTRUCTOR MAY (AND MOST PROBABLY WILL) BE NECESSARY!*

## THEMATIC OUTLINE

### **1 – Introduction (1/12)**

*In this introductory class, we will discuss the intentions and outline of the course as well as our mutual expectations. We will also assess your knowledge of soccer, your favorite clubs, and the way you see the relationship between soccer and politics.*

#### Listening:

Simon Kuper (RADIKAL #51)

#### Suggested Listening:

CBC (2022) [“How the World Cup in Qatar Is Kicking Off a Conversation about ‘Sportswashing’”](#), 20 November.

### **2 – Three Discourses on Soccer (1/17)**

*No one doubts that soccer is important to society, but people do disagree on what its exact role in society is. The different discourses about the role of soccer in society also influence the way in which the relationship between soccer and politics is seen.*

#### Reading:

Bar-On, Tamir (2017) “Three Soccer Discourses”, *Soccer & Society*, 18(2-3), 188-203.

## **PART I – SOCCER AGAINST THE ENEMY (SATE)**

*In the next four classes we will read and discuss Simon Kuper’s “Soccer against the Enemy” (SATE) to start developing ideas on how soccer and politics can and do interact across the world.*

### **3 – Soccer against the Enemy I (1/19)**

#### Readings:

SATE, chapter 1-6.

### **4 – Soccer against the Enemy II (1/24)**

#### Readings:

SATE, chapter 7-12.

### **5 – Soccer against the Enemy III (1/26)**

#### Readings:

SATE, chapter 13-15.



## 6 – Soccer against the Enemy IV (1/31)

### Readings:

SATE, chapter 16-20.

## PART II – THEORIES & PERSPECTIVES

### 7 – Globalization (2/2)

*For decades the world has become more connected in terms of culture, economics, politics, and, of course, sports. This process of “globalization” obviously also affects the most popular sports on the globe, soccer. How has globalization affected soccer and can soccer tell us perhaps something about globalization?*

### Readings:

Croci, Osvaldo and Julian Ammirante (1999) “Soccer in the Age of Globalization”, *Peace Review*, 11(4), 499-504.

Kuper, Simon (2010) “Soccer Explains Nothing”, *Foreign Policy*, 21 July.

Waalkes, Scott (2017) “Does Soccer Explain the World or Does the World Explain Soccer? Soccer and Globalization”, *Soccer & Society*, 18(2-3), 166-180.

### 8 – Political Lessons from the Southern Cone (2/7)

*It is often said that, in Latin America, soccer is (like) a religion. When we see scenes from stadiums or streets in Argentina and Brazil, for example, we see the extraordinary passion the fans have for their club and national teams. The country that achieved some of the first global successes in soccer and has played a major role in the globalization of soccer is Uruguay, however.*

### Guest lecture: Kirk Bowman (Georgia Tech)

### Reading:

Bowman, Kirk (2014) “Global Lessons from the Beautiful Game”, in Kirk Bowman and Filipe Arocena (eds.), *Lessons from Latin America: Innovations in Politics, Culture, and Development*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 157-179.

## PART III – SOCCER & IDENTITY

### 9 – Gender (2/9)

*In most of the world, during most of the time, soccer has been (seen as) a masculine sport, to be played exclusively by boys and men. This is particularly the case for professional soccer. To paraphrase Abraham Lincoln’s most famous line from the*

*Gettysburg Address, soccer is a sport of men, by men, and for men. But is it? How does gender effect soccer?*

Reading:

Caudwell, Jayne (2011) “Gender, Feminism, and Football Studies”, *Soccer & Society*, 12(3), 330-344.

Eskandari, Zahra Termesh (2022) “We Support Football in Our Heart:’ Female Football Fandom in Iran”, *Soccer & Society*, 23(3), 258-270.

Pope, Stacey (2012) “‘The Love of My Life’: The Meaning and Importance of Sport for Female Fans”, *Journal of Sport and Social Issues*, 37(2), 176-195.

Suggested Viewing:

*Offside* (IR, 2006), 1h 33m.

**10 – Women Soccer (2/14)**

*Most of the time, when people talk about soccer, they really mean “men soccer”. Even in the US, one of the few countries where women soccer outshines men soccer, it is much more common to speak of “women soccer” than “men soccer”. How has women soccer developed and what are its (continuing) challenges?*

Reading:

Cox, Barbara and Shona Thompson (2003) “From Heydays to Struggles: Women’s Soccer in New Zealand”, *Soccer & Society*, 4(2-3), 205-224.

Valenti, Maurizio, Qi Peng and Claudio Rocha (2021) “Integration Between Women’s and Men’s Football Clubs: A Comparison Between Brazil, China and Italy”, *International Journal of Sport Policy and Politics*, 13(2), 321-339.

ESPN (2020) “USWNT Lawsuit versus U.S. Soccer Explained: Defining the Pay Gaps, What’s at Stake for Both Sides”, [ESPN](#), 3 June.

Suggested Listening:

Tessel Middag (RADIKAAAL #73)

**11 – Race and (Anti-)Racism (2/16)**

*In the 1960s, one of the most famous soccer players in lily-white Europe was the Portuguese striker Eusébio. The “Black Pearl” was just the first of a long line of non-white players who would become soccer stars in majority-white countries. How does race and racism feature in soccer?*

Reading:

Dixon, Kevin, Jacqueline Lowes and Tom Gibbons (2016), “Show Racism the Red Card: Potential Barriers to the Effective Implementation of the Anti-Racist Message”, *Soccer & Society*, 17(1), 140-154.

Kassimeris, Christos, Stefan Lawrence and Magdalini Pipini (2022) “Racism in Football”, *Soccer & Society*, 23(8), 824-833.

Moran, Richie (2000) “Racism in Football: A Victim’s Perspective”, *Soccer & Society*, 1(1), 190-200.

## **12 – Sexuality (2/21)**

*Although gender and sexuality are closely connected, they are different phenomena in theory and practice. Just as soccer is traditionally seen as masculine, it also has always been strongly heteronormative. Is homophobia still widespread on the terraces? Is there a difference in this respect between men and women soccer?*

### Readings:

Dos Anjos, Luiza Agular and Silvio Ricardo da Silva (2022) “‘A Different Fan Group’: The Performance of a Brazilian Gay Organized Fan Group”, *Soccer & Society*, 23(7), 771-783.

Skogvang, Bente Ovedie and Kari Fasting (2013) “Football and Sexualities in Norway”, *Soccer & Society*, 14(6), 872-886.

## **13 – Doing Library Research (2/23)**

*You will be visiting Elizabeth White ([elizabethwhite@uga.edu](mailto:elizabethwhite@uga.edu)) in the Main Library, where she will introduce you to the best ways to make optimal use of the excellent library resources that UGA has.*

## **14 – MIDTERM EXAM (2/28)**

## **15 – Hooligans & Ultras (3/2)**

*Although violence has always been part of soccer, as it has been of society, it has become a key element of the public image of soccer since the late 1970s, when the so-called “hooligan” became the obsession of (tabloid) media and (right-wing) politicians. In more recent times, the term “ultra” has become more widely used, including by fans themselves. What are “hooligans” and “ultras” and what is their relationship to soccer and to violence?*

### Reading:

Spaaij, Ramón (2008) “Men Like Us, Boys Like Them: Violence, Masculinity, and Collective Identity in Football Hooliganism”, *Journal of Sport & Social Issues*, 32(2), 369-392.

### Listening:

James Montague (RADIKAAL #1)

**SPRING BREAK – MARCH 6-10**

### **16 – Nations and Nationalism (3/14)**

*Given the importance of soccer and the organization of tournaments based on “nationality” (or better: statehood), like the World Cup, it should come as no surprise that nationalism and soccer are closely connected. But the relationship does not only play out in national teams. Some club teams also have strong “national” connotations.*

Guest Lecture: Peter O’Neill (UGA)

#### Readings:

Duer, Glenn M.E. (2017) “Civic Integration and Ethnic Segregation? Models of Ethnic and Civic Nationalism in Club Football/Soccer”, *Soccer & Society*, 18(2-3), 204-217.  
Hassan, David (2002) “A People Apart: Soccer, Identity and Irish Nationalists in Northern Ireland”, *Soccer & Society*, 3(3), 65-83.

### **17 – Multiculturalism (3/16)**

*As soccer is a representation of society, multicultural societies have multicultural soccer teams. In fact, in many countries soccer was, and still is, much more visibly multicultural than other sections of society. This creates challenges and opportunities.*

#### Readings:

Krasnoff, Lindsay Sarah (2017) “Devolution of *Les Bleus* as a Symbol of a Multicultural French History”, *Soccer & Society*, 18(2-3), 311-319.  
Metzger, Stefan and Özgür Özvatan (2021) “Games of Belonging: Football, Boundaries and Politics between Germany and Turkey”, *Nationalities Papers*, 48(4), 737-751.

### **18 – WATCH PARTY (3/21) – IN THE EVENING!**

We will watch a documentary about the French national men soccer team, known as Les Bleus (The Blues), which relates the teams successes and setbacks to (similar) developments in French society.

Movie: *Les Bleus: un autre histoire de France, 1996-2016* (F, 2016), 1h 44m.

### **19 – NO CLASS (3/23)**

*Because we will have a longer “watch party” on Tuesday, in the evening, we will not have class on Thursday.*

## **PART IV – DEMOCRACY & AUTOCRACY**

### **20 – Authoritarianism (3/28)**

*Many authoritarian regimes have a particular interest in sports for ideological or political reasons. This applied to the totalitarian regimes of the 20<sup>th</sup> century but also to contemporary authoritarian leaders and regimes. Some leaders, like Recep Erdogan in Turkey and Viktor Orbán in Hungary, have a particular interest in soccer, making the sport a particular space for politics.*

[Guest lecture: Dilara Hekimci-Adak \(Florida International University\)](#)

Reading:

Irak, Daghan (2017) “Istanbul United: Football Fans Entering the ‘Political Field’”, in Isabel David and Kumru F. Toktamis (eds.), ‘Everywhere Taksim:’ Sowing the Seed of a New Turkey at Gezi. Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 137-151.

Recommended Viewing: *Istanbul United* (TR, 2014), 1h 25m

### **21 – SOCCERCON (3/30)**

On March 29 and 30, the [Atlanta Conference on Soccer & Innovation](#) will take place at the campus of Georgia Tech. The conference examines the wide range of innovations in soccer and the associated power dynamics. Students that are interested can attend – obviously, this class is voluntary!

### **22 – Democracy (4/4)**

*As the most popular sports in the world, soccer can be connected to almost every aspect of life and politics, including both democracy and autocracy. Soccer stadiums often function as political spaces, in which supporters can criticize or support political actors and regimes.*

Reading:

Butterworth, Michael L. (2007) “The Politics of the Pitch: Claiming and Contesting Democracy Through the Iraqi National Soccer Team”, *Communication and Critical/Cultural Studies*, 4(2), 184-203.

Dennis, Mike and Jonathan Grix (2010) “Behind the Iron Curtain: Football as a Site of Contestation in the East German Sports ‘Miracle’”, *Sports in History*, 30(3), 447-474.

### **23 – Political Protest (4/6)**

*As a public space where often thousands of people come together, sharing an identity, soccer stadiums are important venues of protest, both soccer- and politics-related. Moreover, (ultra) soccer fans can play an important role in political protests, bringing their experience and expertise in confronting the police in and around stadiums to the streets.*

Reading:

Dorsey, James (2013) “Soccer: A Middle East and North African Battlefield”, in Susan Dun, Mo’tasem Kalaji and Marion Stell (eds.), *It’s How the Game is Played, Perspectives on the Studies of Sports*. inter-Disciplinary Press.

Kossakowski, Radosław, Tomasz Slendak and Dominik Antonowicz (2018) “Polish Ultras in the Post-Socialist Transformation”, *Sport in Society*, 21(6), 854-869.

## **24 – Colombia (4/11)**

*For many decades, the South American country of Colombia has been ripped apart by two, interrelated phenomena: civil war and drugs. Between drug dealers, Marxist guerrillas, the official military, and right-wing paramilitary, the Colombia population was caught in an orgy of violence. Every aspect of society was affected, also soccer.*

### Readings:

Duarte Bajiña, Ricardo (2017) “Transforming Soccer to Achieve Solidarity: ‘Golombia’ in Colombia”, *Soccer & Society*, 18(2-3), 368-373.

Sabbagh Fajardo, Alfredo and Toby Miller (2017) “The Absence and Presence of State Militarism: Violence, Football, Narcos, and Colombia”, in Michael L. Butterworth (ed.), *Sport and Militarism: Contemporary Global Perspectives*. London: Routledge, 95-112.

Watson, Peter J. (2020) “No Place for a Left-Winger: The Historical Relationship Between Football and the FARC in Colombia”, *Journal of War & Culture Studies*, 13(4), 402-423.

## **WATCH PARTY – IN THE EVENING!**

Movie: *The Two Escobars* (COL, 2010), 1h 43m

## **25 – NO CLASS (4/13)**

Because we will watch a movie this week, outside of regular class hours, we will not have class on this day.

## **PART IV – INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS**

## **26 – Diplomacy (4/18)**

*Given the international character of sports, and its popularity, it makes sense that sports in general, and soccer in particular, can be used as a form of “diplomacy” by states. This is particularly the case with big international events, like the men soccer world cups.*

### Reading:

Ndlovu, Sifiso Mxolisi (2010) “Sports as Cultural Diplomacy: The 2010 FIFA World Cup in South Africa’s Foreign Policy”, *Soccer & Society*, 11(1-2), 144-153.

Desai, Ashwin and Goolam Vahed (2010) “World Cup 2010: Africa’s Turn or the Turn on Africa?”, *Soccer & Society*, 11(1-2), 154-167.

Ganji, Sarath K. (2022) “How Qatar Became a World Leader in Sportswashing”, [\*Journal of Democracy\*](#), November.

### **27 – Soft Power (4/20)**

*As soon as soccer became professional, it became a business, albeit a particular one. In the last few decades revenue has exploded and soccer has become a multi-billion economy. This is in part because of the massive financial injections by states and state-controlled companies, from Azerbaijan (e.g. Atletico Madrid) to the United Arab Emirates (e.g. Manchester City). Why do states invest so much money in soccer teams in other countries and are these good investments?*

#### Readings:

Brannagan, Paul Michael and Richard Giulianotti (2017) “Soft Power and Soft Disempowerment: Qatar, Global Sport and Football’s 2022 World Cup Finals”, in Jonathan Grix (ed.), *Leveraging Mega-Event Legacies*. London: Routledge.

Krzyzaniak, John S. (2018) “The Soft Power Strategy of Soccer Sponsorships”, *Soccer & Society*, 19(4), 498-515.

### **28 – Soccer in the US: Still “American Exceptionalism”? (4/25)**

After several failed attempts, professional soccer has finally established itself in the US in the form of the MLS – and, at a more modest level, the NWSL. Although it is still common to hear that soccer is a minor sport in the country, or even that it is “un-American”, both inside and outside of the US, the issue of “American exceptionalism” is getting increasingly complex.

#### Readings:

Reese, Derek (2022), “US Soccer History: 150 Years and Counting”, [\*World Soccer Talk\*](#), 28 November.

Markovits, Andrei S. and Steven L. Hellerman (2003) “Women’s Soccer in the United States: Yet Another American ‘Exceptionalism’”, *Soccer & Society*, 4(2-3), 14-29

Collet, Christian (2017) “Soccer, Politics, and the American Public: Still ‘Exceptional’?”, *Soccer & Society*, 18(2-3), 348-367.

### **29 – Can Soccer Be Saved from Itself? (4/27)**

*Although soccer has become a multi-billion industry, with some of the highest-paid athletes in the world, criticism of the sport, and its highest organizing body FIFA, has continued to swell as well. So-called “corporate football” might have made clubs from Manchester popular in Asia, but it is also created opposition movements within its traditional heartlands, like the “punk football” club FC United of Manchester. Is soccer thriving or dying?*

Viewing (in class): [Punk Football: The FC United of Manchester](#), 2013, 35 min.

Readings:

Eagleton, Tom (2010) "Football: A Dear Friend to Capitalism", [The Guardian](#), 15 June.

Welsh, John (2022) "The European Soccer League Debacle: Why Regulation of Corporate Football Is Essential", *Soccer & Society*, forthcoming.