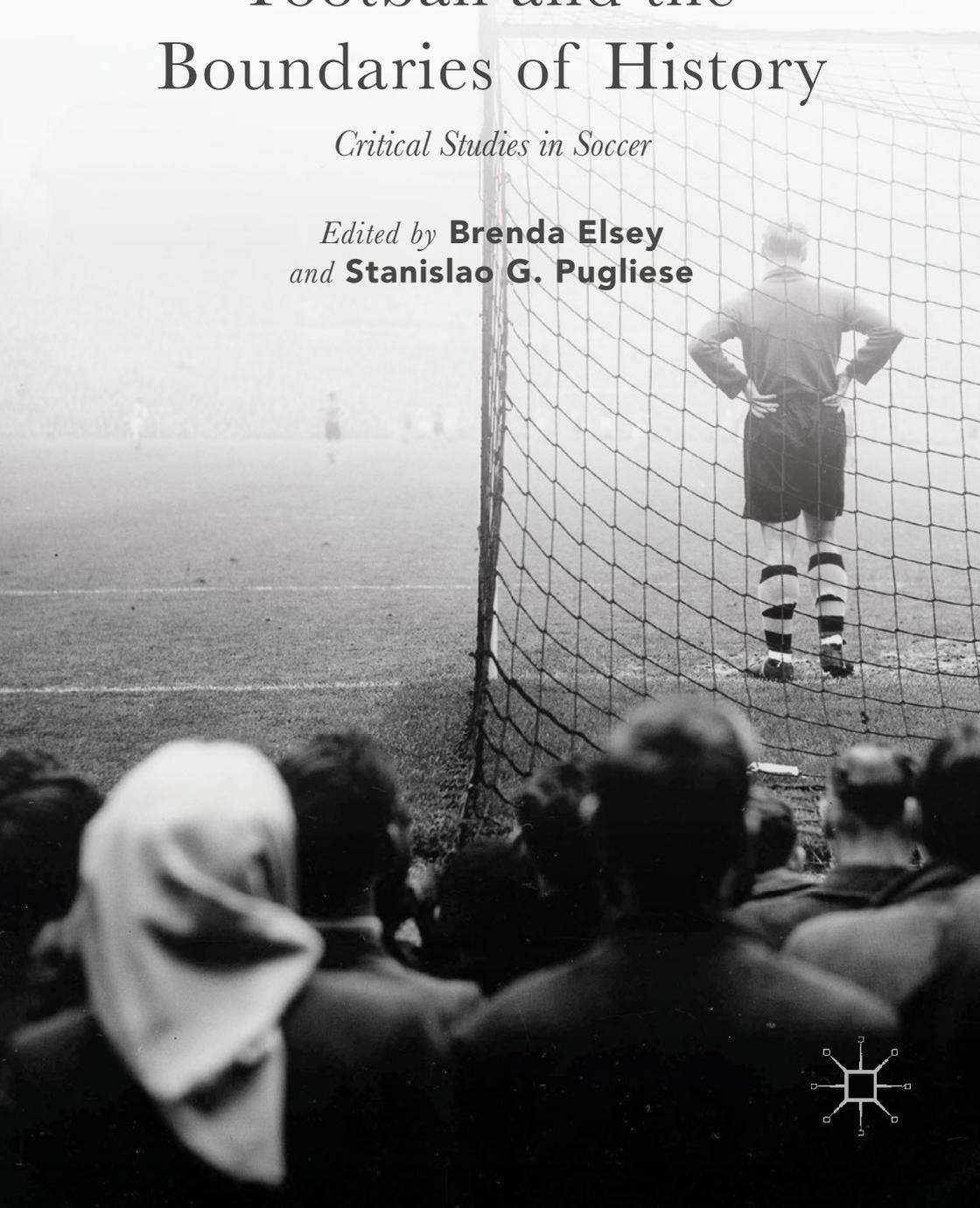


Football and the Boundaries of History

Critical Studies in Soccer

Edited by **Brenda Elsey**
and **Stanislao G. Pugliese**



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Brenda Elsey • Stanislao G. Pugliese
Editors

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PREFACE

THE BALL IS ROUND

This collection of 17 essays grew out of an unprecedented three-day international conference, “Soccer as the Beautiful Game: Football’s Artistry, Identity and Politics,” which took place in April 2014 at Hofstra University in anticipation of the World Cup.¹

The idea for the conference emerged from the teaching and scholarly research of Brenda Elsey and the personal passion of Stanislao Pugliese, a long-suffering Napoli fan.² As part of this gathering we presented a Doctorate of Humane Letters, *honoris causa*, to football legend Pelé.

As we prepare to submit this manuscript for publication, the world of football is in turmoil. The international governing body, FIFA (International Federation of Association Football), is wracked by deeply entrenched corruption, most notably the awarding of World Cup bids to Russia (2018) and Qatar (2022). After the arrest of 14 FIFA officials at the Hotel Baur au Lac in Zurich in May 2015, 27 officials from CONCACAF (The Confederation of North, Central America and Caribbean Association Football) and CONMEBOL (the South American Football Confederation) were arrested in late November. Tellingly, it was the US Department of Justice under Attorney General Loretta Lynch that carried out the investigation and arrests. Embattled FIFA president Sepp Blatter eventually resigned, but his presence hangs as an ominous shadow over the game. New FIFA president, Gianni Infantino has promised to bring reform and transparency to the game. He certainly has a monumental task before him. Betting and match fixing—from Italy to Indonesia—continue to plague the sport. Unprecedented sums of money from television deals and foreign billionaires

have created top-heavy leagues in England, France, Spain and Italy. In the United States, controversy swirls even as the US Women's National Team won the 2014 World Cup: the team rightfully complained of having to play on harsh artificial turf (which the USMNT doesn't have to do) and unequal pay compared with the Men's National Team. International top scorer Abby Wambach retired (with a critique of USMNT coach Jürgen Klinsmann) and was invited to Zurich to take part in FIFA's belated reform efforts.

Yet we are still inevitably and invariably drawn to the game. Whether we are scholars studying the semiotics of soccer or working-class fans enjoying a pint and banter before a game at our local pub, or tavern, or tapas joint, the game beckons. The Uruguayan journalist Eduardo Galeano captured the yearning of all football fans when he wrote of us, "I go about the world, hand outstretched, and in stadiums I plead: 'A pretty move, for the love of God.'"³

German football manager Sepp Herberger is famous for having led the 1954 West German national team to victory over the favored Hungarians in the so-called "Miracle of Bern." When asked by a journalist about the intricacies of the game, he judiciously responded by saying that only two things were incontrovertibly true: "The ball is round. The game lasts 90 minutes. This much is fact. Everything else is theory."⁴ This scornful dismissal missed two critical dimensions of football: its situated-ness in the matrix of politics, economics and ideology; and its extraordinary, even subliminal beauty. As David Goldblatt insightfully notes, "Herberger expresses the virtual autistic refusal of the football world to see its own enmeshment with the social institutions and ideas of its day: its resistance to seeing the game explained by anything other than its own internal rules of chance; its meaning and significance restricted to its own protected times and spaces."⁵ Galeano too remarked on "An astonishing void: official history ignores football. Contemporary history texts fail to mention it, even in passing, in countries where it has been and continues to be a primordial symbol of collective memory."⁶

This collection of essays, instead, effectively addresses the myriad ways football acts a prism for the modern and contemporary world. At the same time, we can nod with understanding at the insight that "soccer is the athletic equivalent of stream-of-consciousness writing, and its greatest artists practically scribbled *Finnegans Wake* in the sod with their cleats."⁷

In Italy, "la palla è rotunda"—the ball is round—is a common expression, heard not just at the stadium, but also in the streets, at school and at home. But in Italian the phrase means the opposite of what Herberger meant. For Italians, the roundness of the ball is indicative of its wonderful malleability, the almost infinite permutations of the game, and—in a larger

philosophical, metaphorical and metaphysical sense—the contingency and precariousness of life itself.

Stanislao G. Pugliese
New York, USA



Fig. P.1 Ancient Greek Episkyros, Attic Lekythos, 4th cent BC, National Archaeological Museum, Athens

NOTES

1. For the full program, see hofstra.edu/community/culctr/culctr_events_soccer_conf.html. Additional essays were published in a special edition of *Soccer & Society* 18, nos. 2–3, March–May 2017, edited by Dr. David Kilpatrick.
2. See Brenda Elsey, *Citizens and Sportsmen: Fútbol and Politics in Twentieth Century Chile* (Austin: University of Texas, 2011) and Stanislao G. Pugliese, “On Soccer and Suffering,” in *Monthly Review*, <http://mrzine.monthlyreview.org/2006/pugliese260706.html>
3. Eduardo Galeano, *Soccer in Sun and Shadow*. Revised edition (New York: Nation Book, 2013), 1.
4. See the outstanding history of the game by David Goldblatt, *The Ball is Round: A Global History of Soccer* (New York: Riverhead Books, 2008), xiii.
5. *Ibid.*, xvii.
6. Galeano, 243.
7. Reed Johnson, “A smaller world with Cup” *Los Angeles Times* blog, June 27, 2006.

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This is the first volume in a new collaborative effort in which Palgrave Macmillan will publish the proceedings from academic conferences at Hofstra University. As such, we wish to thank Farideh Koohi-Kamali at Palgrave Macmillan for ushering the agreement through to completion.

The conference itself was organized under the auspices of the Hofstra Cultural Center and its outstanding staff of Natalie Datlof, Athelene Collins, Carol Mallison, Jeannine Rinaldi and Amy Trotta. Institutional support came from former Provost Dr. Herman A. Berliner; current



Fig. A.1 Roger Weber/ThinkStock

Provost Dr. Gail Simmons; Dr. Bernard J. Firestone, Dean of HCLAS; and Melissa Connolly, VP of University Relations.

We would like to thank all those who granted permission to use images, especially Dr. Despina Ignatiadou, Archaeologist and Head Curator of the Sculpture Collection of the National Archaeological Museum in Athens, Greece, for one of the earliest known images of a soccer-like game, and Ana Carolina Fernandes of Rio de Janeiro, Brazil, for her photographs that grace the book.

Finally, we thank our generous colleagues who shared their work, our Hofstra University students whose enthusiasm in class inspires us, our fellow faculty members and our long-suffering families, who have to compete with football year-round.

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Introduction: Marking the Field

Brenda Elsey

Football, or soccer as it is called in the United States, is a global cultural practice. This volume argues that the study of football's history provides a unique opportunity to understand the human condition. Football has so pervaded language and popular anecdotes that it is difficult to write without using a metaphor or euphemism related to the sport. Critical scholarship on football has emerged from a wide variety of fields in the humanities, social sciences, business, law, and sport medicine. Research structured around football, therefore, is at once discrete and broad. Because of this paradox, the study of football provides fertile ground for interdisciplinary initiatives. This volume explores the disciplinary boundaries that are shifting "beneath our feet." Traditional disciplines in the humanities and social sciences have come to embrace diverse research methodologies. The increased scholarly attention to football over the past decade reflects both the startling popularity of the sport and the trends in historical scholarship that have been termed the "cultural," "interpretive," or "linguistic" turns. This volume uses new work on football to create a dialogue between history and other disciplines, including art criticism, philosophy, and political science. It also includes work on gender, sexuality, and ethnicity, which already blurs disciplinary fault lines.

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The essays included in this volume represent case studies from around the world. The globalization of popular culture presents a challenge for researchers who have been trained to specialize in a national context. Despite an increasing rhetorical commitment to transnationalism, most historical work is tied to national borders. There are practical and intellectual reasons for this, including the centralization of archives, the nationalization of organized sport, and state power. Although most chapters in this volume take up the nation-state as their unit of analysis, they all grapple with the reality of studying a sport that reflects and drives globalization. The standardized nature of football is a controlled variable that enables scholars to create comparisons of local, regional, and national case studies.

The ambivalent reaction of academics to sport scholarship until recently delayed the development of critical literature on football. Scholars have frequently taken their cues from intellectual memoirs of sport or critical biography.¹ These works explored the relationship of race and empire to sport. Scholars have also been inspired by journalists. Given the long tradition of sport coverage in newspapers, it should not be surprising that there is a rich journalistic literature on football. Lynne Truss's writing on gender and sport, for example, influenced the kinds of questions that scholars pose.² There are also books that manage to straddle both academic and popular audiences, including Eduardo Galeano's *Soccer in Sun and Shadows* and David Goldblatt's *The Ball is Round: A Global History of Soccer*.³

The manner in which football traveled the globe shaped its significance. Football diffused along the channels of the British Empire during the nineteenth century. Europeans brought the sport to Africa, Asia, and Latin America through educational institutions, commerce, and colonial government.⁴ Elites in the global South returned from travels in Europe with a passion for football. As quickly as the sport arrived, local athletes and clubs embraced and reshaped it. The language, the food, the celebrations, and aesthetics that surround the game reflect the rich variety of adaptations that football underwent. The structure of governance and the relationship with local politics differed dramatically across the world. The sporting press, central to the growing popularity of football, became a cornerstone of mass media by the 1920s and 1930s. Along with state enterprises—including the military, schools, and prisons—industrialists and managers played an important role in encouraging the growth of football in private institutions.⁵

At the same moment football was traversing the globe, major changes occurred in the universities of Europe and the United States.⁶ In the late nineteenth century, academics professionalized their disciplines. Historians shifted from legitimizing royal families to building the narratives of republican nation-states. When universities institutionalized history, they separated it from economics, political science, and sociology. Leopold von Ranke, a leading figure in this process, wanted to create an empirical basis for historical narrative. He emphasized the importance of primary sources and archival research. Ranke's notion of history as a descriptive telling of events as they happened came under fire, even in his lifetime. Karl Marx criticized Ranke's method for ignoring production, the basis of human civilization, and for lacking any method in deciding which evidence to consider.⁷ The act of representing, narrating, and interpreting history became a fertile ground for debate throughout the twentieth century.

By the early twentieth century, a chorus of critics charged that historians who had privileged the "great men" of the past denied agency to the masses and neglected to account for the importance of long-term structures. These voices became dominant by mid-century, reflecting the democratization of higher education in the post-World War II period and the influence of feminist, civil rights, and anti-colonial movements. The first football histories emerged from social histories, which sought to understand the continuities and changes in the lives of everyday people. Sociologists like Pierre Bourdieu pointed to the role of culture in reproducing power relations. "Toward a Sociology of Sport," written in 1978, provided a template for the research agendas that could be pursued through critical consideration of sport.⁸ The body as a key locus for the performance of domination and resistance was at the center of Bourdieu's concern to deepen our understanding of sport. The subconscious ways in which people internalize, enact, and resist power structures are performed in a public and routine way through sport. Feminist scholars have expanded upon this work to explore the multiple and fluid processes by which gender hierarchies operate within sport.⁹

The broader concern with sport and power weighs heavily on the study of football. Football, and culture more broadly, does not *reflect* history in any general or obvious way. If that were true then the dominance of players from the global South would reflect the power of their homelands in global affairs. Instead, football reflects elements of reality: reconfigured, twisted, and subjective. Much of the time, football has maintained the status quo in regard to perpetuating stereotypes, enriching elites, and in

the service of nationalism. However, it has also inspired alternatives to entrenched identities and inequitable civic organization. Indeed, that is a central part of its attraction for fans. Its global popularity has increased football's capacity to serve as a "field of dreams." This has not been lost on the world governing body, the Fédération Internationale de Football Association (FIFA), or multinational corporations who have used the notion of global language to sell products and garner lucrative contracts.

Because cultural historians study literary texts, theatrical performance, music and other creative production, they frequently dialogue with disciplines outside of mainstream history. William Sewell, an important figure in reconciling historical study with sociology and linguistics wrote,

System and practice are complementary concepts: each presupposes the other. To engage in cultural practice means to utilize existing cultural symbols to accomplish some end. The employment of a symbol can be expected to accomplish a particular goal only because the symbols have more or less determinate meanings—specified by their systematically structured relations to other symbols. Hence practice implies system. But it is equally true that the system has no existence apart from the succession of practices that instantiate, reproduce, or—most interestingly transform it...It's the relationship between system and practice—and at the heart of that is the social relationships, creativity, and agency.¹⁰

Symbolic meanings of culture cannot entirely determine what things are, as Sewell said, because the physical, the spatial, bodily integrity, all place different constraints and present different opportunities. Key to Sewell's reflections, and historical thinking, is the idea of change, relationships, and transformation. History has always been central to exploding ideas of static and bounded culture. Recent work has de-naturalized categories of gender, race, class, and nation by showing their contingency.

The increased importance of culture as a subject of study in the social sciences reflects its power in the politics, economy, and society of our era. This awareness has prompted exponential growth in sport history and has put historians in conversation with scholars from anthropology, literature, music, and philosophy, among other fields. Tools of research utilized in other disciplines have gained greater traction among historians. As historians took an interest in non-Western cultures, they relied on non-traditional archival research. Ethnography, visual analysis, and discursive analysis have become standard parts of historians' repertoire. Yet, these influences occurred largely without a contemplation of how they change,

and sometimes challenge, more traditional methods. Historians researching sport sought out sources beyond government archives, including personal scrapbooks, club documents, and popular magazines. Moreover, new modes of communicating historical analysis, including long form journalism, public exhibitions, video blogs, or social media have become important ways to disseminate research.¹¹

Underneath the popular refrain of football as a global culture lies the reality that the social significance of the sport is more different than alike in its locations. Economic and gender inequalities persist within and between national contexts. Football and footballers travel throughout the world, but as often as football is a mode of communication, it is a mode of miscommunication. The authors included in this anthology wrote original pieces that are sensitive to local case studies. In a variety of ways, they explore the relationship between history and art criticism, psychology, philosophy, political science, racial/ethnic studies, gender studies, sociology, and journalism. The pieces are grouped together in order to create a dialogue between case studies. The essays included in this volume bridge at least two disciplines, and often more. They frame their questions historically. Yet, many of their intellectual influences and methodological tools are grounded in traditions of other disciplines. They are grouped around the questions they seek to answer, including: How are identities built? What changes the relationship between state and civil society? What can the history of soccer tell us about equality in societies? Is there a visual language of football that shapes its social importance? What ways have subaltern groups found to contest the efforts to control them through popular culture? If it has served authoritarian governments and institutions, how might we restructure football to serve the ends of equality and inclusion?

The first chapters explore ways in which soccer crosses linguistic boundaries and has created a common visual vocabulary. This section analyzes how particular visual stories unfold through two different performances, the “dive” and the “head butt.” Historians rely heavily on textual evidence, but this section suggests ways to rethink the significance of the visual representation of identity. Although neither, “Drawing the Foul,” nor “From Galáctico to Head Butt,” is bounded by a nation, they primarily focus on England and France, respectively. Luke Healy examines the mechanics whereby photographs of dives contribute to visual culture beyond the pitch. He also suggests why the dive as a gesture takes on such importance in English popular culture. The article by Daniel Haxall, “From Galáctico

to *Head Butt: Representing Zidane in Contemporary Art*,” suggests ways of understanding one of football’s most iconic moments, when Zinedine Zidane head-butted an Italian defender in the waning minutes of his career. It would be impossible to understand the significance of Zidane’s head butt without taking into consideration his historic importance in representing the “good” North African immigrant. At the same time, it would be a partial analysis that did not account for the visual language of the gesture in that moment.

Recognizing the constitutive and oppressive categorizations of identity, scholars have analyzed how identities are constructed over time. Mining the past for change, historians have contributed to repudiating the notion of “natural” identities and their limits. The sections on gender, sexuality, race, and ethnicity demonstrate the ways in which soccer provides a unique lens on the experience of identities. Gender is a primary category of identity and one that structures power relations. Football serves as an important site for the production of different gender models. As an organized sport, football is fiercely segregated by gender. Kay Schiller’s essay analyzes one of the most prominent stars of the game, Franz Beckenbauer, in order to understand the redefinition of masculinity in post-World War II Germany, which shifted toward a more fluid sexual identity and away from military archetypes of masculine control. Schiller argues that Beckenbauer, as a global celebrity, contributed to the sport’s emergence as a commodified culture industry. Changes in masculinity occurred, not coincidentally, alongside feminist organization. When Jean Williams’s essay refutes the contemporary idea that women’s soccer began in the 1960s, she sheds light on the ways in which history is misappropriated to cultivate disinterest in women’s clubs. Williams provides a rich and nuanced picture of female athletes and the significance of soccer to their lives. As history can be used to confer legitimacy upon its subjects, Williams’s historical work is of pressing importance to challenging current media discourses.

Racism has been a problem for global football since its inception, whether because of formal or informal discrimination toward people of color. Football has been an important site for the construction, circulation, and contestation of racial ideologies. Through cartoons and match descriptions, the popular sport press played an important role in shaping racial discourse throughout the twentieth century. Roger Kittleson’s research on Brazil focuses on the life of famed footballer, Fausto dos Santos. At the moment when an important group of Brazilian intellectuals promoted Brazilian racial democracy through a positive reevaluation of the mulatto, Fausto dos Santos burst onto the scene as a gifted

Black footballer. Fausto challenged racial segregation in Brazil, but like other Black athletes, the struggle took a tremendous personal toll. Soccer in the United States, which has yet to attract the academic attention of other sports such as basketball and baseball, poses a very interesting case. Like Brazil, the United States is a post-slave society shaped by ongoing immigration. Jon Bohland's research focuses on the history of citizenship, immigration, and race on the US Men's National Soccer Team. He argues that dual national players face unfair characterization as "mercenaries" who ruin the presumed "team chemistry" of an ethnically homogenous national team. These arguments are based largely on classic nineteenth-century arguments regarding citizenship and national identity.

Governments of all stripes sought to capitalize on football's popularity. However, scholars have taken a particular interest in its role in authoritarian governments. Trained in journalism and psychology, respectively, Jim O'Brien and Kevin Simpson question how football is used to create complicity, whether from outsiders attempting to chastise the Nazi regime or from within the Spanish dictatorship. Simpson's article analyzes a propaganda film that featured a football match in the Nazi concentration camp of Terezín. The Nazi government hoped to harness the popularity of football to frame its propaganda piece, intended to satisfy the Danish government and International Red Cross, who had expressed concerns about the conditions in the camp. Jim O'Brien's essay analyzes the role of football in Spain during the twentieth century, with a particular interest in its significance during the Franco dictatorship. Always contested, Spanish nationalism appears as a fragile construct divided by deep regional loyalties. This article takes a journalistic approach to soccer's history with a focus on a long time period and big questions. Beginning in the 1920s and following the trajectory of the national team until today, O'Brien finds that the national squad has created moments of cohesion that masked the regional and political struggles. Without such a powerful state apparatus, many former colonial territories have found football to be a powerful vehicle in their quest for nationhood. Steve Menary examines the varying degrees of success of former colonies in working within FIFA's governance to gain recognition.

The sixth section explores the relationship between civil society and the state in three distinct cases: Brazil, Italy, and Sierra Leone. These relationships are central to understanding the nature of violence and pleasure in football participation and spectatorship. Each author uses the lens of football to analyze the interaction between the state, nationalism, and

the public. Bernardo Buarque traces a dramatic shift from traditional fan groups to the grassroots organizations, sometimes quite violent, during the Brazilian dictatorship. Buarque approaches the subject of fan identity and violence from a historical perspective, which is sorely needed to understand the social significance of these groups. In quite a different case, Tamba M'bayo demonstrates how the state's mismanagement and corruption in Sierra Leone has strangled its football clubs. This is striking given that one could assume it was the civil war (1991–2002) that hampered football's development. Instead, M'bayo argues, "Sierra Leone's regression in the sport has been due mainly to the misplaced priorities of government officials rather than structural damages resulting from the war." This has important implications for understanding the country today. Likewise, Rosario Forlenza's work cautions us against commonsense assumptions about the role of football. Placing the importance of football to Prime Minister Silvio Berlusconi's career in historical context, Forlenza analyzes the relationship between shipping magnate Achille Lauro and Napoli during the 1950s. Thus, it is historical in seeking out a comparison, not across space, but time. Forlenza uses Lauro's career as a lens on Italy's struggle with the challenges of the post-War period.

In "Political Science and International Relations," Mauricio Borrero and Aaron Horton explore two countries with declining football fortunes, the Soviet Union and North Korea, respectively. Despite its availability to authoritarian governments, football on the pitch could not provide the fairy tale stories that governments hoped it would. Through their study of the national football teams and their performance in international sport, Aaron Horton and Mauricio Borrero analyze how we can understand changing political goals and diplomatic efforts of two "closed" societies during the Cold War period. Because of their isolation from US governments and the Cold War media climate, many long-standing assumptions about the monolithic and unchanging nature of the post-World War II period have remained entrenched. Football created avenues for relationships beyond politics for two societies with heavy ideological surveillance.

In the final section, two philosophers use football as a lens to consider classical questions, such as the nature of irony and representation. Both are interested in contemporary governance of football, which has been riddled by corruption by the world governing body, FIFA. Historians typically shy away from making recommendations for the future. These essays make clear how a critical analysis of the past can help to inform policy. Jason

Burke Murphy calls on creative fans to embrace virtue, irony, and glory and insists the game be organized with these three ideas in mind. Walters argues that the governance of the top tier of elite men's professional soccer is today in an unprecedented state of disrepair, moral bankruptcy, and public disrepute such that hitherto unimaginable transformations have become possible. There are widespread instances of corruption, collusion, and vote buying among almost all of the bidding nations, although apparently not enough of it to be a problem by FIFA's reckoning. Ignoring or covering up corruption is emblematic of FIFA's general comportment as an institution, and also reflects identical dynamics that beset other major soccer governance bodies.

This anthology represents a sample of presentations given at a conference in New York in 2014; thus they bear the mark of a particular moment. On the cusp of the 2014 World Cup in Brazil, many of the scholars expressed deep concern over the massive public expenditures laid out for the tournament, the private security forces established, and the changes to civil laws demanded by the organizing committee. Their concerns were not unfounded. Moreover, the following year, on the eve of the 2015 Women's World Cup in Canada, FIFA officials were arrested as part of an investigation spearheaded by the US Department of Justice. FIFA President Sepp Blatter ambiguously announced his resignation in the vaguely distant future. In December 2015, another round of officials were arrested. At the very moment when football is enjoyed, unprecedented popularity and influence around the world we are reminded yet again of the complicated intersection of politics, history, and the world's most popular sport.

NOTES

1. For memoir see C. L. R. James, *Beyond a Boundary* (Durham: Duke University Press, 1993); Critical biographies include Mike Marqusee, *Redemption Song: Muhammad Ali and the Spirit of the Sixties* (London and New York: Verso, 2005); Susan Ware, *Game, Set, Match: Billie Jean King and the Revolution in Women's Sports* (Raleigh: University of North Carolina Press, 2011).
2. Lynne Truss, *Get Her Off the Pitch: How Sport Took Over My Life* (London: Fourth Estate, 2009).

3. Eduardo Galeano, *Soccer in Sun and Shadow*, revised and updated edition (New York: Nation Books, 2013). David Goldblatt, *The Ball is Round: A Global History of Soccer* (New York: Riverhead, 2008).
4. Peter Alegi, *African Soccerscapes: How a Continent Changed the World's Game* (Miami: Ohio University Press, 2010); Gregg Bocketti, *The Invention of the Beautiful Game: Football and the Making of Modern Brazil*, (Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 2016); Roger Kettle, *The Country of Football: Soccer and the Making of Modern Brazil* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2014); Joshua H. Nadel, *Fútbol!: Why Soccer Matters in Latin America* (Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 2014).
5. Pierre Bourdieu, "Sport and Social Class," *Social Science Information* 17 (1978): 819–840.
6. Immanuel Wallerstein, *Unthinking Social Science: The Limits of Nineteenth-Century Paradigms* (Cambridge, MA: Polity Press, 1991); Geoff Eley, *A Crooked Line: From Cultural History to a History of Society* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan, 2005); William Sewell, *Logics of History: Social Theory and Social Transformation* (Chicago: University of Chicago, 2005).
7. Paul Blackledge, *Reflections on the Marxist Theory of History* (Manchester: University of Manchester Press, 2006).
8. Pierre Bourdieu, "Program for a Sociology of Sport," *Sociology of Sport Journal*; Vol. 5 Issue 2, (1988): 153.
9. Holly Thorpe and Rebecca Olive, ed. "The Power, Politics, and Potential of Feminist Sports History: A Multi-Generational Dialogue," *Journal of Sport History* 39 (2012): 379–394; Jean Williams, *A Game for Rough Girls?: A History of Women's Football in Britain* (London: Routledge, 2003); *Ibid.*, *A Beautiful Game: International Perspectives on Women's Football* (London: Bloomsbury Academic, 2007).
10. William Sewell Jr., *Logics of History*, 164.
11. For example, see the Football Scholars Forum at <http://footballscholars.org/>

PART I

Art Criticism

