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The Role of Football In Nation-Building

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Abstract

The world's most popular sport, football, has been heavily overlooked for its potential in development. Recent innovations from famous world bodies such as the United Nations or FIFA have led to innovations in the field of sports and development. This thesis examines innovations that happened both before and concurrently with these UN and FIFA innovations but in the context of nation-building specifically in the context of Brazil, Argentina, and Cote d'Ivoire. By examining nation-building the different levels of society are scrutinized and to what extent that football has had an effect on society and in turn a nation. The study is conducted using a qualitative literature review of a variety of sources including books on the history of the sport in the aforementioned countries, academic articles and news sources. The interpretation of the theories in use in nation-building are used to create an understanding of the process of nation-building and football. The findings of the study present how the sport of football influenced nation-building, on numerous social levels and, on numerous occasions. On the smallest scale people that participate in football can become better included in society and increase their own agency. On the highest level the participants can change how both the nation's people and the world's people see that nation's people.

Keywords:

Football, Sports-in-Development, Brazil, Argentina, Cote d'Ivoire, Nation-building

Note for the reader: Football in this thesis is defined as Association Football also called Soccer in some parts of the world

List of Abbreviations

AAFL- Argentine Association Football League

AFA- Asociacion del Futbol Argentina

BBC- British Broadcasting Company

FIFA- Federation Internationale de Football Association

MYSA- Mathare Youth Sports Association

UEFA- Union of European Football Associations

UN- United Nations

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1. Introduction

“Some people believe football is a matter of life and death, I am very disappointed with that attitude. I can assure you it is much, much more important than that.”-attributed to Bill Shankly former Liverpool F.C. Manager. (Goldblatt, 2006)

Football, also known as soccer, is the world's most popular game, with the Federation Internationale de Football Association (FIFA) estimating that 270 million people are involved in the sport in a registered capacity (2007). From its popularity this thesis has seen the potential for football to play a role in a development setting. Recent innovations such as in 2005 when the United Nations recognizing sport as a fundamental right for all, and FIFA's promotion of football for all, have also acknowledged the role sports can play in development. A strong benefit of football in development is that, although the game is European in origin, it has been enjoyed and adapted throughout the world reducing the prevalence of the “Northern” bias in development on some geographical and social levels.

In recent years organizations focused on football and development have been created. The organizations have many different goals and ideology on how best to promote development. These organizations can range from FIFA funded modernization programs, to grassroots organizations built on individuals ability, and many more in between. This thesis however seeks to understand the role of football in a nation-building process. This is a process on a macro scale involving millions or hundreds of millions of individuals.

The Russian composer Dmitri Shostakovich said that *“football is the ballet of the masses.”* (Goodreads.com, 2015). The astuteness of this observation can be seen in the sport's working class origin and the accessibility of the sport for many people, plus the sports worldwide popularity. For these reasons the lack of academic research on almost any level of football and development is surprising. The research that has been produced is heavily focused on either the football clubs, or the national team, specifically in regards to results. Although, since the turn of the millennium, more research has been done on the topic of football and development, much of this is on how-to use sports and development, and not understanding the impact they have.

Another innovation regarding football and development in recent years is the idea of using football as a nation building tool. The idea of this is focused heavily on the Sub-Saharan African countries. Recent

achievements regarding football and the African relationship to football, such as hosting the FIFA World Cup in 2010, have reinforced this potential. However, football was used as a nation-building tool in Latin America before this. The evidence for this can be seen in some of the cultural icons in Latin America, and even the vernacular of football fans worldwide.

From a human geography perspective football can be seen on many levels. There are small scale projects and ideas such as citizenship values leading up to the medium sized perspectives such as community building, and then there are large scale perspectives such as nation building. These geographically connected people come together in support of national icons. In regards to this thesis the focus will be on the concept of nation-building and football use in that capacity.

1.1 Aims and Research Questions

The aim of this thesis is to examine football and its role in nation building. This is meant to be done by looking at what has been done with football and development, and how it has affect the social constructs of a nation or a nation's people.

The questions to guide the research are:

- How has the sport of football affect the process of nation building?
- Why has football in some places become so popular that the effect socially is noticeable?
- Does football give a nation something to get behind to unify the people?

1.2 Formulation of the Problem

“An astonishing void: official history ignores football, Contemporary history texts fail to mention it, even in passing...” (Galeano, 1995, p.200). For years also, the development community overlooked the potential of football and sports in general. This is despite the value and enjoyment many people the world over have for sports. Recent initiatives have begun to formally use sports in development. There are however differing ideas on the concept. Some of the research solely sees football as a tool for development, other research sees it as a development goal in itself. This thesis does not choose a side on that issue and just examines the issue as it is.

Nation-building is a concept that has an on and off again relationship within development. Sometimes it is on the radar of the development community, sometimes it has been set aside from the development

agenda (Hehir & Robinson, 2007). Recent world events such as the September 11th terrorist attacks in the United States have put the idea back on the agenda, because of the 'weak states' ability to harbor terrorists (Hehir & Robinson, 2007). However it would be fair to note that by nation-building being placed back on the agenda was because of an issue that happened to western countries. The need for nation-building in countries that are not harming the western powers has been clear for some time with ethnic conflicts and social issues prevalent.

1.3 Delimitation

The world of football is big, the sheer size of it limits the research. A global pastime this big provides many examples and much data and not all of that data can be examined. Football is not the most popular sport in some places, that does not mean that football and development doesn't have the potential to work as well in these regions although there is still potential just not for this research. For that reason more of the data that will be utilized comes from areas that football is more popular. Most data and research on football and development will be coming out of Latin America and Africa, specifically the research will focus on Brazil, Argentina and Cote d'Ivoire. However it is very difficult to not acknowledge some influence from other countries. For this reason they will be mentioned but not receive the examination that the other three do. This thesis also acknowledges that other events were happening at the same time that had an effect on the nation and that football itself is not the only factor, just the one that this thesis is examining.

2. Theoretical Framework

Two theories, Participant Development and Postmodern Modernization, are used in this thesis to guide and provide support to the research. The theories are utilized to help provide the understanding of how football and nation-building happened, why it happened in such a way and to understand what is still happening. The advantage of having two theories in use is that it provides the research with a broader view of the concept of nation-building with different perspectives. In addition feminism will be used as a concept in the theoretical positions.

2.1 Football and Participant Development

Early theories of development such as modernization were heavily focused on economic growth.

Recent trends have given rise to critics of this measurement, of development and they have proposed different ways of measuring development such as Amartya Sen's idea of measuring human development. Many of these ideas fall into a category labelled postmodern development. “*In simple terms, postmodernity involves moving away from an era dominated by notions of modernisation and modernity*” (Potter et al, 2008, p.121). One of the ideas is that the people are involved in their own development not the top-down approach that earlier theories championed (Potter et al, 2008).

“*Given the long hegemony of so-called 'top-down', Western, rational planning and development, increasing the involvement of people in their own development is seen by many as imperative*” (Potter et al, 2008, p.119). These new innovations have given more opportunities for sports in development programs (Levermore & Beacom, 2009). When put into the context of nation-building does it not make sense to have people participate in the development of their nation, otherwise how could there be solidarity among the people?

Sports by their very nature require participation, with focus on development expanding to postmodern development more NGOs and organizations are being created or reevaluated to include these new ideas (Coalter, 2009). However because of their recent creation very little research has been done on their impact and research of such a nature is lacking. Measuring the impact of these forms of development projects is difficult because there are less ways, which can also be more abstract, to measure human development as opposed to economic development (UNDP, 2015). The idea of measuring human development as opposed to economic development is also a relatively new concept in development. The United Nations created the Human Development Reports in 1990 to shed more light on this new approach (UNDP, 2015). However the vague nature of some of the indicators such as 'knowledge' can lead to problems in qualifying the measurement, especially in regards to sports programs (Levermore & Beacom, 2009).

One of the largest problems involved with participant development is measuring outcomes to prove that it is a workable approach. “The major methodological difficulties relating to measuring *any* outcomes of sports programmes, even in much more favorable circumstances are well documented” (Collins *et al.*, 1999; Coalter *et al.*, 2000; Coalter, 2007 cited in Coalter, 2009, Loc.1202). Programs that focus on economic modernization have a set way of being able to be measured which is focused on the

economic growth. Major difficulties in measuring or creating a measuring system for sports in development results are a major factor in the problems facing it in academic studies and gaining more acceptance in the development world. (Levermore & Beacom, 2009). These reasons make it difficult for participant development to be greatly accepted as a theory. However there are examples of participant development being used in development today that are being used as a theoretical framework to create ways to be able to see the outcomes of participant development.

Fred Coalter (2009) uses the example of the long running (since 1987) Mathare Youth Sports Association (MYSA) to illustrate that participant development has a role and that it can have measured outcomes. MYSA is a sports project in the slums of Nairobi Kenya that focuses on improvements in civil society instead of the traditional model of improving participation in sports (Coalter, 2009). The advantage of this project, besides its theoretical model, is that MYSA has a longevity that is lacking in many other sports development programs. This allows there to be more results from their more long term development goals as opposed to the projects and programs that were founded around the time (2000-2007) that the United Nations named 2005 the International Year of Sport and Physical Education. By having a long running program of this nature it does show the validity of participant development in sports.

Being able to use the results that the MYSA project produced it has become possible to see results from using sports and having people participate in their own development especially in regards to developing regions. Although MYSA receives funding assistance from abroad such as British charity Comic Relief and the Norwegian Agency for Development Cooperation (MYSA, 2015, Coalter, 2009) MYSA primarily uses its graduates as staff and role models, and at the begin of the project, in 1987, the participants were able to choose how to work on the project (MYSA, 2015). This encompasses two of the possible definitions of participatory development, according to the first it “*is involvement in people's development of themselves, their lives, their environment.*” (Mikkelsen, 2005, p.54) and the second “*fostering of a dialogue between the local people and the project...in order to obtain information on the local context and on social impacts.*” (Mikkelsen, 2005, p.54).

The advantage of this theory of development is in its long term effects, people are developed and can continue to develop encouraging others to do the same (Coalter, 2009). This process of creating role

models can also feed back in to the communities by giving the people participating a perspective that can relate back to themselves. Coalter (2009) points to other research on the importance of creating role models in this theory of development because of the ability it garners for people to show how someone similar to them can improve their lives and in some cases escape the poverty trap.

By taken cues from an ongoing and well respected project that uses sports in development as a way to successful include people in their own development the possibility arrises to prove that in the long run there are results. MYSA also uses a clear theoretical framework on how to best achieve its goals (Coalter, 2009). By taking an example that has been around for a suitable time so as to provide results it allows this thesis the opportunity to know what directions have been taking and how they have been used. This is especially important for the understanding of the concept and to allow a more supported base for the theories in use.

2.2 Postmodern-Modernization

The original idea of modernization has been accused of being an oversimplification (Brown, 2007). This theory has been a dominating force in the western idea of development for the last sixty years and even today organizations such as FIFA are championing such ideas or at least projects with their roots in the theory (FIFA Development Projects, 2015). The theory has also been criticized as a western form of thinking (Potter et al, 2008). However some have argued for a different modernization, a postmodern modernization if you will, where “*Self-consciously modern societies could distinguish themselves from the traditional societies they were replacing by applying human reason to the “problems” of personal and social development.*” (Gruneau, 1993, p.87). This interpretation of the theory is much more useful in football than the old interpretation of modernization theory.

One of the key issues with the old interpretation of modernization theory is the importance placed on urban areas, and infrastructure especially in relation to football infrastructure. The infrastructure generally associated with sports such as stadiums or parking lots are not those typically associated with those of development such as hospitals or schools. As Brazil recently learned it is not economically viable to build a brand new stadium in the jungle even if there is a city already there. These White Elephant stadiums aren't going to be bring in money (Kuper & Szymanski, 2014). In fact there won't even be much of a trickle down effect in the local economy from having stadiums or even hosting a

global event such as a World Cup despite arguments to the contrary such as those from FIFA. Brazil spent over \$15 billion to host the 2014 FIFA World Cup (FIFA, 2013) this was spent to refurbish existing or build new stadiums and to improve physical infrastructure such as public transport systems. All of this for a month long event. The Brazilian sports ministry argued that hosting the World Cup would generate \$70 billion dollars in their economy (Rapoza, 2011). According to FIFA (2014) they actually received \$7.2 billion. The main point here is that there is not a lot of money brought in to the economy in hosting sports even if the team is a permanent fixture in the community (Kuper & Szymanski, 2014). Economists Robert Baade and Victor Matheson (2011) argue that based off of their economic research sports at least those at professional or similar level (such as Olympic athletes) should be view as a mirror of economic development not a means to an end. The cost of the physical infrastructure is more productively used on more pressing issues of development than that of sports infrastructure. A contrast to a key feature of the old interpretation of modernization theory. This is why this thesis focuses on postmodern modernization.

“Sport has long been seen as a tool that has the ability to *transform, or give the perception of transformation, of backward societies into more modern civilized and unified ones*” (Levermore, 2009, loc.734). In today's vernacular it would be inappropriate to call somewhere backwards and it would be more acceptable to say traditional. Furthermore the unified part is still a problem in some nations. The famous example, at least in academia, of a nation's unification through sports is Nelson Mandela's use of the Rugby World Cup in 1994 in South Africa and the representing South African national team. This to some degree unified the people of a country recently out of apartheid behind a common element and to recognize people of different races as equal countrymen. Levermore and Beacom (2009), references Guttmann (1992) in that the idea of using sports to “civilize” people has been around a lot longer than before the colonial powers where using it, in fact there were “*attempts to export characteristics associated with ancient Hellenic culture through the early Olympic Games.*” (Levermore & Beacom, 2009, loc.410).

The idea of sports being used as a cultural development tool has been around for along time most of the concentration was on how to make 'backward or traditional' cultures more like those cultures exporting the sport. This doesn't leave the people being 'civilized' a lot of choice in the matter. This is also one of the criticisms of the old interpretation of modernization that it was very western biased (Potter et al,

2008). The interpretation in this thesis is that social relationships can become less based on traditional means of kinships and move to a larger scale such as a nation. This interpretation also allows the people involved to create the relationships how they see fit and create those relationships that work best for them.

With a game as simple as football there are numerous styles of play, instead of following the rigid formations of the colonizers or informal colonizers. The Brazilian and Argentinian people, especially those too poor or those that were socially excluded from being a member of a sporting club, took the game how they saw it and created their own style called 'creole football' (Galeano, 1995). Innovations like this is where the postmodern part of this theory is most at play. It allows the people to be involved in their own development and create something that can, if the people so choose, allow themselves to get behind it and support it as their own cultural or national identity. It can also include the people who are more considered to be on the bottom of 'top down' classic approach by giving them a say in their own development. This can reduce the risk of their being a voice-less majority who don't have the time, resources or desire to participate (Mikkelsen, 2005). As many states built on oppression of a majority found out its not good or even possible to keep the majority oppressed in the long run (Goldblatt, 2014).

The modernization aspect of these theories comes into effect by the people of the society reflecting on the past and making changes better suited to current situations. One of the American founders, Thomas Jefferson, argued a similar point in that the earth belongs to the living and that the preceding generation had no right to bind the following one (Jefferson, 1789). The argument is that societies change, they grow, they evolve and they should be allowed to choose how this process affects them. This could be a reaction to technology, new research, new ideas, or new cultural phenomenons that the people identify with. Instead of being bound to the traditional ideas of previous generations the people can modernize their society to adapt to new things.

2.3 Women in Football

Many people see sports as a man's world, In South Africa the ideal masculine figure is a rugby player, in Argentina and much of Latin America its the football player (Parrish & Nauright, 2013). However the universal definition of masculinity is a social construct, in the United States, where football is not

the most popular sport this left room for women to be involved in the sport and they did it quite well. The United States Women's National Team is credited with launching a “*milestone in the history of women's sports*” (FIFA, 2015) this was by winning the Women's World Cup on US soil and having the most spectators ever, to date, at a women's sporting event. Two of these women, Mia Hamm and Michelle Akers, were the only two women included on the FIFA 100 (FIFA, 2004).

Women's involvement in the sport has taken a large jump in the last three decades, with the Women's World Cup being founded in 1990, and professional teams being created, women are having more involvement in the sport of football. However in many places they are still excluded, this is why many programs, such as MYSA, have started to create programs for young women (Coalter, 2009). Coalter points to research done by Brady and Kahn (2002) that argues in terms of female empowerment that “*sports may be a catalyst for the transformation of social norms.*” (Coalter, 2009, loc. 1293). The idea being used is that by having young women be in a place, typically reserved for men, can create new thoughts on social normalities for women, instead of being the homemaker and mother they can be included in sports and more in society (Coalter, 2009).

Going back to the earlier issue of creating role models it would be difficult to start with none. However with technologies such as the internet and internet capable phones it would be possible for young women to have another woman as a role model in football. MYSA does have women graduates of its program as role models for those currently in it, although it wouldn't hurt that there are some very visible women involved in the sport of football today.

Women are currently the most visible group of people utilizing postmodern modernization. They themselves have to participate, in at least some capacity, to have others rethink their role in society. By bringing women into society it creates a more unified society because more people in the society are able to have a say.

2.4 Nation-Building as a Geographic Concept

One of the overall themes of this thesis is nation-building, a geographical construct. However more than just geography must be included when examining nation-building. There are more components than that to be able to create a strong nation. If there weren't it would just be as simple as drawing lines

on a map and calling it a nation. Many post-colonial states had something similar happen at independence and the importance of nation-building became apparent. For this reason this thesis goes in to other areas of study to examine geographical regions. Football as a cultural phenomenon can also be examined through a sub-section of human geography mainly cultural geography.

The definition of nation-building can be vague. The definition can be different from or interchanged with that of state building. For some literature, especially those written in North America the concepts of state building and nation building are used interchangeably. For the reason of transparency the definition of nation-building will be the creation of a shared national identity (Stephenson, 2005). The countries most in need of creating a national identity are 'weak states' (Hehir & Robinson, 2007). They identify those weak states as typically identified as of writing as those carved out by colonization, especially in Africa, and the Balkan states. For this thesis however, the countries that were carved out by colonialism including those in Latin America are the focus. Weak states “*are based on despotic power, that is, state officials centralize, or try to centralize, decision making rather than embed it in society.*” (Hehir & Robinson, 2007, p.4).

"Legitimate authority in modern national states is connected to popular rule, to majorities. Nation-building is the process through which these majorities are constructed." (Mylonas, 2012, p. 17). In the countries that were or are divided by ethnicities, race, religion, especially those where no thought was given in their creation, at least in terms of these divisions, the people fought for control of the country and if they gained it there could be repression among those divisions (Hehir & Robinson, 2007). In all three nations examined in this thesis events such as these did occur the most obvious occurrence being in Cote d'Ivoire where ethnic tensions lead to civil war (BBC, 2015).

3 Methodological Approach

3.1 Inductive Approach

For strengthening the transparency of the research it is important to show how the study was conducted. The thesis uses an inductive approach. “*With an inductive stance, theory is the outcome of research. In other words, the process of induction involves drawing generalizable inferences out of observations.*” (Bryman, 2008, p.11). The advantage of using an inductive approach is that this thesis will have the ability to examine football and nation-building without any preconceived notions. This

also allows the thesis to deduce the theories without succumbing to the researchers own biased knowledge.

The Epistemological base for the thesis will be Interpretivism. The main reason for this is the desire to understand the social phenomena not explain it (Bryman, 2008). However Bryman also points out that some definitions¹, allow both a co-existence of an explanation and an understanding “*but the crucial point is that the task of 'causal explanation' is undertaken with reference to the 'interpretive understanding of social action' rather than to external forces that have no meaning for those involved in that social action.*” (Bryman, 2008, p.15). I say this because I can think of a case in the research where both an explanation and the understanding are very similar. This thesis will place more importance on the understanding than the explaining. According to Bryman (2008) an interpretative approach also allows more flexibility in the research. This is advantageous because of it allows the ability of change. For example if a new issue or point of discussion where to be discovered the research can shift so as to provide the best possible research. Bryman (2008) also says that a sound base to a good research project is for the researcher to study something they have an interest in. I have an interest and knowledge in football as a sport, however, I have much less knowledge in football as a social action. My own knowledge allows me to know of the social action of football but not understand it. This also allows me the advantage of knowing where to start in the next step: a qualitative literature review.

3.2 Qualitative Literature Review

The research in this thesis will be using a Qualitative Literature Review. Bryman (2008) has a list of reason to do this the first is to know what has been done in previous research so that it may be read and analyzed for the purpose of knowing what has already been examined. The next reason is important in an inductive research plan and that is to know relevant theories and concepts. It is important for the research to also know what other research methods and strategies have been used in previous research. The next points are to identify significant controversies and inconsistencies. Finally “*are there any unanswered research questions in this area?*” (Bryman, 2008, p.81).

In regards to the last two points is where I found much information. One of the largest controversies is

¹ Bryman is referencing Max Weber and 'Verstehen' (Understanding in German)

simply; is football good for development? The example of hosting the FIFA Football World Cup and its cost of \$15 billion of public money for the Brazilian taxpayer (FIFA, 2013) points out that these large scale sporting projects are not cheap and can lead to White Elephants. The money spent is argued to be better spent on education and healthcare (Kuper & Szymanski, 2014). Another and one of the largest inconsistencies in how football and development are defined, is it a tool of development or a development form in its own right? Many of the organizations such as the UN that use football call it a tool, FIFA sees it as more than a tool. This thesis doesn't provide an answer to that, it just examines the problem. And lastly are there any unanswered research question? In my readings I found much on the cultural significance of football, a growing amount on its role as a development tool and some research on it being more than a tool. However I found very little on it's role in nation building. I found even less written in any academic papers.

The approach to the qualitative literature review used will be a narrative review. Bryman (2008) points to two main approaches; systematic and narrative. The reason that a narrative review was chosen for this study is the advantageous nature of its implantation in an inductive study (Bryman, 2008). This advantage is that a narrative approach is more flexible and able to change than a systematic review. This is especially useful when examining a topic as widespread as football because “*in the process of researching a topic, researchers may discover issues that they did not previously anticipate as likely to be important to their area of study.*” (Bryman, 2008, p.94).

3.3 Selection of Research Material

A wide variety of resources have been gathered to understand the research topic in the most clear and productive way. These resources include books that are educational and books that are meant to entertain although they provide a cultural understanding, also included are academic articles and news stories. The diversity of the resources chosen was to provide a broader understanding of football and to produce a comprehensive thesis. The books in both the categories of educational and entertainment were chosen because of their subject matter, or their author's reputation and in some cases both. The academic articles provide both theory and less biased research in to the subject. The news stories are included to provide content for events that recently transpired and have not had time to be entered in to academia, they also can provide different cultural representations of the sport, depending on where they are written from.

The books that have been defined as educational have a common theme of having authors that have an educational background, in the case of *Futebol Nation* the author David Goldblatt is a professor of sociology in England (Goldblatt, 2014). For *Soccernomics* one of the authors, Stefan Szymanski is a professor of sports management at the University of Michigan. The other author for *Soccernomics*, Simon Kuper describes himself as someone who writes “*about sport with an anthropologist eye*” (Financial Times, 2015). Kuper is a journalist currently with the Financial Times and has studied at Oxford and Harvard. Although these books are not strictly speaking academic texts they do have authors from academia. The books written to entertain such as Eduardo Galeano's *Football in Sun and Shadow (El futbol a sol y sombra)* (1995) are selected because they A.) offer a cultural understanding of the game and B.) are written by a more experienced writer who has the literary ability to convey the game's meaning. In the case of Eduardo Galeano, he as an author is known more for political books such as *Open Veins of Latin America (Las venas abierta de America Latina)*. However with *Soccer in Shadow in Sun* “*He provided the most widely celebrated reading of soccer as a game with wide ranging political implications*” (Dabashi, 2015, Al Jazeera). The goal of having the books included is that they can present a deeper background and history of the sport than just articles and news media.

The academic articles provide a more in depth view on football and development. The articles that focus most on development are mostly authored by Fred Colater, Roger Levermore and Aaron Beacom. There are two reasons for this, the first is their academic background and the second is their experience in sports and development related work. All of them were lectures on sports and development related topics in English Universities. Colater and Levermore have experience in the field and Beacom worked in sports before returning to academia (Levermore & Beacom, 2009). This provides a background for the thesis on what has already been done. A lot of what they focus on for empirical examples is football and development. However they also bring in others sports to their studies. Other academic articles provide material on the cultural and social aspects of the game.

The sources from the news outlets provide up to date information. The outlets that will provide most of the material are the more trustworthy ones such as the BBC, The Guardian and Al Jazeera. Although news outlets such as *The Daily Mail* offer much on football the quality of their articles is too heavily criticized to be used. FIFA and the continental confederations of football (Such as UEFA) are

considered to be in the category of news outlets. The reason for this is that, they provide press releases and data on football that is reported in the news and this thesis finds it more reliable to get material from the source. This also has the added benefit of allowing this thesis to examine both the primary data of the press release and what a journalist has written and be able to check the creditability of the journalist.

3.4 Trustworthiness

When doing qualitative research a factor that will strengthen the research greatly is trustworthiness. Establishing the trustworthiness factor in a qualitative research project has a much more complicated route as opposed to that in a quantitative research project. In support of establishing trustworthiness Bryman (2008) presents criteria to do just that. These four are credibility, transferability, dependability and confirmability (Bryman, 2008, p.377). In regards to the criteria of credibility, it should be noted that a key point is that there can be “*multiple accounts of social reality*” (Bryman, 2008, p.377). It would also be fair to note that in the vast world of football related material that there are quite a few social realities, however, this thesis, well acknowledging the broadness of the subject, has taken this in to consideration and confirmed its finding and its sources to the best of its ability. In regards to transferability it is met in regards to the background including the historical context of events their geographic settings and what is happening at the time of writing. Also included in the transferability is the delimitation of the study. This thesis acknowledges the unpopular dependability approach, which is also called the auditing approach (Bryman, 2008, p.378). This criteria is designed to ensure “*that complete records are kept if all phases of the research process...*” (Bryman, 2008, p.378). This thesis does for the sake of transparency try and do that. It has done this by condensing and then recording the research process taken as well as re-evaluating and rewriting sections when the need has arisen. The final criteria that Bryman presents is confirmability. “*Confirmability is concerned with ensuring that, while recognizing that complete objectivity is impossible in social research, the researcher can be shown to have acted in good faith...*” (Bryman, 2008, p.379). This is defined as not having personal values or theoretical preferences control the research. To combat such a problem this thesis had not developed the theoretical framework in advance. In regards to personal values this thesis tries to take a wide variety of arguments and materials in to the research process so that personal values are not leading the research.

3.5 Language of Research Material

The need for a discussion on language is limited. This is because almost all of the material is in my native language of English. However as some material has been translated, this does leave more room for error in regards to the translators ability. In regards to a few simple sentences being translated, especially those in Portuguese, I have the ability to do that myself but have also asked a native speaker to be sure that it is correct or that the meaning has not been misinterpreted. This is especially in regards to idioms and cultural sayings.

4. Historical Perspective, Background/Literature Review

“In futebol there is art, dignity, genius, bad luck, gods and demons, freedom and fate, flags hymns and tears, and above all the discovery that although Brazil is bad at a lot of things, it is good with the ball. It is a football champion, which is very important. After all it is better to be champion in samba, carnival and football than in war or the sale of rockets”
-Roberto DaMatta Brazilian Anthropologist (Goldblatt, 2014)

4.1 Historical Perspective of Football

The early history of association football is decidedly English based. Early history is not meant to mean kicking a round object around and there are a lot of opinions and theories on how that started and evolved into a sport (Goldblatt, 2006) Early history for football is considered to begin around the 1850s and end in the late 1890s or early 1900s. The early history of the modern game is recognized as coming from the British Isles (Goldblatt, 2006). This is when the first rules were written, the first tournaments were held, and where the sport we know today was being exported from. This exportation was first with British immigrants and schoolboys educated in England (Goldblatt 2006, Goldblatt 2014). This migration created an “informal empire” for the British in South American countries of which football is the most visible remnant (Brown, 2014, p.169).

This English influence can still be seen in club team names such as Newell's Old Boys in Rosario, Argentina or SC Corinthians in São Paulo Brazil (FIFA 2015, Goldblatt, 2014). Newell's Old Boys is named for its British emigrant founder Issac Newell well SC Corinthians of Brazil is named after the English club Corinthians FC. (FIFA 2015, Golblatt, 2014). The early teams were formed as clubs,

firstly as gathering points for British and then other migrants from different countries formed their own clubs (Goldblatt, 2014, Goldblatt, 2006). This led to elitism among the clubs that would turn away people of different nationalities. Eventually other clubs formed that were a mix expatriates such as SC Internacional of Brazil. Internacional was founded by three brothers who were Italian immigrants who were rejected from the other sporting clubs in the area. They clearly were not the only ones with this problem as “*The club attracted numerous immigrants who were looking to simply play football free from all the prejudices rife in Brazilian society at the time.*” (FIFA, Classic Club Internacional, 2015).

As can be seen, these clubs were heavily linked to the immigrant population and not to the native population. This was because at this time football was seen either as an English game or an elite game (Goldblatt, 2014). The elite members of society, beginning with those of English roots or ancestry and spreading to others of different European background, began to create their clubs to play football (Goldblatt, 2006 Goldblatt, 2014). This passion for the game started to affect more and more people.

4.2 Brazil and Football

In Brazil the time period of 1880-1910 is the end of the “Old Republic” the coffee boom has ended and more and more internal migration was happening (Goldblatt, 2014). Brazil in this era was a nation that wanted to build its image on European theories of race and eugenics (Goldblatt, 2014). This led to an exclusion of many citizens of that time, many of these citizens were former slaves. Others that were excluded were those of 'lesser European ancestry' such as Italians and many such people from the Mediterranean region of Europe (Goldblatt, 2014). This led to a very racially based class structure.

The lower to middle classes, heavily segregated by race, began to play the sport and adapted it to fit their own ways. Instead of the organized machine-like play of the British and elites, the locals created their own style of play called 'creole football.' (Galeano, 1995). This style gave the majority of the people their voice, they formed their own clubs on the outskirts of cities or played in parks or on streets it only took a desire to participate and something round to kick (Goldblatt, 2014, Galeano, 1995). The lessening of racial barriers was beginning in 1914 as the national team of Brazil played its first match and the team fielded a player named Arthur Friedenreich (Goldblatt, 2014). Friedenreich was the son of a German immigrant and a black woman. He was a mulatto and he was talented. He was able to be a member of his father's club and he could play the game how the common people played. Friedenreich

demonstrated “*that Brazil's racial divisions were not insurmountable and that talent and social class could trump, on occasion, skin tone.*” (Goldblatt, 2014, p.28). Despite this clear display of talent, the clubs attempted to remain elite and segregated institutions in which the clubs “could blackball members, [their] stadiums could have gates, but no one could stop people just playing” (Goldblatt, 2014, p.17). And that is where the true power of football lies.

Despite the continued success of mulatto and black football players there was still prevalent racism. One of the most common features of the game was amateurism. The players were not allowed to be paid. This feature let the more upper-class and financially secured players devote more of their time to playing, while the players of lower socio-economic backgrounds were only able to compete in their limited free time (Goldblatt, 2014). However, the growing crowds of people, who by this time had their own local teams made up of players of similar socio-economical backgrounds, didn't care and would pay to see their own teams (Goldblatt, 2014). These teams in turn would “*led to teams paying their squads to train and play.*” (Goldblatt, 2014, p.46) In both Sao Paulo and Rio the elite clubs scoffed at this as immoral referring to such paid players as mercenaries and gigolos (Goldblatt, 2014). Despite this some clubs continued to pay their players.

In 1924 the largely middle class Rio de Janeiro based Club de Regatas Vasco da Gama (Vasco da Gama) won the Rio state league. They did this by having a mix of players of different socio-economic backgrounds on their team (Goldblatt, 2014). The established clubs argued where angered by this because Vasco da Gama paid their players, and this was an act that was illegal at that time. Because of the founders own middle class background and most of the members of the club they and the community saw no reason not to pay. At this time they “*were not the only club in Rio prepared to field black players and pay them, but they were always the most likely to make it work*” (Goldblatt, 2014, p.47). The elite clubs were angered by what they claimed was payment for play, although Goldblatt suggestion it was more the shame of losing to people they saw as inferior, formed their own league and demanded that if Vasco da Gama were to join their new league they couldn't field their paid players, who were all black and workers, anymore. Vasco da Gama's president responded with what is now called the “*Historic Answer*” of no on the grounds of their players social and economic status (Vasco da Gama 2015, Goldblatt, 2014). The elite clubs felt the pinch in the next season when the crowds went to the league that Vasco da Gama was in. This action and the economic effects forced the elites clubs to

reconsidered this position. Several modifications, such as cards showing where the players went to school, were made on players all these modifications and rules changes were made in an attempt to exclude black and mulatto players, but Vasco da Gama had them beat at every turn (Goldblatt, 2014). The text of the 'Historic Answer' sits in Vasco da Gama's museum and just above the text is the sentence "*Sem o Vasco, o futebol brasileiro não teria conhecido Pelé*" translated this is: "Without Vasco, Brazilian football would not have known Pele." How race was thought of changed with the talents of players who were not the original mold of the football player.

This modernization of thought would lead to the nation of Brazil becoming synonymous with football and creating it as a pillar of Brazilian society. These clubs would go on to produce numerous world renowned players such as Pele, Rivelino, Roberto Carlos, Ronaldo (The chubby one, not Cristiano), Rivaldo, Ronaldinho, Kaka, Neymar, Marta and David Luiz among so many others. These players that, had they been alive at the beginning of Brazilian football would not have been allowed to play, are the inspiration for many young players the world over, such as a young Diego Maradona to Zlatan Ibrahimovic. The men's national team of Brazil has currently won a record five FIFA World Cups and is one of the things many people think of when they think of Brazil.

4.3 Argentina and Football

The Argentinian experience with football started earlier than in Brazil. The first recorded game in Argentina was in June 1867 (Goldblatt, 2006, p. 127). Eduardo Galeano in *Football in Sun and Shadow* describes the very early relationship between Argentines and football as "*a crazy man's game in the River Plate*" (Galeano, 1995, p.29). Specifically these crazy men were the British. In a way that was similar to Brazil, football trickled into Argentinian society. At first the British immigrants founded sports clubs that had football included or it was played at British schools in Argentina (Goldblatt, 2006). Football in Argentina went into a decline where many of the "*clubs from the 1880s soon vanished, but the game remained in schools, from which the most important teams emerged*" (Frydenberg, et al 2013). One of these schools teams is the aforementioned Newell's Old Boys which was founded by the graduates (hence Old Boys) of one of these English schools. Then in 1891 a league in Buenos Aires was formed, followed in 1893 by the still active Argentine Association Football League (AAFL) although it translated the name into Spanish becoming Asociación del Fútbol Argentina (AFA) by 1934 (Goldblatt, 2006). One of the largest differences that Argentina had in its

relationship to football than the Brazilians was that the AAFL went through many changes from the 1880s to 1910s which allowed the formation of “local clubs,” not British elite ones (Frydenberg, et al 2013). These local clubs in Argentina were able to be introduced at higher division levels to be able to satisfy the demands of the supporting population.

Another one of the advantages that the development of football in Argentina had was the geographical proximity that the clubs had. The largest clubs were focused mainly around Buenos Aires and to some degree Rosario which allowed the clubs in these cities to have their own city leagues but also to be able to play against each other (Goldblatt, 2006). These two cities, especially Buenos Aires, are very near to Uruguay and the Uruguayan capital of Montevideo allowing for early 'international' games to be played (Goldblatt, 2006). In a similar fashion to Brazil, the early history of football in Argentina is heavily dominated by English and Argentinian elites, however by the early 1900s “*Buenos Aires [had] over 300 clubs playing in numerous unofficial and ad hoc proletarian leagues outside the mainstream AFA organization*” (Goldblatt, 2006, p. 135).

The local residents were playing football, although they too had to form their own style of play, also a form of creole football. Creole football was started as a general term for when the lower classes play football, but it developed into something more (Goldblatt, 2006). Like the Brazilians the Argentinians mixed their own culture into their play. Eduardo Galeano says of this style “*the ball was strummed as if it were a guitar; a source of music*” (Galeano, 1995, p.30). If the Brazilians had Samba and Capoeira the Argentinians had Tango. The most famous player that truly embodies this style is the former Argentinian international Diego Maradona.

In 1978 Argentina hosted the World Cup. The government of Argentina was at that point a military dictatorship that had seized power from Isabel Peron two years earlier (Horowitz, 2014). The whole cup faced much controversy ranging from Johann Cruyff (The Dutch star and three time Ballon d'Or winner) refusing to participate, alleged to be because of the dictatorship, although he later stated his family were the victims of a kidnapping attempt in Europe, and he would not have been emotionally fit to play (Doyle, 2008), to Argentina actually making the final by beating Peru by six goals (Galeano, 1995). In the final itself, Argentina won its first World Cup.

The next edition of the World Cup was in 1982 played in Spain. Argentina qualified as defending champions, the team ended up being knocked out in the second round in a group containing Italy (who won the tournament) and Brazil (FIFA, 2015). But even before that tournament, back in Argentina at the time the military dictatorship was losing power, the Argentinian economy was stagnating, and those in charge need to do something to shore up power and gain support. The Military government launched an invasion of the British held Falklands Islands (Islas Malvinas) (Nammour & Flaherty, 2015). The Falklands are about three hundred miles off the Argentinian coast. The invasion did not work. The 1982 World Cup started on June 13th the next day the Argentinian armed forces in the Falklands surrendered to the British. The following year's democratic elections ended the military dictatorship (Goldblatt, 2006, Nammour & Flaherty, 2015).

At the 1986 World Cup, this time in Mexico, the Argentinian team had its defining moment. This moment was not the final in itself, which Argentina did win over Germany 3-2, it was a quarterfinal match against England. This was also the game that turned a star into a legend, that legend is Diego Maradona. The diminutive Argentine scored Argentina's two goals. The first is known as "The Hand of God." He actually punched the ball in to the English goal, the foul wasn't seen or called by the officials. The second was an individual run with the ball from inside his own half, past five English players and into the back of the net, this goal has been voted as the goal of the century by fans (Goldblatt, 2006, Galeano, 1995, FIFA, 2002). A pretty peaceful and national moral building revenge for losing a war just four years before.

4.4 Cote d'Ivoire and Football

The history of Africa and South America are very different. South America was colonized from about 1500 to the first half of the 19th century. Africa was colonized for only about one hundred years, but colonization left a large mark. The borders of African nations were almost exclusively drawn by the European colonizers (Gordon and Gordon, 2007). These borders split ethnic groups, and thus the social structures, that the African people knew and had developed. Research done at Harvard Institute of Economic Research (2002) suggests that the twenty most ethnically diverse countries are all in Africa.

Examining how football came to Africa as compared to Latin America, shows that in the same e timeframe, used for Latin America, that the game was brought by colonizers, not the migrations that the

independent Latin America countries had. Football in Latin America “*probably benefited from not being seen as a colonial rule's game. Brits in the informal empire were supposedly just businesspeople...*” (Kuper & Syzmanski, 2014, p.197). The colonizers in Africa also preferred sports that were seen as more gentleman sports, such as cricket or rugby (Darby, 2013). The simplicity of football did help it catch on, in Accra Gold Coast (present day Accra, Ghana) the first clubs were founded in 1903 (Darby, 2013). The formation of football clubs spread out from these, including the founding of The Rainbow Football Club in 1924, which renamed itself Kumasi Asante Kotoko because of its location and representation in the Asante region in Ghana (Darby, 2013). This thesis does not focus so much on Ghana, although when researching football in Africa the resources Ghana provides are the most abundant for Sub-Saharan specifically in the West African region. One reason for this is because Ghana, with some regularity, does well or gets surprising results on the world stage. Another reason is “*Ghana where patriotism is rarely alluded to in everyday practice tends to be quickly merged with pan-Africanism when it comes to football*” (Madichie, 2010, p.137-138).

In the context of nation-building and sport in Africa there is only a handful of reliable research done. Quite a lot of this was done by journalists (Peltz, 2010). Some of the reasoning for this can be seen in the recent innovations of this idea, at least in an African setting, only recently has Africa started to appear on the global stage for football. South Africa hosted the FIFA World Cup in 2010, African teams actually starting to get respectable results in World Cups, such as teams reaching the quarterfinals in 1990, 2002 and 2010 (FIFA, 2015), and the emergence of African players in the European leagues. Because of the issue of generalizing Africa, this thesis will focus on Cote d'Ivoire. The reason for this is one of the big jumps forward with the idea of football and nation building comes from Cote d'Ivoire. This happened in 2005 when the Cote d'Ivoire national team's played a role in organizing a cease-fire in the ongoing civil war in their country.

Cote d'Ivoire was established as a French colony in West Africa in 1893 after being a French protectorate for fifty years. The country gained its independence from France in 1960 with efforts led by Felix Houphouet-Boigny, who became the first president of the new country (BBC, 2015). President Houphouet-Boigny ruled from 1960 until his death in 1993. Upon his death Henri Konan Bedie became president (BBC, 2015). What followed in the next twenty years was a series of contested elections, military coups that were both successful and unsuccessful, and civil war (BBC, 2015).

In 2005 the Cote d'Ivoire National Team qualified for the following year's world cup in Germany. This was the first time that the Ivorians had ever qualified for the world cup. During celebrating their qualification the team, led by captain Didier Drogba, asked the combatants to lay down their arms and start negotiations (Al Jazeera, 2013). The peace talks did start and were semi-successful. A truce was achieved although numerous issues still plague the country. A lot of these issues are related to the elections, the civil war and ethnic tensions (BBC, 2015). Didier Drogba was placed on the Truth and Reconciliation Council for the Ivorian Civil War (BBC, 2011). He himself remains committed to Cote d'Ivoire with his own charity and the image he has in the country. (BBC, 2011, Al Jazeera, 2013, Merrill, 2007).

4.5 Background of Nation-building

"I prefer people to see me as an Ivorian and as a patriot"
-Didier Drogba Cote d'Ivoire football player (Sinnott, 2011)

Most of the globe was at one point or another divided and controlled by European powers. Little thought for who lived there was given. What was tactically valuable, or economically valuable, was all that mattered. Even nations that are well-established in the international community are former colonies, such as Brazil. Brazil became a Portuguese colony possibly by accident. The 1494 Treaty of Tordesillas was essentially "*designed to give the Spanish free rein in the Americas and the Portuguese control of Africa*" (Storey, 2011, p.24). The line of longitude used went through a section of South America that is now Brazil. This division gave rise to what is now the nation of Brazil. Some historians such as J.H. Parry (1973) argues that the Portuguese very likely knew there was land there, although whether they knew or not doesn't change that Brazil ended up a Portuguese colony. The continent of Africa was almost completely divided among European powers at the Berlin Conference of 1884-1885 (Gordon & Gordon, 2007).

Argentina and Brazil won their declared independence in war in 1816 and 1822 respectively (Political Landscape, 2015, Goldblatt, 2014). African independence came around 150 years later mostly in the 1950s and 60s through mixes of armed struggles and political movements lead by African nationalist parties (Gordon & Gordon, 2007). It is fair to note that his time frame does give the Latin American

countries much more time to become the nations that we see today, compared to the African ones. Latin America also experienced much higher European migration to its shores, than Africa did. Especially in those migrates that chose to build their lives in that region (Baily & Miguez 2003). This can lead to more lasting relationships in the communities, and more citizenship and national identities thus creating more social cohesion in the country. *“Social cohesion is defined as the willingness of members of a society to cooperate with each other in order to survive and prosper”* (Stanley, 2003, P.5) The importance of social cohesion among any group is important for the group to smoothly function. . In the idea of nation-building there can be numerous group that have many different backgrounds. In nations these backgrounds can be ethnicities, racial backgrounds, religions, cultures and many more that are too numerous to list (Hehir & Robinson, 2007). These differences have been exploited in the nations being studied in this thesis. In the case of Brazil it was racial backgrounds, in Argentina it was political and in Cote d'Ivoire it was ethnic tensions fueled by politics (Goldblatt, 2014, Finchelstein, 2014, BBC, 2015). In present day nations which are divided by numerous social issues and in many cases lacking social cohesion, weak nations are formed. *“A weak state is a state that does not have capacities to penetrate society, regulate social relationships, extract resources, and appropriate or use resources in determined ways.”* (Hehir & Robinson, 2007, p.3 quoting J. Migdal 1988).

The national borders, many with internal strife and problems are a reminder of colonial pasts. Today it seems that in Africa, or really anywhere on the globe for that matter, no one wants borders to change (Shaw, 1997). The nation as it is seen today currently needs to work with the people in its geographical territory to become a strong state. Recent trends have started to recognize the importance of a stable nation (Hehir & Robinson, 2007). This is especially true in terms of peace, as seen with the recent case of Al-Qaeda being able to use a weak state as a base of operation to terrorize the globe (Hehir & Robinson, 2007). With the end of the Cold War the actions and approaches of nation-building have become more internal to that country (Hehir & Robinson, 2007). One of the main reasons for this change is *“the collapse of the bipolar Cold War order, which gave a measure of artificial stability to some states in the world and helped to compensate for their weakness”* (Hehir & Robinson, 2007, p.3). Oppressive governments are no longer supported as much by their allies and democratically elected or supported governments are less likely to be overthrown by external powers.

It would be an oversimplification to state that the process of nation-building is only internally driven.

The recognition of the problem of nation-building has become more of a global problem, especially in the age of globalization (Hehir & Robinson, 2007). Hehir and Robinson (2007) argue that a strong nation needs infrastructure power especially, now in the age of globalization. Other states can provide the ability, aid, and know-how to be able to build this infrastructure, however, they can not provided the creation of a national identity. Other nations can export ideas and concepts to the nations in their nation-building process, but it becomes the people's will of how to create their chosen national identities.

One of the biggest issues facing nation-building today at least according to Hehir and Robinson (2007) is good governance or democratic government. This topic of debate has increased drastically since the end of the Cold War. This was because of the political divides of the Soviet Union and her allies and the, United States and her allies, which “*meant there was little international consensus on how states should be governed or on which policies they should follow in the domestic arena*” (Hehir & Robinson, 2007 p.70). This divide lead to political leaders, such as Mobutu Sese Seko clinging to power for many years well destroying their countries simply because their overseas allies keep them in power.

Political scientist Samuel Huntington in his 1968 book *Political Order in Changing Societies* argues that political institutions, to have legitimacy must have come from and represent existing social forces. This argument supports the people's own ability and choice on their nation-building efforts rather than external forces. This does not however call for an immediate democracy to be formed, instead it is as Hehir and Robinson (2007) argue a 'respect for democracy'. As Hehir and Robinson (2007) point out, and back up with Roland Paris's argument that, “*democracy is fine for developed stable states but is destabilizing for states that are failing or are making the transition from war to peace.*” (Hehir and Robinson, 2007. p.74 paraphrasing Paris, 2004).

Although the problems and solutions of nation-building are still heavily debated, the concept and importance is clear. With the current optioning be that borders should remain fairly unchanged (Shaw, 1997) the importance of building a strong nation from internally supported societies is being put back on the agenda. Despite the many differences that the people of a nation may have, the need to come together and create social cohesion among the people is clear.

5. Discussion

"Often I think what if we could one day direct this enthusiasm that we have for football towards positive causes for humanity? In the end, football and earth both have one thing in common: both are a ball."- Sócrates Brazilian Footballer (Four Dimensional Football, 2013)

It is at this point in the thesis a good place to reiterate that well one of the main topics of discussion is nation-building. However to build a strong nation it does not work to simply draw lines on the map and call it a nation. When actions like that happen it tends to leave many issues in its wake as seen in many post-colonial countries. For such regions the overall goal of the thesis remains the role of football in nation-building but more academic disciplines will be considered in the analysis so as to provide a better understanding of the process of nation-building as a whole.

You don't have to be a professional footballer player, or even a player, to have football matter to your person. Because of that football is important to a lot of people. These are facts that all the authors of the material for this thesis agree on. The authors also generally agree that football and the importance it has for so many people has brought about social change. Generally is used in this scenario because some of the areas studied have not been in effect long enough to show a result. There is some disagreements on the role of football in a society, and if it can be used to good or bad ends. Football does provide a range of different examples to support both sides of the argument. Therefore what is of interest is to look at the nation-building process of the example countries and what influenced them down that route. In some examples it is best understood, at least to this thesis, to examine the events or events that caused change.

5.1 Football and Social Integration

Football can and does help with social integration. The United Nations define social integration as “*a dynamic and principled process where all members participate in dialogue to achieve and maintain peaceful social relations. Social integration does not mean coerced assimilation or forced integration.*” (UN, 2005). This definition does include the importance of participation, a key theory in this thesis. The simplicity of football helps it become more available to more people.

“Everybody knows that we like those who resemble us, those who think and feel as we do. But the

opposite is no less true. It very often happens that we feel kindly towards those who do not resemble us, precisely because of this lack of resemblance." (Durkheim, 1893, repub. 1933, p. 54). The enjoyment of football is one of these feelings that can create a resemblance for each other. In the case of Brazil this social inclusion, using football, was bringing in those groups of people, such as people of color, that were being socially excluded (Goldblatt, 2014). Emile Durkheim also points out that "*only certain kinds of differences attract each other...[those that] compliment each other*" (Durkheim, 1893, repub. 1933, p.55). As the elite clubs of Rio de Janeiro (mentioned in the background) found out, that well the elites may see a complimentary difference in Vasco de Gama's players the crowds of people did not see that difference and went because of enjoyment of the game (Goldblatt, 2014).

This social integration cannot happen without some form of participation from the people. The people themselves do not need to be the players, they just have to be involved in the sport in some way. This could be as a coach, a team doctor or just a spectator. Former FIFA president Joao Havelange said of football "*It is the most democratic of all sports...in a football stadium everyone is equal...in football social and ethnic differences disappear*" (FIFA, 1998). This is an oversimplification, especially in regards to women who have in numerous cases been left out of the sport, but still a fairly valid point. Numerous studies have shown that identifying with a sports team promotes psychological well being (Wann & Weaver, 2009). This is because of the social connection between fans. Kuper and Szymanski (2014) extend this even more by pointing out that when national teams are involved in big tournaments even those that are not fans (they use the example of women because of their statistical data set) are involved. These studies provided that some differences don't matter as long as there is a common theme, in this case football.

It is fair to state that the players of the team they represent are the image of the team itself. There are many other factors in the whole team, although when people watch the team they see the players. The spectators want the best team possible to watch. In the case of Arthur Friedenreich he was, statistically speaking, one of the best. He had a different style of play (early creole football), and scored a lot of goals (Goldblatt, 2014). He, as previously mentioned was mulatto but he was supported by the fans and the press loved him (Goldblatt, 2014). "*Racism in Brazil was closely connected with the construction of a national identity and the question of racial plurality.*" (Curi, 2013, p.24). By Friedenreich's, and numerous other unnamed players, participation, they were able to change the

national identity that had non-whites excluded from society.

The ability of these players started to create questions of what the Brazilian nation actually was. No longer could the policies and ideas of racial superiority function when those who weren't originally included were given a voice. Football was a cultural phenomenon that gave people a voice. Oswald de Andrade, a leading voice of Brazil modernism (the art form) in 1928, around the time of the death of the Old Republic “*argued that Brazilian culture was a product of absorption and digestion eating and then transforming the flesh of European, African and indigenous cultures*” (Goldblatt, 2014, p.36). Although this is more written as an art form than an actual anthropological theory the point still stands that Brazil was creating it's own culture with the people that were there having a say in what it would be, rather than importing it culture from Europe as it had done before (Goldblatt, 2014). Oswald de Andrade would later in his writings recognize that football was a place where the “*cannibalized culture in which Brazil would absorb, digest and remake European and African cultures*” (Goldblatt, 2014, p.37) was happening with the Brazilian style of play.

These advancements and the voice that people actually had allowed a transition from what Durkheim (1893) would call mechanical solidarity to organic solidarity. Mechanical solidarity is more “traditional” and usually works on kinship ties, in the case of Brazil this was a more advanced form, based along the lines of ethnic and national background ties rather than just family. The organic solidarity is more dependent on other members of societies rather than those on kinships groups. In Brazil this was partially so because not as many people were trying to keep the people previously seen as lesser citizens out of “their” society and decision making.

These changes in society made people look back and critically reflect on where they came from. This is where postmodern modernization comes into effect. The society had to reevaluate it's citizen's role when confronted with new information and had to look back, while also looking forward on the role of the previously ostracized citizens' role in the nation. For about two and a half decades (roughly 1922-1947) there was resistance to this change from some of the elites, this is where the case of Vasco da Gama comes in (mentioned in Background). The team had rethought the role of both the people who had been excluded from higher levels of football because of racial background and the football player in Brazil. Vasco da Gama grew out of a middle class/working class area and the members had already

included those around them in their society (Goldblatt,2014). When the team was asked to not field their working class players and the president gave the 'Historic Answer' it was because of two reason. The first was that the team was good. The second was that the members of the club knew the socio-economics of the club and its players (Goldblatt, 2014). In the Historic Answer the club's president (who wrote the Answer) points out that the players are Brazilians too. Vasco da Gama had the social integration and the close geographic ties to be able to see that working class and colored players were equal members of society. Because of the club's large support they were able to compete with the demands of the elite clubs and prove the equality of the players and compel those elites to reevaluate their thoughts on player's racial heritage. The club wouldn't have been able to do this without the support of their fans participation.

With large migration to more developed countries or even internal migration to more developed regions, sports, in particular football, are being recognized as a way of promoting this social integration (Tacon, 2007). This integration helps to get rid of a two-tier society that could be developed by default. The effects of this social integration are being seen with more and more footballers coming from nations that have football for social integration, either by default or design. These footballers included (but are not limited to) Zlatan Ibrahimovic and Henrik Larsson who played or play for the Swedish national team, both of who had immigrant parents.

5.2 Football and Collective Agency

Emile Durkheim argues for the importance structure in a society. “*The notion of “structure” refers to a set of relations between elements that has some measure of coherence and stability*” (Bernardi *et al*, 2011, p.162). Durkheim's (1893) argument is that a society needs structure to hold it together. There are whole fields of studies devoted to debating and understanding this topic. But the problem is: what if the structures of a nation are unfair? In the case of Brazil it was unfair to those who were deemed lesser than the elites (Goldblatt, 2014). In a lot of societies today it is unfavorable to women (Jarratt, 1990). The people need to be able to change their structures to be able to create a more equal environment. This is where collective agency comes in.

The definition of agency is a debated topic although the definition generally includes the ability of the individual to make rational choices and have a free will (Emirbayer & Mische, 1998). This free will

can put agency against the structures in society especially if they are not in the best interest of the individual. “*When individuals collaborate they create collective entities; insofar as such entities engage in effectual activity, they become collective agencies. Among the numerous examples of collective agencies are firms, states, classes, and social movements.*” (Hewson, 2010, p.13). Collective agency is the best use of agency for football because it is a team sport and even more than that when the role of those not directly involved in playing is included.

One of the leading things to do in regards to agency and football, is to put someone on a football pitch who is not typically seen there. In the case of MYSA it is putting women on a football pitch (Coalter, 2009). The football pitch is not typically seen as a 'women's place' such as the village market or the home is (Coalter, 2009). Actions such as women playing or being involved in football is a more intentional action, although some just want to play because the game is fun. This action of not conforming to the gender norms (a structure) that limit their free will is an example of agency, and since this participation would happen usually in groups, an example of collective agency.

In regards to women and football there is still a large effect of football being seen as a man's game. This structure of gender norms is limiting the agency of women in football. In Argentina the masculine identity is linked to football (Parrish & Nauright, 2013). More and more organizations are promoting women's football lead by FIFA which has a section emphasizing the objective “*to ensure every girl and woman who wants to play football has the opportunity to do so*” (FIFA, 2015).

In Argentina and Brazil when people started playing it was just for fun, and also the game is easy to replicate with limited materials. As discussed above, although mostly limited to the case of Brazil, it lead to better social inclusion. In Argentina theories of racial superiority were existent but had less need to be opposed, or even used, because both the black and native populations (Argentine Amerindians) had been heavily decimated by war and disease in the late 19th century (Sutton, 2008). Also the league system in Argentina had other advantages to inclusion, that Brazil did not (Goldblatt, 2006, Frydenberg, et al 2013).

Despite the early idea that only the crazy English played football, the sport caught on (Galeano, 1995). The culture of football spread out from the cities and ports (Goldblatt,2006). When there were racial

barriers most of the time the people formed their own clubs (Goldblatt, 2014). The collective agency of people exercising their will for football. Eventually the people rose to the level where the structures of society were against them going any farther. The people then worked to increase their free will and in the structures of society that had limited them. Interestingly, the style of football (Creole Football) created by these people places importance on the individual and their ability, instead of the style the English brought, that is a systematic style (Galeano, 1995, Goldblatt, 2006).

The people who wanted to increase their ability to play football had to participate to do so. They had to have the will. When they did they had to change the structure of their society or even nation to have the option of doing so today. This is the postmodern modernization of society based off of peoples will. The people change what the society is and modernize the roles and relationships in it. Although there is still glaring problems, especially in regards to women's involvement, that need to be addressed the agency of people, especially collectively, is working towards that.

5.3 Football and/or the Footballer as a National Symbol

As had been discussed above the people choose football. In many nations it is the de facto national past time. With the rise of national teams playing national teams (international matches) especially in large tournaments such as the FIFA World Cup, the people have a national champion to cheer for. These large events are very unifying for the people watching them even if the team doesn't do well (Kuper & Szymanski, 2014). Although it does not hurt solidarity if the team does well. The team or the player can become a reference group for national identity.

In regards to national teams the best players from the country are usually chosen to represent their country. There are some instances when injuries, family issues or disagreements that cause a player to not represent their nation. Usually these are personal issues between members of the coaching staff or other players. A famous example of this is Diego Maradona not representing Argentina in the 1978 World Cup by coach Cesar Luis Menotti who "*showed his independence of mind and distaste for the brutal side of Argentinian football*" (Goldblatt, 2006, p.617) a dangerous thing to do for a left-wing sympathizer in a brutal right-wing dictatorship (Goldblatt, 2006). This is more an exception to the rule but one that illustrates that under ordinary circumstances a country uses their best players. It also provides an example of the protest actions available in football.

Footballers have generally come from working class backgrounds, with a few exceptions (although these exceptions are currently growing) the most common exception being that someone in their family was an athlete usually a football player. This remains true even in developed countries although the player is more likely to be lower middle class (Richardson *et al* n.d.). Eduardo Galeano (1995) likens a working class person making it professional as similar to winning the lottery. Even at the origins of football in England it was developed around the working class in factories (Goldblatt, 2006). This is one of the reasons for football's appeal, how many other times can someone from the working class make it to the world's stage? In cases such as these the player has managed to gain a higher achieved status, especially in those regions that love the sport.

When playing for their country players wear uniforms that typically are the national colors and typically an emblem of the football association of the country, usually with a recognized national symbol such as an emblem or coat of arms. Items such as these are national paraphernalia or symbols which some authors such as Jochen Hipper (2005, cited by Wadlow, 2006) place importance on in the nation-building process. Football offers these symbols meaning in a context that has meaning to more people. The emotional entertainment of football “*is experienced as a feeling of belonging and togetherness and plays an important role in the development and maintenance of a ‘collective conscience’, collective identity, and the identification with one’s group*” (von Scheve *et al* citing Cerulo 1997 & Durkheim 1912/1995, 2013, p.4). Many of these symbols are shown by the crowds during football matches. The vast majority of people didn't get to choose the national symbols, but they do get to create a meaning for them.

National teams can also provide identity to fans. When this phenomenon has been more researched at club level (O'Brien, 2013), the research has started to trickle over onto the national level (Meier & Leinwather, 2013). Football clubs the world over have traditional links to certain groups and influences their identity (Goldblatt, 2014, Goldblatt, 2006, O'Brien, 2013). The famous example of this is FC Barcelona of Spain, some of who's fans national identify is not with Spain but with the autonomous region of Catalonia where Barcelona is based (Fitzpatrick, 2013). Playing in the colors of Catalonia, at a stadium which was one of the few places Catalan could be spoken during General Franco's reign and with many players from Catalonia it's of little wonder why the fan's identify as Catalonian (Fitzpatrick,

2013, O'Brien, 2013, BBC, 2008) . Recent successes for the team and the players such a winning the UEFA Champions League, numerous times, and providing seven players to the Spain National Team that won the FIFA World Cup in 2010 and growing open support for Catalonia independence have increased the research on the role of identity that Barcelona FC provides (Fitzpatrick, 2013, O'Brien, 2013). The research is slowly moving towards identity and national team (Meier & Leinwather, 2013).

Even the players themselves can become national symbols. Sometimes the symbol is a whole team such as the 1970 Brazil World Cup team. In other cases it is a single player such as Diego Maradona, although he did have a team supporting him. It is fair to point out that even when a single individual does something awe inspiring, they have solidarity with their team. A good image of showing togetherness and what can be accomplished by working together.

5.4 Brazil and Nation Symbols

The famous player Pele was born Edson Arantes do Nascimento in “*the back country of Minas Gerais [a state in Brazil] His father had played semi-professionally in his youth*” (Golblatt, 2006, p.374). Pele himself started playing professionally at Santos in Sao Paulo. Pele even before he was out of his teenage years, just after winning Brazil's first World Cup in 1958, was declared a 'national treasure' by the ruling government of Brazil and couldn't play for teams outside of Brazil (Galeano, 1995). Clearly the importance of Pele was being recognized by the government and his role in the Brazilian society. Pele was one of the people. The Brazilian people could identify with him and unify in his image. And he did unify the people of not only Brazil but the world. The Brazilian ambassador to the UN J.B. Pinheiro said “*Pele played football for 22 years, and in that time he did more to promote world friendship and fraternity than any other ambassador anywhere.*” (FIFA, 2010). This solidarity he is credited with not only in Brazil but all throughout the world, even creating a temporary truce in 1968 between Nigeria and Biafra just so the two sides could see him play (Galeano, 1995). Pele was named by Time Magazine one of the most important people of the 20th century, the only footballer and only Brazilian (Time, 1999). Although no one can win a World Cup on their own, Pele played on teams that are considered and voted to be some of the best in the history of the sport (Collins, 2007). The 1970 World Cup was so good that the government and Rede Globo, the largest media company in Brazil, built the television infrastructure to watch the team (Goldblatt, 2014). This brought the availability of seeing the games to more people than just those that could afford to fly to the tournament in Mexico

and pay for tickets to the games. The increase among the viewership increased the team's role as a national symbol. So important was the 1970 World Cup win for the country of Brazil that *Jornal do Brasil*, a Brazilian newspaper, compared it when the Americans landed on the moon (Goldblatt, 2014).

The 1970 team was made up of blacks, mulattos, and other ethnically backgrounded players that just fifty years before would not have been allowed to play football with the whites. Pele and his teams are not only symbols of a nation they are symbols of what people can achieve through their agency and opposition to the structures that constrict them. The people had to participate in supporting Pele and his teams, they had to care about the sport and be able to identify with the team to change their own perception of how they viewed themselves and their nationality. In Brazil a country of large geographical proportions and many cultures something that could be agreed upon and supported was important and useful in establish national identity.

5.5 Sócrates and Protest

The national team of this eras actions off of the football pitch are not without criticism. One of the most famous, or at least well spoken in his criticism, is former Brazil player and captain Sócrates. Sócrates said of the time period in Brazil where the military imposed their dictatorship (1964-1985) “*Imagine if at the time of the political coup in Brazil a single player like Pelé had spoken out against all excesses?*”(Four Dimensional Football, 2013) Sócrates was not the typical footballer he was a doctor of medicine and gained another doctorate in philosophy after retiring from the game (Shea, 2010). “*When asked to name his heroes, rather than opting for Brazilian footballers such as Pele and Garrincha, he picked John Lennon and Cuban revolutionary leader Che Guevara*” (Shea, 2010, BBC). Sócrates was very politically active and criticized the military rule of Brazil during his time. Using his fame and social status he organizing and co-founded what is known as the Corinthians' Democracy. The Corinthians Democracy was how the Sao Paolo based club of Corinthians was run, where everyone from kit-boy to president voted on everything (Economist, 2011, Al Jazeera, 2013). In opposition to the military government in charge, the team wore shirts with “Democracia” (democracy) printed on them (Economist, 2011).

Football brought crowds and with games being televised he also had an audience around the country. These crowds gave him an audience to spread the idea of democracy. Sócrates said that the people gave

him power as a footballer and as a footballer he listened to them (Shea, 2010). Going back to the Hehir & Robinson (2007) argument this would not be considered a true democracy because the people didn't vote for him but more of a respect for democracy. The social status gifted to Sócrates as a footballer worked on two levels; the first was that his status protected him somewhat from the governments repression (although this was not as repressive as say Argentina's) and, secondly, the scale of his audience through the national pastime of Brazil and it's increasing availability on television and radio was much larger because of that (Goldblatt, 2006). This social status was part of the cultural legacy of footballers before him. If they had not been as revered as they were, Sócrates would not have had the social platform he did.

Sócrates gave a voice to the people in times of repression, Goldblatt (2006) does point out that this pro-democracy movement was not limited to a few players it was common among the people who just had no way to spread the message. Sócrates is not the cultural icon that Pele is especially on the world stage. Sócrates was in a unique position, an obviously very intelligent man who had the gift of football that he could use to spread his influence among the people and against the government. He rebelled against the repression of the government and focused on the human being (Shea, 2010). His participation was in spreading the right to vote to the people of Brazil, this lead people to realize that questioning authority was a right for all not just the few (Reid, 2014). Sócrates needed the cooperation both direct and indirect of the people. And in the process he and the people helped in increasing their own agency and participating in their development. He helped to modernize the thinking of the Brazilian people towards democracy by showing with Corinthians that it could work and with it develop more of an interest in citizenship (Reid, 2014). He also worked towards modernization in sectors such as education and healthcare to push Brazil forward and make it a better country (Shea, 2010). He is a cultural icon that worked towards the development of his country.

5.6 Maradona and Reunification

There are times when a nation needs a rebuilding, or the people just need something to unify behind after difficult times, and give new or more fair meaning to what it means to be a citizen of that nation. Brazil needed figures to help with the countries re-democratization during and after their military dictatorship. Argentina need one after their own dictatorships, the 'Dirty War', and the Falklands War. Rising to fill the large void was the 1.65 meter tall Diego Maradona. Argentina had a military coup in

1976, the reasons behind the coup are linked to increasing violence from left-wing organizations, economic problems, and partially from the death of President Juan Peron (husband of Evita) two years before (Finchelstein, 2014). The military dictatorship launched what is now called the 'Dirty War' where estimates say around 30,000 people disappeared (Daniels, 2008). This period in Argentina's history fits the criteria for a civil war and some journalists such as Paul Hoeffel of the Boston Globe did call it that as it was happening. Other issues also weighed on the people such as a stagnate economy, something sometimes attributed to spending up to ten percent of the national budget hosting the World Cup in 1978 (Galeano, 1995, Goldblatt, 2006). To regain support and legitimacy in the eyes of the people the military government invaded the Falkland Islands (Islas Malvinas), a British territory off the coast of Argentina. The reasoning behind this is that Argentina claims sovereignty over the islands. The war lasted ten weeks, and the British won. The next year the military dictatorship ended opening up to civilian rule (Finchelstein, 2014).

Football was already big in Argentina before Maradona, the sport and the whichever team is supported by the fan are a large source of national, cultural, and political identity (Ray, 2004, Karush, 2003). Maradona was born in Buenos Aires and raised in poverty on the outskirts of the city. Maradona himself has called himself a 'blackhead' (cabecita negra), a derogatory term in Argentina for someone from a poor background, and stated that he was proud of it (FIFA, 2010). He came from numerous ethnic backgrounds including Indigenous-Argentinian (Goldblatt, 2006). In 1986 with the World Cup in Mexico upcoming Maradona, who at this point played at Napoli in southern Italy, was already a known star. When playing for Barcelona he received a standing ovation for his skill by Barcelona's arch rivals Real Madrid's fans in their home stadium, only the Brazilian Ronaldinho has also had this happen (Fitzpatrick, 2013). In the quarterfinals of the World Cup, played against England Maradona scored two goals (more detail in Background). The Argentinian national team won the final against Germany by three goals to two.

Instead of a military dictator the people of Argentina were cheering for the 'golden boy' from the shantytowns of Buenos Aires. A man who showed the English, who just four years before had soundly defeated the Argentinian Armed Forces in their own backyard, that on the football field, an area with so much national and cultural identity, comes from for the Argentinians they could win. Maradona had beaten the English at their own game. Maradona became a legend in Argentina, Gustavo Bernstein an

Argentine psychologist and author said “*Maradona is our maximum term of reference. No one embodies our essence better. No one bears our emblem more nobly. To no other, in the last 20 years, have we offered up so much passion. Argentina is Maradona, Maradona is Argentina.*” (Goal.com, 2014). Maradona helped the people of Argentina reinvent what it meant to be Argentinian.

Maradona represented Argentina and Argentinian football, in the wake of forced disappearances, the Dirty War, and a new government, Maradona was something different. Returning to Durkheim' (1893) ideas Maradona was someone who resembled the people he played for but his skill made him different from them too. He brought success to a nation that was in conflict with itself. He wasn't a political figure who sought to gain and keep power, he gained power and influence through the voice of the people. He is almost a divine figure or he actually is if you're a believer of the Church of Maradona. Maradona didn't build hospitals or schools or other infrastructure, but he solidified a nation. How could a nation build any of this without some form of solidarity? He is a national symbol of Argentina chosen by the people. Maradona helped the people modernize or even re-modernize how they thought of themselves bridging the divides of politics and society that had hurt his country.

5.7 Cote d'Ivoire and Modernizing Relationships

Africa to is now gain prominence in football. Originally if a player was any good he was called up to the colonial powers national team such as Eusébio who was born in Mozambique but played for Portugal. After the colonizers left African football was given little to no respect on the global stage with the possible exception of the North African countries, specifically Egypt, Algeria, and Morocco (Goldblatt, 2006). In 1974, when the first Sub-Saharan team participated at the World Cup in Germany, they were considered a laughing stock, considering fourteen goals in three games and being called undisciplined (BBC, 2010). In fact the most famous incident that lead to the team being called undisciplined, the player who committed it later said, was an act of protest against the corrupt government (BBC, 2010). Sadly for the team when the Brazilians or Argentinians protested on the football field it was listened to, but the Africans were just labelled undisciplined.

The Africans were voice-less on the football pitch, football on the continent was seen much as the continent was: corrupt and backwards (Goldblatt, 2006). The people couldn't partake in their own development how then could they change and improve how people thought of them if it was

preconceived notion? It also doesn't help when the President-for-Life of your country uses the World Cup for self-promotion as Mobutu Sese Seko did at the 1974 World Cup (Goldblatt, 2006). It wasn't until the 1990 World Cup in Italy that any Sub-Saharan African team managed to get a result on the global stage, in this case Cameroon. The team reached the quarterfinals and managed to beat the then World Cup holders Argentina in the group stage (FIFA, 2015). More and more Africans were making it in the European leagues, usually in less predominate leagues such as in the Eastern bloc or Scandinavia (Goldblatt, 2006).

Eventually African footballers did emerge in the European leagues with much success. Liberian George Weah won the Ballon D'or the top individual prize for a player in Europe (Goldblatt, 2006). It would be unfair to write about Africa as one country or even being defined as one place, but a footballer coming from Sub-Saharan Africa and succeeding is a much better incentive to follow in their footsteps than being labeled undisciplined just because of where you were born. Players started to emerge from the continent and started to make a name for African football. The ability of African players can also prove to Africans that they are not inferior to the Europeans, in a sense modernizing how they see themselves, and potentially increasing their own agency. This is again going back to Durkheim (1893) where the people can see something of themselves in the player and can relate.

One of these players to emerge was Didier Drogba, an Ivorian. In 2005 when the Cote d'Ivoire national team qualified for the World Cup in Germany he led the team in asking the warring parties in his home nation to call a truce and begin peace talks. In a nation fragmented by ethnic divisions, brought about by politics, the people on both sides listened (BBC, 2015, Al Jazeera, 2013, Merrill, 2007). Drogba promotes himself as an Ivorian, not any ethnicity in the country (Sinnott, 2011). He is a voice for the people, he speaks to them and wants to help them (Sinnott, 2011). Drogba has an advantage in his fame, his career has largely been spent at English Premier League side Chelsea. The Premier League is extremely popular so much so that "*North Korea and Albania are the only two countries not to have some form of rights agreement in place.*" (Yueh, BBC, 2014). The platform Drogba has and the image he has is much larger than many other football player's because of the popularity and availability of the Premier League.

Drogba is in a near to unique position of influencing how Ivorians see themselves. He is a person who

stands up and proclaims himself an Ivorian and a patriot. He is a famous African and Ivorian who is not a dictator or a strong man. With the people's participation they are modernizing how they see themselves and how the world sees them. Through his fame he challenges the structure of the existing politics and changes it to work for the people regardless of differences. He also uses his fame to promote his charity The Didier Drogba Foundation that works to promote and build healthcare and education throughout the country.

5.8 Problems with Football, Development and Nation-building

There are of course problems that come with football, development and the role it plays in nation-building. The most common problem as seen from the development stand point is how to do any measuring of the impact (Coalter, 2009). The growth of agency or human development is a difficult area to measure because it doesn't come with the numbers that economic growth does (Levermore & Beacom, 2009)

Another problem is that if a person doesn't like football they could become excluded. This is especially a problem in regards to women, especially in areas where the football field is seen as a 'man's place'. It should also be noted also that even in regions that football is the national pastime other sports are played and enjoyed, and if the individual feels that another sport or activity fits them better they shouldn't be excluded just because they do not identify with football.

The spectacle of the sport can also be used for governments to gain legitimacy as most notably seen in Zaire, Brazil and Argentina (Goldblatt, 2006, Goldblatt, 2014). Argentina's hosting of the 1978 World Cup has been compared to that of the 1936 Olympic Games hosted in Berlin and used to promote Nazi ideology (McDonnell, 2008). In a similar vein, since the taxpayer usually pays for them, sports and sports stadiums are not measurements of economic growth (Kuper & Szymanski, 2014). Building the infrastructure needed for global sporting events is expensive and can be very costly to a nation which many times could have more pressing needs to pay for. This resources would probably be better used for healthcare or education. There are also problems with football as a national symbol. Ultra-nationalism and violence have tarnished the sport, although these factors, well still present, are declining (Tamir, 2014).

In regards to identifying with or even idolizing an athlete, it should always be done with the knowledge that, despite their status, they are still human. No one is without faults. Diego Maradona has had a troubled life off the field, with substance abuse both during and after his career, and domestic abuse issues (Galeano, 1995, Goldblatt, 2006, Telegraph, 2014). It does show that these players are human despite their status. Although Maradona's personal life does serve as a warning against drug use (Brown & De Matviuk, 2010).

5.9 Suggestions for the Future

The direction most pressing for football and development is to bring more women in to the picture. Women's leagues and tournaments are developing around the world and many of them are taking similar steps that the early leagues of men's football took (FIFA, 2015, Goldblatt, 2006). The similarities being that some leagues are still amateur and that clubs are still reorganizing (FIFA, 2015, Goldblatt, 2006). The programs such as MYSA that include women are a good start. FIFA is also working a lot to promote football for women which is useful for its financial resources and name recognition. Also with the advancements of technology and institutions such as the Wikimedia foundation that offer free educational content to the world it no longer requires a local source for someone to find inspiration. Anyone can look beyond the structures of their society that may constrict them and find an inspiration.

6. Concluding Remarks

Football has the power to unite people. The sport is a nearly universal cultural phenomenon played in every country in the world. Football is more popular in some places, in these places it has more opportunity to transform society. With how global the sport has become, and the advancement of technology, the impact it has will not only be focused on the nations where the sport is most popular.

Football is in some places the national pastime. When football is being played elections are postponed, transportation shuts down and the nation tunes in (Goldblatt, 2006). Football transcends every structure that society may have. The sport can become a national symbol. The national team can become a symbol, not only for the nation but also for the world. The footballer can lead the nation in solidarity or change because of their social status. They can also project an image of the nation to the world thus changing how it is thought of by the world's people. In some cases, such as those discussed

in this thesis football has the ability if so chosen to be able to highlight social issues that those without the same platform would be forced to endure. The team, or the player, is identified with, not, because of a traditional kinship relationship, but with something larger such as a nation. Football can lead the people of a nation and the world in looking back and critically reassessing how they and the people they play for are thought of.

In regards to the arguments that some theorists such as Hehir and Robinson (2007) have that nation-building is can be seen as more of an international active rather than an internal one, it is fair to point out that with globalization and technology, as they are today, foreign entities could have an affect on the nation-building process. Football itself is originally British but has been enjoyed throughout the world. With the lure of the European leagues many players are heading to Europe for the duration of their careers, but to see someone from your nation succeed in a European league it would not be that far of a stretch to imagine that it brings some validation to the player in the eyes of the nation. How too could someone feel integrated in their nation if they didn't feel part of it, or if it felt foreign to them? Also the repressive military dictatorships that Pele, Sócrates, and Maradona played under, participated in and solidified power in Operation Condor, a United States backed anti-communist/Soviet operation (McSherry, 1999). Sometimes foreign isn't always for the best.

The sport provides the ability to transform traditional relationships into relationships into those more conductible for modern nations. Also by participating in the game people can become, in some cases, integrated into society. The change in society increases the aptitude of their agency. On the national stage it can be used for both unity and to help rebuild when the need arises. Both the playing field and the stadium can be used for acts of protest. The stage given to the spectrum of the sport gives it the ability to challenge unfair acts. But football in the end is a game and should be played for fun and love.

Football is a simple game. Twenty-two men chase a ball for 90 minutes and at the end, the Germans always win.- Gary Lineker, English Footballer (Brainy Quote, 2015).

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